EMPLOYMENT IN DEFENSE INDUSTRIES

Address Delivered by A. Philip Randolph before the Thirty-second Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People - Houston, Texas, June 25, 1941.

Dr. Maxwell, Mr. White and Friends:

I am laboring under an interesting and strange sensation tonight in that I find my own voice indistinct to my ear. It is the result of the long trip I have just completed from Washington to Houston in an American airplane. My ears are still stopped up.

I want to congratulate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People upon this great and inspiring convention.

We are living in a great crisis . It is a world crisis. This crisis did not begin with this war and it will not an d it will not disappear when this war ends. However, this war emphasizes, deepens and extends the crisis . As a result of this war every nation in the world is either directly or indirectly involved in the crisis. America became alarmed about the possibility of her involvement in the war and of a threat to her integrity and what she regards as hemispherical indivisibility. As a result of her fear she has planned a vast program of defense. Billions of dollars are appropriated for the purpose of making defense effective. Naturally, all sections of the American population are concerned about participating in this program of defense. Therefore, some months ago several Negro leaders went to Washington for the purpose of conferring with the President and other leaders of government to the end of seeking the participation and integration of Negroes in national defense. Among those leaders were Walter White, T. Arnold Hill, Lester Granger, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Dr. Frederick D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute, and a number of others.

In this conference assurances were given by the leaders of government that everything would be done to eliminate discrimination against people on account of race, creed or color; and I might say that in the conference with the President of the United States Walter White, T. Arnold Hill and myself had a rather interesting discussion with him. You know he is a man who is a paragon of graciousness. He has all of the refinements and charms that make an individual interesting. But when you come out of the conference with him, as a rule you don't have very much. And although he was quite definite in his own condemnation of discriminations we did not get any jobs. Now, jobs are what we want.

Conferences were held with Mr. Sidney Hillman of the Office of Production Management and then later another conference was to be held with the President; but that conference was unduly delayed.

As a result of my experiences in these conferences I told Walter White and a number of others that I did not believe we were going to get very far and that I thought we needed to develop and work up some other technique of action. Around about the first of the year I began writing a series of articles to the Negro press on the utilization of Negro mass power in order to secure various concessions from the government. I wrote Walter White about it and told him that I would like for him and myself to have a conference on it. We did. He was in complete and total agreement with the idea, and so we called a conference in New York of a number of Negro leaders for the purpose of setting up a committee to project and develop this program of Negro mass power in the form of a March on Washington.

In addition to this central and national committee we set up local committees throughout the country and the idea began to take root and spread like a prairie fire. When we were sure about the date for the March On Washington we wrote the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, Secretary Knox of the Navy, Secretary of War Stimson, and Mr. Hillman and Mr. Knudsen of the Office of Production Management, requesting them to speak at a rally at the Lincoln Memorial Monument following the March. I then began to get a number of telephone calls from Washington. Walter White began to get a number of telephone calls from Washington. While I was in Buffalo about three weeks ago I got a telephone call from Mrs. Anna Rosenberg who is rather close to Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia of New York City and is also a part of the National Security Board. She said, "Mr. Roosevelt, Mayor La Guardia and Mrs. Roosevelt want you and Walter White to come to Washington tomorrow morning for a conference." I said, "I cannot come. I have other things to do here in Buffalo." She said, "Well, I am going to get in touc h with Walter White about it. If you cannot come to Washington tomorrow morning, will it be possible for you to meet with Mrs. Roosevelt and the Mayor in the Mayor's office Friday morning at ten o'clock? I am going to ask Mr. White to be there." I said, "Yes, that will be convenient."

So Walter White and I met with Mrs. Roosevelt and the Mayor the following Friday morning. We talked about the question of the Negro in the national defense. The burden of the talk by Mrs. Roosevelt and the Mayor was that this March On Washington must not be had. "It is too drastic. You are marching on your friends as well as your enemies. The Negroes have friends in America and they must recognize that fact," they said. We said, "Yes, we know we have friends in America but they have not been able to get us any jobs, and consequently, we have got to do something definite and fundamental culminating in action." Walter White and I definitely registered our exception and difference both with Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor La Guardia on this question.

As a rule when your friends take a position on a question affecting your interests, it is expected that you will at least give deference to them. And, of course, that is proper. But I think Negroes have reached a place in their history where it is necessary for them to make up their own independent judgment on cases affecting their financial interests even when their judgment is at variance with the judgment of their very best white friends. That was the position that Walter White and I took on this question - not merely for the purpose of differing; but we knew that unless something definite, tangible, concrete, was done in the interest of jobs for Negroes in national defense, it was folly to make recourse to the old technique of a conference and abandon what we had recognized as an effective weapon, the weapon of Negro mass power.

Following the conference at Mayor La Guardia's office another conference was held. We got a number of telephone calls from Washington about coming down there, and finally a conference was held with the President. We had never been able to meet Mr. Knudsen. Mr. Knudsen is a sort of powerful industrialist, and he is not easily reached. In this conference with the President Mr. Knudsen was present. Mr. Hillman was there. Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Knox, was there. Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson, was there. Mayor La Guardia was there. Also Mr. Aubrey Williams of the NYA and Mrs. Anna Rosenberg were there. This was the largest conference we had ever been successful in getting on the question of the Negro in national defense.

The conference lasted from two until two-thirty P.M. When you get a conference in the White House that lasts fifteen minutes it is an extraordinary conference. But this conference lasted thirty minutes - and the President was there. We talked about this whole question in detail. Walter White said to the President, "Mr. President, we have been getting the run-around everywhere we have gone seeking to get some consideration for Negroes in national defense. We had a great deal of difficulty trying to get another conference with you, and consequently, we came to the conclusion that the Negroes as a mass must do something if any fundamental change is going to be made in the policy of this government on Negroes in the national defense." The President said, "We are trying to do all we can. You must be patient." We pointed out that we had been very patient since the beginning of national defense; that we had not gotten any jobs of any consequence. We told him of outstanding, extraordinary instances such as, for instance, the case of the son of Judge James S. Watson of New York, who recently graduated from New York University in aeronautical engineering. All of the other boys of his class following graduation were placed in jobs for which they were equipped. But this boy, this Negro boy, applied to twelve different aircraft concerns. Six replied an d refused him and six refused to reply. We had other cases in New York that were equally as distressing; but this was outstanding. However, the President said to Mr. Knudsen and Mr. Hillman, "Well now, we want something done about this matter. Mr. Knudsen and Mr. Hillman said, "We think we are making some headway, some gain, Mr. Roosevelt." We said the gains were too fragmentary to constitute any improvement in national defense for Negroes." And so the President said, "We are here for the purpose of exploring this question; and following my conference with this group I want that everybody here repair to the Cabinet Room and continue this conference." Before leaving, however, he said, "Now, I believe that much of the trouble Negro workers have encountered on the question of securing employment in national defense arises from the fact that there is no place for them to come to present their complaints." He said it was in his mind that it would be well to establish a board - a board composed of persons to whom complaints may be presented, and a board which would have the power to take action by way of making the necessary investigation and carrying out the measures of redress.

We went into the Cabinet Room and h ad a long discussion, a heated discussion with Secretary Knox. He took the position - "I don't believe that it is well for Negroes and whites to be compelled to live together on the same ship." He said, "Mr. Randolph, I want to ask you a direct question and want you to give me a direct answer. "Do you believe Negroes and whites should be compelled to live together on the same ship?" I said this: "It is perfectly fantastic for anyone to assume that Negroes and whites cannot get along and work together in the Navy. We have Negroes in the same post offices in practically all of the great cities of the South as clerks, letter carriers, with white clerks and letter carriers. There is no good reason for assuming otherwise than that they can work together." However, Mr. Knox believes that when Negroes are messmen they ought to be happy about it. And so there was definite disagreement between Mr. Knox, Walter White, Frank Crosswaith, Layle Lane and myself on this question. And so the conference ended.

A sub-committee was appointed. The Chairman is Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia of New York. And another conference has been held. Dr. Rayford Logan, Eugene Davidson and myself were in a conference yesterday in Washington. The committee worked out a program to deal with this question of discrimination in national defense, and this program has taken the form of an executive order. The President of the United States is expected to sign this executive order. The purpose of this executive order is to provide that all contracts that are awarded by the government shall stipulate that all defense industries accepting such contracts shall be required to employ workers without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.

Another provision of that contract is that employers and trade unions shall recognize as binding the right of workers to employment opportunities in national defense without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.

There is a third provision which sets up a board composed of five members, appointed by the President. This board shall derive its power from the President and shall receive complaints and grievances from any worker that charges discrimination by a defense industry on account of race, creed, color or national origin.

Now, the President said in commenting on this board to Walter White and me, "I don't know whether I shall make this an all white board, composed of all white people, or have it as a mixed board." Walter White said, "Mr. President, I don't know whether the Board is going to be of much value unless it has some power. Has it got any power?" The President said, "Yes, it is going to derive its power from the President. It will have the weight of my office behind it."

Well, here is where we are on the question of national defense. It is interesting to watch the transitions that have taken place. At one time Negro leaders were seeking the government. We were seeking the President. We were seeking conferences with Messrs. Knudsen, Hillman, Knox and Stimson. But the tables turned; and even the President of the United States began seeking a conference with Negro leaders. Why? The reason is clear. When we went into conferences before, we had no power. We went in looking for certain concessions from government leaders. The government leaders knew that the Negro leaders had no power. Today whenever you enter a conference the assumption is that both groups of representatives have organized power behind them. When a trade union group enters into a conference with the management of an industry the trade union leaders have organized workers behind them. Consequently, when they make a demand they make it upon the basis of the organized power they can bring behind that demand. The same thing is true of the management. The management has a board of directors, stockholders, organized millions, behind it. Consequently, power faces power.

Now, when this Negro March On Washington Committee developed a program for a hundred thousand Negroes to march on Washington and set up committees to integrate, to coordinate, to correlate these various groups and centers all over the nation, then we had developed the basis of power; and when we went back into conference with the President and the leaders of government, we had something behind us. We had something we could point to. Therefore, we had bargaining ability.

As a result of the signing of this executive order by the President, which is the main objective of the March On Washington Committee, giving the right to jobs in national defense, which is vouchsafed by a force that has teeth in it, by an order that has legal validity - as a result of the signing of that order, the Negro March On Washington Committee stipulated with the President that we would postpone the March. Now, by postponing the March we still hold our power. We still hold our bargaining ability. Because we told Mayor La Guardia and the various representatives of the government that while we appreciate this executive order that would require concerns to em ploy workers without regard to race, creed, color or nationality, yet the question of discrimination in various departments of the government has not been met; that that issue must be met; and so the March On Washington Committee proposes to carry out as a part of its unfinished task the piece of work of creating the force and bringing pressure to bear upon the President to compel him to issue another executive order which will abolish discrimination in every department of the United States government.

Now, I think that the most important and significant thing that has come out of this whole struggle is the lesson the Negro people have learned - that you possess power. Thirteen millions of anything have power. But we did not know it. We did not realize it. I said to some of the members of the Committee when we were holding conferences with these various people that I am going out into the streets and organize the Negro masses because there lies the power. Negro leaders per se have no power. Leaders of anything have no power per se. They derive their power from the masses. The Negro has developed a mass movement and the mass movement has had the effect of arousing the government at Washington. We have been told - and as a matter of fact, we have had visual evidence of it - that Washington was never disturbed in all of its history about anything as it has been disturbed about this March of Negroes on Washington. That is why we have gotten the executive order from the President.

There never has been issued in America an executive order affecting Negroes in this country since the Proclamation of Emancipation by Abraham Lincoln. It took pressure to bring it about. Now we are embarking on the next step. My experience is that in the development of mass movements you cannot project an omnibus program and make it work. The program must have one central theme, and we made the central theme of this program the securing of an executive order from the President that had teeth in it for the abolition of discrimination in national defense. This will mean hundreds of millions of dollars in wages for Negroes. In other words, it is a bread and butter victory. It is the biggest single victory that Negroes have ever exacted and taken from the hands of this government and this nation.

May I say, my friends, that today we live in a period of power politics, of power economics. Power politics and power economics do not take into cognizance the question of sentiment and pity, the question of giving any special moral concern for any individual or group. You cannot appeal to power politics and power economics on the basis of pity. They understand no argument, they understand no language except the argument and language of power. And so in the organization and development of this mass movement of Negroes are created the mechanics and the dynamics of power. POWER! POWER! That is the thing we have got to have. Nothing else counts today. Hitler cannot prove to Great Britain by argument and logic that Great Britain should stop her war on Hitler. Great Britain cannot prove to Hitler by logic and argument that Hitler ought to stop his war on Great Britain. In other words, it does not make any difference how much logic you may have behind your case or how sound your arguments may be for your position. If you have no power you are helpless and you will be trampled upon. People will take advantage of you! People will beat you down. Consequently, as I see it, the greatest single lesson of this fight and battle that is now being waged for justice and jobs in national defense is the lesson for Negroes that their only hope lies in Negro mass power; that when they mobilize it they can utilize it and place it as they find it advantageous, at this point or that point; and that is being done at the present time.

It is a source of great pleasure and gratitude to have the pleasure of being here with my good friends, Walter White, Roy Wilkins, and the other officials and members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Here we are engaged in a movement for full constitutional and citizenship rights for Negroes and for correction of the instances of discrimination against Negroes cited by Mr. Ming (the previous speaker). His statements regarding the outrageous attitude towards Negroes in the Army and Navy are mild. However, they are outstanding, glaring and distressing. If Negroes stand for this they are going to increase. Now is the time for Negroes to act. Now is the hour of the emergency. It was because of this emergency, also because of the power of Negro mass power, that we were able to exact an executive order from the President. The next step is to blot out for all time and strike down with all our power discriminations in every department of the federal government. This can be done. It will be done. And that is our next strategy.

The committees of the March On Washington organization are still intact, and the significant thing about this strategy is that the government does not yet know what our real power is. We have won our main objective without firing a gun. If we had had the March then they would be more able to measure the power of the March On Washington Committee. But we are going to talk to the President and we are going to demand the abolition of discriminations in the Army, the Navy, the Marine and Air Corps, and tell him the Negro masses want it done. And since he did not want this March, and since he issued an executive order granting us the thing that we had as our central objective, I don't think, my friends, that it is going to be many, many months before Negroes will be able to chalk up another great victory. So this is our task today.

In conclusion, let me bid you onward, forward and upward. Your job to gain full citizenship in America is a big job, but it is well that it is a big job because big jobs require big efforts. Nothing little is going to get anything done today. It has got to be big. A hundred thousand Negroes in a March On Washington is a big thing and that is why we got big results. And so, my friends, we want the mobilized army to stay mobilized, because action will be required to carry out and complete the program; and we are going to look to you to develop every force in order to make this program effective.

I want to leave with you one verse of a poem that ought to reflect the spirit of the Negro in the world today, especially at this hour. It says:

Out of the night that covers me,
Black as the pit from pole to pole,
I thank whatever gods may be
For my unconquerable soul.

In the fell clutch of circumstance
I will not wince nor cry aloud
Under the bludgeonings of chance
My head is bloody but unbowed.

Beyond this place of wrath and tears
Looms but the Horror of the shade,
And yet, in spite of the menace of the years,
I stand, and still stand unafraid.

It matters not how strait the gate,
How charged with punishment the scroll,
I am the master of my fate,
I am the captain of my soul.

This is the spirit of the Negro in this hour of tragedy and trial. With this spirit no difficulty is too great to be overcome; no problem is too terrible to be solved. And so, with that spirit, I bid the Thirty-second Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to march on, march on with the spirit of unconquerable struggle to achieve full and complete constitutional citizenship in America for the Negro people and for the preservation of democracy, liberty and traditions for the country as a whole.

I thank you very kindly.

Broadcast Speech for January 18, 1942 on FREEDOM'S PEOPLE PROGRAM

NEGRO'S CONTRIBUTION TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

By

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Negroes, since they were brought to the United States of America as slaves from Africa in the early part of the ~~nineteenth~~ seventeenth century, have been one of the main sources of labor, unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled, in the South. It was Negro slave labor which made cotton "king" in the south and a major product of varied industries in these United States.

Beginning with the first World War, as a result of mass migrations from the rural and urban south, Negroes have become increasingly an important factor in basic, mass production industries such as coal, steel, automobile and packing. Negro workers have laid the rails and cross-ties, fired the engines of the railroads of the South; cleared forests and built highways, worked as longshoremen on the docks, served on ships, dining and Pullman cars; played their role as domestic servants and helped as inventors mechanics to build America. They have also helped to build the two great labor organizations of America, the A. F. of L. and C. I. O., for the advancement of industrial democracy.

Yes, the Negro people, loyal and patriotic citizens of America, stand ready with brain and brawn, when the barriers of race discrimination are broken down, opening more opportunities to give without stint or limit of their sweat, toil, tears, treasure and blood to enable our country under the matchless and courageous leadership of our great ~~Franklin~~ Franklin Delano Roosevelt to avenge the treachery of Japan and destroy forever the menace of Hitler Hitlerism and preserve democracy and liberty for all Americans without regard to race, color, creed or national origin.

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ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
NATIONAL DIRECTOR, MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
IN THE CHICAGO COLISEUM, JUNE 26, 1942

We have met together in this historic institution at an hour when the tides of democracy are running low for the Negro, and yet it is the time of our greatest opportunity. And strangely enough, in the Congress and church, lodge room and club, college and council, on railroad and airplane, democracy is lauded and glorified as it never has been lauded and glorified before.

Why is it so much fanfare is being made over democracy in the form of parades, dramatic demonstrations, grand sermons, lofty editorials, dignified state papers and declarations by the President on the Four Freedoms, and the Negro gets so little of this democracy.

Something is wrong.

NEGRO HAS NEVER BEEN FREE

Well, the fact is the Negro has never been really free in this country. The Civil War only broke the chains of chattel slavery which was incidental to saving the Union, the main objective of the conflict. Unlike the bourgeois revolutions of Europe that broke the power of the old feudal-slave class, providing for the merchant, commercial and trading class to rise to the control of the state, the old slave masters of the South, while they lost their ownership of the slaves and temporary control of the governments of the southern states, soon regained control of the state governments, because they still owned the land and the main sources and machinery of production and exchange of wealth. Besides, the Federal Government abandoned and deserted the former slaves to the tender mercies of their former slave masters, after it and the North had used the slaves in numbers of two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers in the Union Army to help save the Union.

Therefore, the Negro slaves in the United States have never been transformed into free workers and independent peasant proprietors as fully as the serfs of Europe were.

Soon after the Federal army was withdrawn from the South, the old slave masters proceeded by devious but organized means such as the Grandfather clause, educational tests, white primaries and the poll tax, to put an end to the brief Reconstruction Period, and stripped the Freedmen of their newly found civil and political liberties, virtually reducing them to their former status of slaves.

REENSLAVEMENT OF THE NEGRO

Thus, after the Civil War, the Negro found that his freedom was more imaginary than real. He had been promised 40 acres and a mule. He neither got the 40 acres or the mule. He had the right to attend public schools, but they were - and are - woefully inadequate and segregated, emphasizing his inferiority. He could vote but only in Presidential elections that don't count in the South.

Peonage, the Commissary system, and vagrancy laws that permit a person to be picked up and arrested by the police if he is apparently idle robbed the Negro of his labor, limited his right to sell it in a competitive labor market along with white workers, and rendered him subject to ruthless exploitation by the former slave owners and Northern industrial and commercial adventurers.

But the slave revolts of Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, and Gabriel, the underground railroad of Harriet Tubman, the eloquent pleas of Frederick Douglas, shocked the South into a state of mortal and frantic fear that Negroes would not meekly submit to bondage.

BREAKING THE NEGRO'S SPIRIT

Thus, in order to break the spirit of the Negro and force him to acquiesce in and accept the status of a half-man in the American economy they lynch rope and faggot, segregation and Jim-Crow were invented as an engine of persecution, oppression and terrorism against him.

And like creeping paralysis, Jim-Crow, which is a moral, spiritual and intellectual insult to the very soul of the Negro, and also the basis for his economic subjection, has spread all over America in some form or other.

While the Federal Government is viewed as the symbol of Constitutional democracy and liberty for all citizens alike, Jim-Crow has even invaded these sacred precincts and defiled them without challenge by our constituted authorities, from the President down.

GOVERNMENT SETS PATTERN OF JIM-CROW

Hence, we have the disgraceful and dangerous spectacle of the Federal Government setting the pattern and pace of Jim-Crow, segregation and discrimination based upon race and color in America. Our own Government is officially freezing and perpetuating the status of inferiority of its own citizens because of color and race. And let me warn you, if Jim-Crow and segregation are permitted to become the pattern and way of life of Negro Americans, Negroes as a minority group are through in this country.

Why? Because the South is in the saddle in the Nation's Capitol. The ranking secretaries of the President are southerners. The chairmen of the most powerful committees of the House and Senate are southerners.

But I would not by any means imply that all southerners are anti-Negro. Far from it. You have only to refer to such statesmen of the South as Dr. Graham, President of the University of North Caroline, Mark Ethridge and the Agars of the Louisville Courier Journal, Aubrey Williams of the National Youth Administration, Clark Foreman, Will Alexander and a number of others. But it is a matter of common knowledge that these men do not control and shape the opinion and affairs of the South as yet The opinion and affairs of the South are controlled and shaped by Senator Tom Connally and Congressman Martin Dies of Texas, Senator Ellender of Louisiana, Senator Cotton Ed Smith of South Carolina, Howard Smith of

Virginia, the Talmadges and Coxes of Georgia and a host of little violent and virulent Negro-phobists who wave the bloody shirt and preach the false, inflammatory doctrine of Negro domination, for economic and political advantage.

TRADING IN RACE HATE

It is the business and politics of these men to cultivate and to trade in race hate. They make money out of it. Therefore, they will not give up the policy and practice of Jim-Crow without a struggle. Negroes especially must understand this.

It is for this reason that the President and the heads of the departments of the Federal Government are slow to challenge Jim-Crow in America, although he and his aides know that it makes of American democracy a mockery and a farce.

The policy of our Federal Government - that the citizenship of the Negro is not important and doesn't count - is reflected in every phase of the economic, political and social phases of our American life.

DEMAND GOVERNMENT CLEAN HOUSE

How can the Government tell trade unions and business that they should not Jim-Crow and discriminate against Negroes when it Jim-Crows and discriminates against Negroes itself. This is why the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice is faced with a big and difficult job. Trade unions and businesses that discriminate against Negroes can very well thumb their noses at the Government and say, "clean out your own house first before you tell us to clean out ours."

NEGRO AND THE WAR

What of the Negro and the war? Realizing that whenever programs are mapped out in the country which are supposed to concern all of the people that the Negro is ignored and given only an after thought, a group of Negro leaders, some two or more years ago, including Walter White, Secretary of the NAACP; Lester Granger, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League;

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Secretary of Colored Boys Work of the YMCA; Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, Director of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration; T. Arnold Hill of NYA; together with the speaker and others, held conferences concerning discriminations in defense industry and the armed forces and the integration of Negroes in the whole defense setup upon a basis of equality with the President and heads of several Government departments. The President expressed his regret for the existence of discriminations on account of race or color and assured the Negro leaders that everything would be done for the integration of Negroes into the armed forces and defense industries upon a basis of merit and ability. But Negroes didn't get any jobs of any consequence. When they appeared at factories with Government contracts for jobs, they were given the run-around.

In desperation, with patience nearing the end of its rope, and segregation, discrimination and Jim-Crow flaunting their ugly mien for all to see, the March on Washington idea was conceived and put into execution by the Negro leaders and the people.

Realizing the function of the President was one of constantly balancing pressures and that he would inevitably move in the direction of the pressure of the greatest challenge, plans were mapped to build up the pressure of 100,000 Negroes marching on Washington. We planned the March to be all Negroes because we wanted the President and the country not to be left in any doubt that this March was the symbol and expression of discontent and resentment of Negroes themselves against discriminations in the Army, Navy, U. S. Marine, Air-Corps, defense industries and the Government and not some outbursts artificially stirred up and manipulated by the artful Communists.

As a result of the pressure of the proposed March of 100,000 Negroes on Washington, the Executive Order #8802 was issued and under it the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice was established.

Effective work is being done by the Committee. More effective work will be done, if, as and when a militant and informed public opinion of the Negro masses and the public generally are placed behind it.

The Executive Order and the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice are of great importance to the Negro because they are creatures of Negro initiative, struggle and sacrifice. But while it is the fight of Negroes that brought this Executive Order and Committee into being, they are not for Negroes alone, but for all minority groups, embraced within the categories of race, color, religion or national origin.

The March on Washington Movement was careful to insist in its proposed Executive Order that it be not confined to Negroes alone, but that its benefits extend to Jews, Catholics, Mexicans, Filipinos, Chinese and Japanese. This made the Executive Order a state paper of broad and profound democratic purpose and significance.

But of all the minority groups, Negroes are the worst victims of discriminations and segregation by the Government, defense industries and the armed forces, and it is the Negroes who have the major responsibility to make the Executive Order and the Fair Employment Practice Committee work. This is one of the objectives of this great public protest meeting and of the protest meetings which will be held in the Coliseum in Chicago, June 26, and in Washington, July 4th.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE NO OMNIBUS AGENCY

But the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice cannot and was not designed to grapple with and solve all of the problems Negroes face. The areas of activity and interest of FEPC are discriminations in the Government and defense industries. The March on Washington Movement objects to the scope and jurisdiction of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice being extended beyond these fields of activity and interest on the grounds that it has a big enough task to do and it may be discredited with failure by taking on a bigger one and becoming a mere complaint absorbing and buck passing agency. If the Committee breaks down discriminations in the Federal Government and defense industries, it will have done an herculean and glorious job.

OPPOSED TO ANY NEGRO BUREAU OF AFFAIRS

Moreover, we are definitely and unalterably opposed to the centralization of all of the problems of the Negroes into any one Government agency or bureau on the grounds that it is the essence of Jim-Crowism and segregation and accentuates, intensifies and entrenches the very problem we are trying to eliminate. Negroes want to be integrated into every department of the Government upon a basis of equality with all other citizens regardless of race, color, religion or national origin. We do not propose to permit the Government to put the problem of the Negro upon the same basis of isolation and segregation with the problem of the Indians -with no reflection upon our Indian brothers.

RACE RELATIONS BECOMING ACUTE AND THREATENING

Today, the problems of the Negro are varied and are becoming increasingly acute because of the spread of discrimination, segregation and the Government's policy of Jim-Crow.

All throughout the South, Negro boys in Uncle Sam's uniform are insulted and humiliated because they are refused the right to go to the diner to eat with the white soldiers. The uniform of a country is not so disrespected in any other country in the world.

In Alexandria, La., Fort Dix, N. J., and Fort Bragg, N. C. and Arkansas, Negro soldiers have been mobbed, beaten up and killed by military and civilian police.

It is also a significant bit of American democracy that white M.P.'s are permitted to carry arms, but Negro M. P.'s are not permitted to carry arms.

In Little Rock, Ark., a few weeks ago, a Negro sargeant was knocked down by a white civilian policeman and while he was prostrate and helpless on the ground, this brave defender of southern justice stepped up and emptied five barrels of his pistol into the Negro soldier's body, while a terrorized Negro populace looked on. This case is under investigation by the War Department. These are examples of how the lives of Negro soldiers are discounted on the American battlefront of race prejudice.

GOVERNMENT JIM-CROW POLICY UNECONOMIC

While the Government is conducting an high pressure campaign for the people to buy defense bonds, it is wasting the tax-payers money building Jim-Crow defense plants for only Negroes to work in. Obviously, when the time comes to reduce the working forces, the Jim-Crow plants such as the Sun Shipbuilding and Drydock Company of Chester, Pa., where 9,000 Negroes are supposed to be employed, will close down first. The segregation of Negro workers in separate plants is silly, ridiculous and harmful. It is uneconomic and undemocratic and fosters the mythical belief in inferior and superior races, the religion of Hitler's Nazism and one of the basic roots of the present global war. The 9,000 jobs Negroes are supposed to get in the Sun Shipbuilding Drydock Company under Mr. Pew is a vicious form of industrial segregation and is not worth the price in democratic principles we pay. We demand that some white workers be included in this plant.

SEGREGATED TRAINING CLASSES

A futile, wasteful and undemocratic policy the Government has adopted is segregated training courses to equip workers for skilled and technical work in defense industry. Segregation requires two sets of teachers, two sets of places for the training courses and the payment of two salaries when one setup would be more economical, efficient, and, of course, the proper thing to do by our great democracy.

Another example of [illegible]economic activity of the Government is the payment of a Negro skilled mechanic the salary of a mechanic although he is only permitted to perform the work of a janitor. If a worker is not permitted to work at his trade, he will soon lose it. Negroes have been given training and yet not permitted to follow the training they received. When 20 Negroes were promoted to the Dodge Truck Plant in Detroit, 300 white workers walked out. But happily the Automobile Workers Union condemned the action.

If Negro workers are to be limited in securing training - and they certainly are, especially in the South - and not permitted to exercise the training they receive, the Negro will inevitably become a race of unskilled laborers with low pay, while the white workers will supply the skill and receive high pay.

SEGREGATION OF NEGRO BLOOD

Despite the verdict of science that there is no difference in blood based upon race, the Red Cross adopts the policy of segregating Negro blood in blood plasma banks and the War Department condones it and perhaps ordered it. This we condemn as an affront to upwards of 20 millions of Negroes and a negation of the humanitarian ideals the Red Cross is supposed to represent.

Negroes are segregated like untouchables and pariahs in the Army, Navy, Air-Corps, U. S. Marine and certain departments as though the bullets and bombs of the Axis powers are labelled according to r[illegible].

USO AND DISCRIMINATION

Negro soldiers on troop trains that pull into stations tell how the trains are met by white women, the USO canteen workers, who run out with cigarettes, candy and refreshments for the soldiers only to turn around and go back when they discover they are Negro soldiers. Negro soldiers and sailors are denied the use of USO canteens in the heart of cities, North and South. Though they are Uncle Sam's boys on their way to fight for democracy, they must wait until they get into a segregated community.

Is it difficult for one to wonder why Negroes, educated and uneducated, rich and poor, have no enthusiasm for this war?

ODELL WALLER AND BROWDER

While the President frees Earl Browder, a Communist, who does not represent more than some 50,000 Communists in America, in the interest of national unity, Odell Waller, a young Negro sharecropper, convicted by a poll tax jury, a member of a race of upwards of 20,000,000 citizens who resent the Government's policy of discrimination, faces execution, June 19, for killing a Virginia landlord in self defense, and no clemency has yet been extended.

Five Scottsboro boys whose conviction has been a stench in the nostrils of justice and decency the world over, still languish in an Alabama prison.

PEARL HARBOR AND SIKESTON, MO.

While Negroes as a minority are concerned about the preservation of democracy, must remember Pearl Harbor as a symbol of totalitarian tyranny and treachery, they must also remember Sikeston, Mo., where white American citizens gave a shocking exhibition of barbarism and sadistic fanaticism in the indescribable lynching of a Negro, followed by the dragging of his bleeding body through the Negro neighborhood, as a symbol of the fateful failure of the democratic process in America.

And yet, the noble democrats of the South filibuster to death every anti-lynch bill that is presented to the Congress, thereby preventing it from coming to a vote and passing by a known majority.

NO DEMOCRACY AT NATION'S CAPITOL

In the Capitol of the Nation, Washington, D. C., no Negro can exercise his Constitutional and civil rights to attend a public theater, and he can starve to death with a thousand dollars in his pocket downtown in the Capitol in the midst of countless eating places. Even the Restaurant in the House of Congress won't feed him.

FEDERAL MONEY IN THE SOUTH

The Federal Government pours out millions of the tax-payers' money in the South for health, social service and educational projects and there is not even any pretense of permitting Negroes to receive their share. The local henchmen of Southern Senators and Congressmen bulldoze and intimidate Negroes who dare to suggest their rights, and these statesmen from Dixie defy the Federal Government to do anything about it, although they hold their seats in Congress in violation of the Constitution by counting citizens of the population for purposes of representation without permitting them to exercise their Constitutional right to vote.

Negroes should seek an injunction against Senators Bilbo of Mississippi, Tom Connally and Martin Dies of Texas, Cotton Ed Smith of South Carolina, Cox of Georgia and a host of other Negro hating and Negro race-baiting southern cracker senators and congressmen on the grounds that they are holding their seats by fraud and the nullification of the Federal Constitution.

NEGRO LEADERS BLUNDERED IN LAST WORLD WAR

It is well-nigh unanimous among Negroes, even though some may be a little timid in expressing it, that Negroes must fight now for their rights. Negro leaders made a grave blunder in the last war by stating: "Let us close ranks and forget our grievances." The Government took them at their word and forgot the Negroes' grievances for good. We all saw what happened. Negro boys were shell-shocked, lost their minds, bled and died fighting for a democracy they never knew and which their comrades never found upon their return home. No, they never found democracy when they returned from over there, but they did find mob rule, lynch law, Jim-Crow and a callous and indifferent Government to the Negroes' pleas for justice and fair play.

We are resolved that we shall not make this blunder again. We must fight the Government's policy of Jim-Crow with all we have got. We have nothing to lose but our chains; we have freedom, justice and democracy to gain.

COMMUNISTS AND THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

Questions have been asked what sort of people compose the March on Washington Movement. Our answer is loyal, patriotic, Negro Americans. We love our country. We love our race. We love the human race. We have no use for Nazis, Communists or Fascists or their works. We consider them a menace, a nuisance, a danger and a pestilence to Negroes, labor and our country. We believe in them so strongly we are ready and determined to fight for them at home and abroad.

Yes, we are fighting to kill Jim-Crow now, during the war. We don't propose to wait until the war ends. Everybody else is fighting for democracy now, including the Government. Why shouldn't Negroes fight for democracy too, not only abroad but also at home. Now is this disloyalty to the Government? Negroes don't have to be disloyal to the Government in order to be loyal to themselves. Nor do they have to be disloyal to themselves in order to be loyal to the Government. Loyalty to the Negro race by Negroes and loyalty to the Government by Negroes complement and supplement each other. A Negro who is disloyal to his race cannot be trusted by the Government or anybody else. And, by the same token, a Negro who is disloyal to our Government and country cannot be trusted by the Negro race.

The Negro is not challenged to prove his loyalty to the Government and democracy. The Government is challenged to prove its loyalty to democracy and the Negro.

AN ALL NEGRO MOVEMENT

Some criticisms have been raised of an all-Negro movement. Why should that be? The Zionist Movement is an all Jewish Movement, but this does not imply that it is anti-Gentile. The Knights of Columbus is all Catholic, but that does not mean it is anti-Protestant or that they may not join with Protestants on a common program of civic righteousness. Because Protestants and Catholics don't include Jews as members does not indicate that they are anti-semitic. Trade unions do not include non-workers; that does not prove that they are anti-all non-workers.

The March on Washington Movement believes that the Negro must assume the major responsibility for the solution of his problems and must supply the money and pay the price, make the sacrifice and lead the fight. This does not mean that it is anti-white, anti-semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-Protestant, anti-holy-roller, or anti-interracial movement.

Just as the Jews have the Zionist Movement fighting on their specific problems; the workers have trade unions dealing with their specific problems; women have their movements handling their special problems, so the Negro needs an all-Negro movement to fight to solve his specific problems. But on general problems like war and peace, child labor, workmen's compensation, low rent, better schoo[illegible] better police protection, lower taxes - that concern everybody, Negroes, Catholics, Jews, trade unionists, women, etc., can join in common civic movements. Nor does this mean that Negroes should not help the workers and Jews and Catholics, break down barriers and prejudice against them or that they, in turn, should not support the Negroes fight for his rights, but it does mean that any minority group which has problems has the responsibility of meeting those problems themselves; and nobody else but themselves will effectively grapple with them. History shows that Jews must depend upon Jews to fight the battles of Jews; Catholics must depend upon Catholics to fight the battles of Catholics; women must depend upon women to fight the battles of women; Negroes must depend upon Negroes to fight the battles of Negr[illegible] and the workers must depend upon workers to fight the battles of the workers.

Nor does this all-Negro movement idea imply that interracial movements are not necessary, valuable and sound. It means that interracial movements need to be supplemented by an all-Negro movement just as an inter-religious movement such as the Conference of Christians and Jews is supplemented by specific religious groups of Jews and Catholics and Protestants. For no Negro is secure from intolerance and race prejudice so long as one Jew is the victim of anti-semitism or a Catholic is victimised as Governor Alfred E. Smith was by religious bigotry during the Presidential campaign against Herbert Hoover, or a trade unionist is harrassed by a tory open-shopper.

AMERICA'S DEMOCRACY A FAILURE

American democracy is a failure. It is a miserable failure. It has failed because it is a limited and racial and divisible democracy.

Our Declaration of Independence says all men are created equal, but it is actually made to mean all white men are created equal.

The democracy of Athens fell because one third or more of its population were slaves. The Roman Republic went down for various reasons not the least important of which was that its citizens were not equal and slaves represented a large section of its population.

DEMOCRACY AND SECOND-CLASS CITIZENS CONTRADICTORY

If the American Union in 1863 could not endure half slave and half free, our American democracy cannot continue with a first-class and second-class citizenship; with one section of the country to vote and another section disfranchised by the poll tax and white primaries.

COLORED RACES REJECT AMERICA'S BRAND OF DEMOCRACY

Because the American brand of democracy has winked and connived at, aided and abetted Jim-Crow in reducing upwards of 20,000,000 Negroes to the statud of half men, America will have to answer to the 1,700,000,000 colored peoples everywhere before the bar of world opinion.

Sumner Welles, Assistant Secretary of State, states that this war must put an end to imperialism and usher an era of equality of races; and Vice-President Wallace says this is a people's war. While these statements are fine and eloquent and reflect desirable ideals, the American Negroes and the colored races of the world are fed up with fine words, they want action, deeds. They want racial equality and are willing to fight for it.

WARS TO CONTINUE UNTIL RACES ARE EQUAL

Although this war may end with the victory of the United Nations, and we hope and pray and struggle for that objective, may we be not deceived, for wars will never end until the white man's supremacy is put down and all races and nations and peoples are treated as equals.

RACIAL EQUALITY IN AMERICA

But will the Government grant racial equality to Negroes in America? The answer is "NO." Negroes must win it, and you cannot win unless you are willing to fight for it, and you cannot effectively fight for it unless you have power, and you cannot have power unless you have organization.

Trade unions were not granted equality in the law with the employers. The workers won it. They fought for it and took it. If Negroes get racial equality in America, they will have to take it. Moreover, anything that is given you is not worth having.

Women had to fight men, their own husbands, fathers and sons and take the right of suffrage.

If white men have to fight other white men for decent wages, hours of work, the right to organize trade unions, freedom, justice and democracy, how can black men, whom nobody likes anyway, expect to get justice, freedom and democracy any differently.

The very tradition of America is fighting tradition. American independence was won by fighting in the Revolutionary War. The Union was saved by fighting in the Civil War. If we save democracy in the world it will be done by fighting, and if we Negroes secure democracy at all it will be done through fighting.

PRESIDENT MUST BE GIVEN REASON TO ACT

The President and the people of this country are waiting and watching to see if the Negro has the spirit, will, determination and courage to fight for the citizenship rights. If we have the spirit to fight, we will get our rights. If we don't have the spirit, we won't get them and we don't deserve them. The President and Government will only move when you move them, and you can only move them with mass power. They respond to pressure, mass pressure, and nothing else.

PERIOD OF ACCELERATION

The belief that we who now live will never see the end of Jim-Crow is a defeatist position. Changes take place within the period of a day, week or month or year, that once took decades, scores and centuries to bring about. This is a period of acceleration. The entire world is in motion. If Negroes hope to win equality, justice and liberty, they must get into motion in great masses in world-shaking maneuvers and strategy.

MY AMBITION

Now, to set at rest rumors that I have some hidden ambition for political place and preferment, let me assure you that I don't want anything the President has to give. I don't want to be in the Cabinet. I only want one thing and that is, I want to dedicate my life to the task of helping to stop these white people from pushing Negroes around.

COMMUNISTS AND REACTIONARIES CONDEMN MEETINGS

The Communists of all shades and wings who have sought to sabatage this meeting say the time and money and effort put in this meeting, should be put into helping to win the war. We reject this advice. Our reply is that not only are we staging this meeting, but one in Chicago and Washington also and if the President does not issue a war proclamation to abolish Jim-Crow in Washington, the District of Columbia and all Government departments and the armed forces, Negroes are going to MARCH and we don't give a damn what happens. While Negroes want to see Russia defeat Hitler, Negroes are not going to let the Communists of Russia or the Communists of America that take orders from Russia, or Fascists or Nazis tell them what to do about their problems in America.

TRUSTEES OF LIBERTY FOR BOYS IN ARMY

We are determined that this war shall not end and our boys now going to Burma, Australia to give their lives for democracy, return and not find democracy at home. It is our responsibility to them that they shall not have fought in vain for a democracy which they cannot enjoy in their own country.

We don't propose to permit this war to end and find Negroes in the same fix they were in when it began. We are not going to fight for democracy and then live under mob rule, lynching, the poll tax, white primaries and Jim-Crow. We are not going to continue to tolerate the injustices meted out to Odell Waller and the Scottsboro boys.

TROUBLE AHEAD

Yes, we know that to break down Jim-Crow and bury it in the same grave with Hitler's Nazism, Mussolini's Fascism and Hirohito's militarism mean a struggle and trouble. But what difference does it make? We are having trouble anyway. Better that Negroes face extermination than a life of segregation with its degradation and bitter humiliation. Rather that we die standing upon our feet fighting for our rights than to exist upon our knees begging for life. Only brave men can build a new world. If Negroes are not willing to fight, suffer, sacrifice, and if need be, go to jail and even die for a place of equality in this brave new world, we are not worthy of it.

WE HAIL THE UNITED NATIONS

Believing in the will to struggle and die for democracy, liberty and peace, the March On Washington Movement, militant, dauntless and honest hail and salute the Negro masses of America, the West Indies and Africa and bid them forward! We hail the fearless stand of the people of India against British imperialism. We hail the courageous legions of China and bid them to fight on against the sinister imperialism of Japan! We hail the intrepid workers of England whose spirits rose above the tragedy of Dunkirk! We hail the heroic people of Russia standing firm in defense of their land! We hail the embattled warriors of Ethiopia and the Philippines in this crucial hour to put down totalitarian tyranny.

We send greetings to our black and white boys in the camps and on foreign battle fronts! We shall not fail you. We are buying Government defense bonds to send you gunsaand food and we propose to break our bonds of bondage here so you will return to a land that is truly brave and free to all men, regardless of race or color.

TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

We hail President Roosevelt, the world's greatest living statesman and champion of democracy! May your strength and courage and will and devotion to the ideals of democracy, liberty, justice and peace never fail you! We believe we are upholding your hand when we fight for the Four Freedoms for Negroes in our land.

Mr. President, the greatest tragedy of America im this war was not the treachery of the Japanese at Pearl Harbor. It is America's profession of fighting for democracy while denying it to her own citizens because of color. America's guns will only be invincible when her democratic soul is invulnerable.

CALL FOR CONFERENCE AT WHITE HOUSE

We call upon the President for a conference. The Negro people's representatives wish to talk over with you the problems of discriminations in the Army, Air-Corps, United States Marines, defense industry and the Government, that trouble us. Negroes have no contact with you as labor, business, the Jewish and Catholic groups have. We want some systematic contact with the President and the Presidential system.

The Negro people call upon the President, Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United States, to issue an Executive Order or War Proclamation abolishing all forms of discriminations, segregation and Jim-Crowism on account of race, color, religion or national origin in the Army, Navy, Air-Corps, U. S. Marines, defense industry and all departments of the Government, city, state, and federal, not only for the sake of the Negro people, but also for the cause of national unity and the victory of the United Nations over the Axis powers.

We call upon the President, by war proclamation, to abolish the poll tax and white primaries on the grounds that they are subversive of national unity and the ideals of democracy for which we profess to be fighting.

It is well-nigh axiomatic that America can only win the war for democracy if democracy is won for America. Albeit, democracy cannot be won for America unless democracy is indivisible in application to all citizens alike, regardless of race, color, religion or national origin.

If it is a jewel of wisdom of Holy Writ to ask: "How can you love God whom you have not seen and hate your brother whom you have seen?" it is also a jewel of wisdom of our democratic life to ask the question: "How can we fight for democracy in Burma, a country we have not seen, when we don't have democracy in Birmingham, a city we have seen?" How can we carry the Four Freedoms to Manila in the Pacific, when we don't have the Four Freedoms in Mississippi, in the Atlantic?

The doctrine which is now being stressed and emphasized as the cornerstone of our foreign policy is hemispherical indivisibility of the Americas. But the logical corrollary of this national policy is the indivisibility of citizenship, liberty, justice and democracy in the Americas.

Now the indivisibility of democracy is the negation of a dual standard of democracy. We cannot have one standard of democracy for North America, these United States, and another standard for South America, Mexico and other countries below the Rio Grande. Nor can we have one standard of democracy for white America and another standard for black America. A country with a dual standard of democracy, justice and freedom contains the seeds of its own destruction.

Until the Four Freedoms are enjoyed by all Americans, irrespective of race, color, religion, or national origin, America is not a democracy and only a democracy can win this war for democracy. Only a democracy can win the peace for democracy. Only a democracy can keep the peace for democracy. America cannot assume the moral and spiritual leadership of world democracy until it becomes a democracy in fact and in truth; and America cannot become a true democracy until it eliminates and prohibits discriminations against any of its citizens because of race, color, religion or national origin.

Therefore, America's becoming a moral and spiritual arsenal of democracy is as fundamental and necessary, and perhaps more so, to the winning of this war as is her becoming a material arsenal of democracy. France didn't collapse because of the lack of guns, but because of the lack of spirit. Great Britain did not lose Burma because of the lack of military efficiency and munitions, but because of the lack of faith of the Burmese people in British rule. Verily, a country may lose a war not only because its people fail in fighting, but also because they fail in faith in the government doing the fighting.

The people of India didn't refuse to fight because they cannot fight or don't want to fight, but because their faith in British justice is so completely broken that it is hard for them to decide whether domination by Japan will be any worse than continued domination by Britain. Ghandi and Nehru reject the offer of President Roosevelt to mediate or arbitrate the troubles between India and Great Britain because the Indian people have no faith in American democracy as it applies to colored people.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the faith of the Negro in the American brand of democracy is strained to the breaking point, if, in very truth, it is not already broken. Evidence: It is difficult to find a Negro - educated or uneducated, rich or poor - who is enthusiastic about this war. Reason: The national and official policy of our Government is to discriminate, segregate and Jim-Crow its own citizens merely because of race and color. This is why Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and militarist Japan can point an accusing finger at the United States. The totalitarian states can say we practice what we preach. We tell the world we don't believe in democracy, and we don't. But America, you tell the world you believe in democracy and that you are a democracy and yet deny it to your own citizens because they are not white. How can the colored races of the Pacific, the West Indies, and Africa and your own Negro citizens who are giving of their blood, treasure, toil, sweat and tears to help you fight the war, have any faith in what you say?

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LEGIBILITY IS DIFFICULT IN THE ORIGINAL

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
NATIONAL DIRECTOR, MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT
IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, JUNE 16, 1942

We have met together in this historic institution at an hour when the tides of democracy are running low for the Negro, and yet it is the time of our greatest opportunity. And strangely enough, in the Congress and church, lodge room and club, college and council, on railroad and airplane, democracy is lauded and glorified as it never has been lauded and glorified before.

Why is it so much fanfare is being made over democracy in the form of parades, dramatic demonstrations, grand sermons, lofty editorials, dignified state papers and declarations by the President on the Four Freedoms, and the Negro gets so little of this democracy.

Something is wrong.

NEGRO HAS NEVER BEEN FREE

Well, the fact is the Negro has never been really free in this country. The Civil War only broke the chains of chattel slavery which was incidental to saving the Union, the main objective of the conflict. Unlike the bourgeois revolutions of Europe that broke the power of the old feudal-slave class, providing for the merchant, commercial and trading class to rise to the control of the state, tho old slave masters of the South, while they lost their ownership of the slaves and temporary control of the governments of the southern states, soon regained control of the state governments, because they still owned the land and the main sources and machinery of production and exchange of wealth. Besides, the Federal Government abandoned and deserted the former slaves to the tender mercies of their former slave masters, after it and the North had used the slaves in numbers of two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers in the Union Army to help save the Union.

Therefore, the Negro slaves in the United States have never been transformed into free workers and independent peasant proprietors as fully as the serfs of Europe were.

Soon after the Federal army was withdrawn from the South, the old slave masters proceeded by devious but organized means such as the Grandfather clause, educational tests, white primaries and the poll tax, to put an end to the brief Reconstruction Period, and stripped the Freedmen of their newly found civil and political liberties, virtually reducing them to their former status of slaves.

REENSLAVEMENT OF THE NEGRO

Thus, after the Civil War, the Negro found that his freedom was more imaginary than real. He had been promised 40 acres and a mule. He neither got the 40 acres or the mule. He had the right to attend public schools, but they were - and are - woefully inadequate and segregated, emphasizing his inferiority. he could vote but only in Presidential elections that don't count in the South.

Peonage, the Commissary system, and vagrancy laws that permit a person to be picked up and arrested by the police if he is apparently idle robbed the Negro of his labor, limited his right to sell it in a competitive labor market along with white workers, and rendered him subject to ruthless exploitation by the former slave owners and Northern industrial and commercial adventurers.

But the slave revolts of Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, and Gabriel, the underground railroad of Harriet Tubman, the eloquent pleas of Frederick Douglas, shocked the South into a state of mortal and frantic fear that Negroes would not meekly submit to bondage.

BREAKING THE NEGRO'S SPIRIT

Thus, in order to break the spirit of the Negro and force him to acquiesce in and accept the status of a half-man in the American economy, the lynch rope and faggot, segregation and Jim-Crow were invented as an engine of persecution, oppression and terrorism against him.

And like creeping paralysis, Jim-Crow, which is a moral, spiritual and intellectual insult to the very soul of the Negro, and also the basis for his economic subjection, has spread all over America in some form or other.

While the Federal Government is viewed as the symbol of Constitutional democracy and liberty for all citizens alike, Jim-Crow has even invaded these sacred precincts and defiled them without challenge by our constituted authorities, from the President down.

GOVERNMENT SETS PATTERN OF JIM-CROW

Hence, we have the disgraceful and dangerous spectacle of the Federal Government setting the pattern and pace of Jim-Crow, segregation and discrimination based upon race and color in America. Our own Government is officially freezing and perpetuating the status of inferiority of its own citizens because of color and race. And let me warn you, if Jim-Crow and segregation are permitted to become the pattern and way of life of Negro Americans, Negroes as a minority group are through in this country.

Why? Because the South is in the saddle in the Nation's Capitol. The ranking secretaries of the President are southerners. The chairmen of the most powerful committees of the House and Senate are southerners.

But I would not by any means imply that all southerners are anti-Negro. Far from it. You have only to refer to such statesmen of the South as Dr. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, Mark Ethridge and the Agars of the Louisville Courier Journal, Aubrey Williams of the National Youth Administration, Clark Foreman, Will Alexander and a number of others. But it is a matter of common knowledge that these men do not control and shape the opinion and affairs of the South as yet. The opinion and affairs of the South are controlled and shaped by Senator Tom Connally and Congressman Martin Dies of Texas, Senator Ellender of Louisiana, Senator Cotton Ed Smith of South Carolina, Howard Smith of

Virginia, the Talmadges and Coxes of Georgia and a host of little violent and virulent Negro-phobists who wave the bloody shirt and preach the false, inflammatory doctrine of Negro domination, for economic and political advantage.

TRADING IN RACE HATE

It is the business and politics of these men to cultivate and to trade in race hate. They make money out of it. Therefore, they will not give up the policy and practice of Jim-Crow without a struggle. Negroes especially must understand this.

It is for this reason that the President and the heads of the departments of the Federal Government are slow to challenge Jim-Crow in America, although he and his aides know that it makes of American democracy a mockery and a farce.

The policy of our Federal Government - that the citizenship of the Negro is not important and doesn't count - is reflected in every phase of the economic, political and social phases of our American life.

DEMAND GOVERNMENT CLEAN HOUSE

How can the Government tell trade unions and business that they should not Jim-Crow and discriminate against Negroes when it Jim-Crows and discriminates against Negroes itself. This is why the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice is faced with a big and difficult job. Trade unions and businesses that discriminate against Negroes can very well thumb their noses at the Government and say, "clean out your own house first before you tell us to clean out ours."

NEGRO AND THE WAR

What of the Negro and the War? Realizing that whenever programs are mapped out in the country which are supposed to concern all of the people that the Negro is ignored and given only an after thought, a group of Negro leaders, some two or more years ago, including Walter White, Secretary of the NAACP; Lester Granger, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Secretary of Colored Boys Work of the YMCA; Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, Director of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration; T. Arnold Hill of NYA; together with the speaker and others, held conferences concerning discriminations in defense industry and the armed forces and the integration of Negroes in the whole defense setup upon a basis of equality with the President and heads of several Government departments. The President expressed his regret for the existence of discriminations on account of race or color and assured the Negro leaders that everything would be done for the integration of Negroes into the armed forces and defence industries upon a basis of merit and ability. But Negroes didn't get any jobs of any consequence. When they appeared at factories with Government contracts for jobs, they were given the runaround.

In desperation, with patience nearing the end of its rope, and segregation, discrimination and Jim-Crow flaunting their ugly mien for all to see, the March on Washington idea was conceived and put into execution by the Negro leaders and the people.

Realizing the function of the President was one of constantly balancing pressures and that he would inevitably move in the direction of the pressure of the greatest challenge, plans were mapped to build up the pressure of 100,000 Negroes marching on Washington. We planned the March to be all Negroes because we wanted the President and the country not to be left in any doubt that this March was the symbol and expression of discontent and resentment of Negroes themselves against discriminations in the Army, Navy, U. S. Marine, Air-Corps, defense industries and the Government and not some outbursts artificially stirred up and manipulated by the artful Communists.

As a result of the pressure of the proposed March of 100,000 Negroes on Washington, the Executive Order #8802 was issued and under it the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice was established.

Effective work is being done by the Committee. More effective work will be done, if, as and when a militant and informed public opinion of the Negro masses and the public generally are placed behind it.

The Executive Order and the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice are of great importance to the Negro because they are creatures of Negro initiative, struggle and sacrifice. But while it is the fight of Negroes that brought this Executive Order and Committee into being, they are not for Negroes alone, but for all minority groups, embraced within the categories of race, color, religion or national origin.

The March on Washington Movement was careful to insist in its proposed Executive Order that it be not confined to Negroes alone, but that its benefits extend to Jews, Catholics, Mexicans, Filipinos, Chinese and Japanese. This made the Executive Order a state paper of broad and profound democratic purpose and significance.

But of all the minority groups, Negroes are the worst victims of discriminations and segregation by the Government, defense industries and the armed forces, and it is the Negroes who have the major responsibility to make the Executive Order and Fair Employment Practice Committee work. This is one of the objectives of this great public protest meeting and of the protest meetings which will be held in the Coliseum in Chicago June 26, and in Washington, July 4th.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE NO OMNIBUS AGENCY

But the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice cannot and was not designed to grapple with and solve all of the problems Negroes face. The areas of activity and interest of FEPC are discriminations in the Government and defense industries. The March on Washington Movement objects to the scope and jurisdiction of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice being extended beyond these fields of activity and interest on the grounds that it has a big enough task to do and it may be discredited with failure by taking on a bigger one and becoming a mere complaint absorbing and buck passing agency. If the Committee breaks down discriminations in the Federal Government and defense industries, it will have done an herculean and glorious job.

OPPOSED TO ANY NEGRO BUREAU OF AFFAIRS

Moreover, we are definitely and unalterably opposed to the centralization of all of the problems of the Negroes into any one Government agency or bureau on the grounds that it is the essence of Jim-Crowism and segregation and accentuates, intensifies and entrenches the very problem we are trying to eliminate. Negroes want to be integrated into every department of the Government upon a basis of equality with all other citizens regardless of race, color, religion or national origin. We do not propose to permit the Government to put the problem of the Negro upon the same basis of isolation and segregation with the problem of the Indians--with no reflection upon our Indian brothers.

RACE RELATIONS BECOMING ACUTE AND THREATENING

Today, the problems of the Negro are varied and are becoming increasingly acute because of the spread of discrimination, segregation and the Government's policy of Jim-Crow.

All throughout the South, Negro boys in Uncle Sam's uniform are insulted and humiliated because they are refused the right to go to the diner to eat with the white soldiers. The uniform of a country is not so disrespected in any other country in the world.

In Alexandria, La., Fort Dix, N. J., and Fort Bragg, N. C. and Arkansas, Negro soldiers have been mobbed, beaten up and killed by military and civilian police.

It is also a significant bit of American democracy that white M.P.'s are permitted to carry arms, but Negro M.P.'s are not permitted to carry arms.

In Little Rock, Ark., a few weeks ago, a Negro sargeant was knocked down by a white civilian policeman and while he was prostrate and helpless on the ground, this brave defender of southern justice stepped up and emptied five barrels of his pistol into the Negro soldier's body, while a terrorized Negro populace looked on. This case is under investigation by the War Department. These are examples of how the lives of Negro soldiers are discounted on the American battlefront of race prejudice.

GOVERNMENT JIM-CROW POLICY UNECONOMIC

While the Government is conducting an high pressure campaign for the people to buy defense bonds, it is wasting the tax-payers money building Jim-Crow defense plants for only Negroes to work in. Obviously, when the time comes to reduce the working forces, the Jim-Crow plants such as the Sun Shipbuilding and Drydock Company of Chester, Pa., where 9,000 Negroes are supposed to be employed, will close down first. The segregation of Negro workers in separate plants is silly, ridiculous and harmful. It is uneconomic and undemocratic and fosters the mythical belief in inferior or superior races, the religion of Hitler's Nazism and one of the basic roots of the present global war. The 9,000 jobs Negroes are supposed to get at the Sun Shipbuilding Drydock Company under Mr. Pew is a vicious form of industrial segregation and is not worth the price in democratic principles we pay. We demand that some white workers be included in this plant.

SEGREGATED TRAINING CLASSES

A futile, wasteful and undemocratic policy the Government has adopted is segregated training courses to equip workers for skilled and technical work in defense industry. Segregation requires two sets of teachers, two sets of places for the training courses and the payment of two salaries when one setup would be more economical, efficient, and, of course, the proper thing to do by our great democracy.

Another example of uneconomic activity of the Government is the payment of a Negro skilled mechanic the salary of a mechanic although he is only permitted to perform the work of a janitor. If a worker is not permitted to work at his trade, he will soon lose it. Negroes have been given training and yet not permitted to follow the training they received When 20 Negroes were promoted to the Dodge Truck Plant in Detroit, 300 white workers walked out. But happily the Automobile Workers Union condemned the action.

If Negro workers are to be limited in securing training - and they certainly are, especially in the South -- and not permitted to exercise the training they receive, the Negro will inevitably become a race of unskilled laborers with low pay, while the white workers will supply the skill and receive high pay.

SEGREGATION OF NEGRO BLOOD

Despite the verdict of science that there is no difference in blood based upon race, the Red Cross adopts the policy of segregating Negro blood in blood plasma banks and the War Department condones it and perhaps ordered it. This we condemn as an affront to upwards of 20 millions of Negroes and a negation of the humanitarian ideals the Red Cross is supposed to represent.

Negroes are segregated like untouchables and pariahs in the Army, Navy, Air-Corps, U. S. Marine and certain departments as though the bullets and bombs of the Axis powers are labelled according to race.

USO AND DISCRIMINATION

Negro soldiers on troop trains that pull into stations tell how the trains are met by white women, the USO canteen workers, who run out with cigarettes, candy and refreshments for the soldiers only to turn around and go back when they discover they are Negro soldiers. Negro soldiers and sailors are denied the use of USO canteens in the heart of cities, North and South. Though they are Uncle Sam's boys on their way to fight for democracy they must wait until they get into a segregated community.

Is it difficult for one to wonder why Negroes, educated and uneducated, rich and poor, have no enthusiasm for this war?

ODELL WALLER AND BROWDER

While the President frees Earl Browder, a Communist, who does not represent more than some 50,000 Communists in America, in the interest of national unity, Odell Waller, a young Negro sharecropper, convicted by a poll tax jury, a member of a race of upwards of 20,000,000 citizens who resent the Government's policy of discrimination, faces execution, June 19, for killing a Virginia landlord in self defense, and no clemency has yet been extended.

Five Scottsboro boys whose conviction has been a stench in the nostrils of justice and decency the world over, still languish in an Alabama prison.

PEARL HARBOR AND SIKESTON, MO.

While Negroes as a minority are concerned about the preservation of democracy, must remember Pearl Harbor as a symbol of totalitarian tyranny and treachery, they must also remember Sikeston, Mo., where white American citizens gave a shocking exhibition of barbarism and sadistic fanaticism in the indescribable lynching of a Negro, followed by the dragging of his bleeding body through the Negro neighborhood, as a symbol of the fateful failure of the democratic process in America.

And yet, the noble democrats of the South filibuster to death every anti-lynch bill that is presented to the Congress, thereby preventing it from coming to a vote and passing by a known majority.

NO DEMOCRACY AT NATION'S CAPITOL

In the Capitol of the Nation, Washington, D. C., no Negro can exercise his Constitutional and civil rights to attend a public theater, and he can starve to death with a thousand dollars in his pocket downtown in the Capitol in the midst of countless eating places. Even the Restaurant in the House of Congress won't feed him.

FEDERAL MONEY IN THE SOUTH

The Federal Government pours out millions of the tax-payers' money in the South for health, social service and educational projects and there is not even any pretense of permitting Negroes to receive their share The local henchmen of Southern Senators and Congressmen bulldoze and intimidate Negroes who dare to suggest their rights, and these statesmen from Dixie defy the Federal Government to do anything about it, although they hold their seats in Congress in violation of the Constitution by counting citizens of the population for purposes of representation without permitting them to exercise their Constitutional right to vote.

Negroes should seek an injunction against Senators Bilbo of Mississippi, Tom Connally and Martin Dies of Texas, Cotton Ed Smith of South Carolina, Cox of Georgia and a host of other Negro hating and Negro race-baiting southern cracker senators and congressmen on the grounds that they are holding their seats by fraud and the nullification of the Federal Constitution.

NEGRO LEADERS BLUNDERED IN LAST WORLD WAR

It is well-nigh unanimous among Negroes, even though some may be a little timid in expressing it, that Negroes must fight now for their rights. Negro leaders made a grave blunder in the last war by stating: "Let us close ranks and forget our grievances." The Government took them at their word and forgot the Negroes' grievances for good. We all saw what happened. Negro boys were shell-shocked, lost their minds, bled and died fighting for a democracy they never knew and which their comrades never found upon their return home. No, they never found democracy when they returned from over there, but they did find mob rule, lynch law, Jim-Crow and a callous and indifferent Government to the Negroes' pleas for justice and fair play.

We are resolved that we shall not make this blunder again. We must fight the Government's policy of Jim-Crow with all we have got. We have nothing to lose but our chains; we have freedom, justice and democracy to gain.

COMMUNISTS AND THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

Questions have been asked what sort of people compose the March on Washington Movement. Our answer is loyal, patriotic Negro Americans. We love our country. We love our race. We love the human race. We have no use for Nazis, Communists or Fascists or their works. We consider them a menace, a nuisance, a danger and a pestilence to Negroes, labor and our country. We believe in the democratic process, ideals, heritages, faiths and values. We believe in them so strongly we are ready and determined to fight for them at home and abroad.

Yes, we are fighting to kill Jim-Crow now, during the war. We don't propose to wait until the war ends. Everybody else is fighting for democracy now, including the Government. Why shouldn't Negroes fight for democracy too, not only abroad but also at home. Now is this disloyalty to the Government? Negroes don't have to be disloyal to the Government in order to be loyal to themselves. Nor do they have to be disloyal to themselves in order to be loyal to the Government. Loyalty to the Negro race by Negroes and loyalty to the Government by Negroes complement and supplement each other. A Negro who is disloyal to his race cannot be trusted by the Government or anybody else. And, by the same token, a Negro who is disloyal to our Government and country cannot be trusted by the Negro race.

The Negro is not challenged to prove his loyalty to the Government and democracy. The Government is challenged to prove its loyalty to democracy and the Negro.

AN ALL NEGRO MOVEMENT

Some criticisms have been raised of an all-Negro movement. Why should that be? The Zionist Movement is an all Jewish Movement, but this does not imply that it is anti-Gentile. The Knights of Columbus is all Catholic, but that does not mean it is anti-Protestant or that they may not join with Protestants on a common program of civic righteousness. Because Protestants and Catholics don't include Jews as members does not indicate that they are anti-semitic. Trade unions do not include non-workers; that does not prove that they are anti all non-workers.

The March on Washington Movement believes that the Negro must assume the major responsibility for the solution of his problems and must supply the money and pay the price, make the sacrifice and lead the fight. This does not mean that it is anti-white, anti-semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-protestant, anti-holy-roller, or anti-interracial movement.

Just as the Jews have the Zionist Movement fighting on their specific problems; the workers have trade unions dealing with their specific problems; women have their movements handling their special problems, so the Negro needs an all-Negro movement to fight to solve his specific problems. But on general problems like war and peace, child labor, workmen's compensation, low rent, better schools, better police protection, lower taxes that concern everybody, Negroes, Catholics, Jews, trade unionists, women, etc. can join in common civic movements. Nor does this mean that Negroes should not help the workers and Jews and Catholics break down barriers and prejudices against them or that they, in turn, should not support the Negroes fight for his rights, but it does mean that any minority group which has problems has the responsibility of meeting those problems themselves; and nobody else but themselves will effectively grapple with them. History shows that Jews must depend upon Jews to fight the battles of Jews; Catholics must depend upon Catholics to fight the battles of Catholics; women must depend upon women to fight the battles of women; Negroes must depend upon Negroes to fight the battles of Negroes; and the workers must depend upon workers to fight the battles of the workers.

Nor does this all-Negro movement idea imply that interracial movements are not necessary, valuable and sound. It means that interracial movements need to be supplemented by an all-Negro movement just as an inter-religious movement such as the Conference of Christians and Jews is supplemented by specific religious groups of Jews and Catholics and Protestants. For no Negro is secure from intolerance and race prejudice so long as one Jew is the victim of anti-semitism or a Catholic is victimized--as Governor Alfred E. Smith was by religious bigotry during the Presidential campaign against Herbert Hoover, or a trade unionist is harrassed by a tory open-shopper.

AMERICA'S DEMOCRACY A FAILURE

American democracy is a failure. It is a miserable failure. It has failed because it is a limited and racial and divisible democracy.

Our Declaration of Independence says all men are created equal, but it is actually made to mean all white men are created equal.

The democracy of Athens fell because one third or more of its population were slaves. The Roman Republic went down for various reasons, not the least important of which was that its citizens were not equal and slaves represented a large section of its population.

DEMOCRACY AND SECOND-CLASS CITIZENS CONTRADICTORY

If the American Union in 1863 could not endure half slave and half free, our American democracy cannot continue with a first-class and second-class citizenship; with one section of the country free to vote and another section disfranchised by the poll tax and white primaries.

COLORED RACES REJECT AMERICA'S BRAND OF DEMOCRACY

Because the American brand of democracy has winked and connived at aided and abetted Jim-Crow in reducing upwards of 20,000,000 Negroes to the status of half men, America will have to answer to the 1,700,000,000 colored peoples everywhere before the bar of world opinion.

Sumner Welles, Assistant Secretary of State, states that this war must put an end to imperialism and usher an era of equality of races; and Vice-President Wallace says this is a people's war. While these statements are fine and eloquent and reflect desirable ideals, the American Negroes and the colored races of the world are fed up with fine words, they want action, deeds. They want racial equality and are willing to fight for it.

WARS TO CONTINUE UNTIL RACES ARE EQUAL

Although this war may end with the victory of the United Nations, and we hope and pray and struggle for that objective, may we be not deceived, for wars will never end until the white man's supremacy is put down and all races and nations and peoples are treated as equals.

RACIAL EQUALITY IN AMERICA

But will the Government grant racial equality to Negroes in America? The answer is "NO." Negroes must win it, and you cannot win unless you are willing to fight for it, and you cannot effectively fight for it unless you have power, and you cannot have power unless you have organization.

Trade unions were not granted equality in the law with the employers. The workers won it. They fought for it and took it. If Negroes get racial equality in America, they will have to take it. Moreover, anythin that is given you is not worth having.

Women had to fight men, their own husbands, fathers and sons and take the right of suffrage.

If white men have to fight other white men for decent wages, hours of work, the right to organize trade unions, freedom, justice and democracy, how can black men, whom nobody likes anyway, expect to get justice, freedom and democracy any differently.

The very tradition of America is a fighting tradition. American independence was won by fighting in the Revolutionary War. The Union was saved by fighting in the Civil War. If we save democracy in the world it will be done by fighting, and if we Negroes secure democracy at all it will be done through fighting.

PRESIDENT MUST BE GIVEN REASON TO ACT

The President and the people of this country are waiting and watching to see if the Negro has the spirit, will, determination and courage to fight for their citizenship rights. If we have the spirit to fight, we will get our rights. If we don't have the spirit, we won't get them and we don't deserve them. The President and Government will only move when you move them, and you can only move them with mass power. They respond to pressure, mass pressure, and nothing else.

PERIOD OF ACCELERATION

The belief that we who now live will never see the end of Jim-Crow is a defeatist position. Changes take place within the period of a day, week or month or year, that once took decades, scores and centuries to bring about. This is a period of acceleration. The entire world is in motion. If Negroes hope to win equality, justice and liberty, they must get into motion in great masses in world-shaking maneuvers and strategy.

MY AMBITION

Now, to set at rest rumors that I have some hidden ambition for political place and preferment, let me assure you that I don't want anything the President has to give. I don't want to be in the Cabinet. I don't want to be Ambassador to any nation. I don't want to go to Congress. I only want one thing and that is, I want to dedicate my life to the task of helping to stop these white people from pushing Negroes around.

COMMUNISTS AND REACTIONARIES CONDEMN MEETINGS

The Communists of all shades and wings who have sought to sabotage this meeting say the time and money and effort put in this meeting should be put into helping to win the war. We reject this advice. Our reply is that not only are we staging this meeting, but one in Chicago and washington also and if the President does not issue a war proclamation to abolish Jim-Crow in Washington, the District of Columbia and all Government departments and the armed forces, Negroes are going to MARCH and we don't give a damn what happens. While Negroes want to see Russia defeat Hitler, Negroes are not going to let the Communists of Russia or the Communists of America that take orders from Russia, or Fascists or Nazis tell them what to do about their problems in America.

TRUSTEES OF LIBERTY FOR BOYS IN ARMY

We are determined that this war shall not end and our boys now going to Burma, Australia to give their lives for democracy, return and not find democracy at home. It is our responsibility to them that they shall not have fought in vain for a democracy which they cannot enjoy in their own country.

We don't propose to permit this war to end and find Negroes in the same fix they were in when it began. We are not going to fight for democracy and then live under mob rule, lynching, the poll tax, white primaries and Jim-Crow. We are not going to continue to tolerate the injustices meted out to Odell Waller and the Scottsboro boys.

TROUBLE AHEAD

Yes, we know that to break down Jim-Crow and bury it in the same grave with Hitler's Nazism, Mussolini's Fascism and Hirohito's militarism means struggle and trouble. But what difference does it make? We are having trouble anyway. Better that Negroes face extermination than a life of segregation with its degradation and bitter humiliation. Rather that we die standing upon our feet fighting for our rights than to exist upon our knees begging for life. Only brave men can build a new world. If Negroes are not willing to fight, suffer, sacrifice, and if need be, go to jail and even die for a place of equality in this brave new world, we are not worthy of it.

WE HAIL THE UNITED NATIONS

Believing in the will to struggle and die for democracy, liberty and peace, the March on Washington Movement, militant, dauntless and honest hail and salute the Negro masses of America, the West Indies and Africa and bid them forward! We hail the fearless stand of the people of India against British imperialism. We hail the courageous legions of China and bid them to fight on against the sinister imperialism of Japan! We hail the intrepid workers of England whose spirits rose above the tragedy of Dunkirk! We hail the heroic people of Russia standing firm in defense of their land! We hail the embattled warriors of Ethiopia and the Philippines in this crucial hour to put down totalitarian tyranny.

We send greetings to our black and white boys in the camps and on foreign battle fronts! We shall not fail you. We are buying Government defense bonds to send you guns and food and we propose to break our bonds of bondage here so you will return to a land that is truly brave and free to all men, regardless of race or color.

TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

We hail President Roosevelt, the world's greatest living statesman and champion of democracy! May your strength and courage and will and devotion to the ideals of democracy, liberty, justice and peace never fail you! We believe we are upholding your hand when we fight for the Four Freedoms for Negroes in our land.

Mr. President, the greatest tragedy of America in this war was not the treachery of the Japanese at Pearl Harbor. It is America's profession of fighting for democracy while denying it to her own citizens because of color. America's guns will only be invincible when her democratic soul is invulnerable.

CALL FOR CONFERENCE AT WHITE HOUSE

We call upon the President for a conference. The Negro people's representatives wish to talk over with you the problems of discriminations in the Army, Air-Corps, United States Marines, defense industry and the Government, that trouble us. Negroes have no contact with you as labor, business, the Jewish and Catholic groups, have. We want some systematic contact with the President and the Presidential system.

The Negro people call upon the President, Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United States, to issue an Executive Order or War Proclamation abolishing all forms of discriminations, segregation and Jim-Crowism on account of race, color, religion or national origin in the Army, Navy, Air-Corps, U. S. Marines, defense industry and all departments of the Government, city, state, and federal, not only for the sake of the Negro people, but also for the cause of national unity and the victory of the United Nations over the Axis powers.

We call upon the President, by war proclamation, to abolish the poll tax and white primaries on the grounds that they are subversive of national unity and the ideals of democracy for which we profess to be fightir

It is well-nigh axiomatic that America can only win the war for democracy if democracy is won for America. Albeit, democracy cannot be won for America unless democracy is indivisible in application to al l citizens alike, regardless of race, color, religion or national origin.

If it is a jewel of wisdom of Holy Writ to ask: "How can you love God whom you have not seen and hate your brother whom you have seen?", it is also a jewel of wisdom of our democratic life to ask the question: "How can we fight for democracy in Burma, a country we have not seen, when we don't have democracy in Birmingham, a city we have seen?" How can we carry the Four Freedoms to Manila in the Pacific, when we don't have the Four Freedoms in Mississippi, in the Atlantic?

The doctrine which is now being stressed and emphasized as the cornerstone of our foreign policy is hemispherical indivisibility of the Americas. But the logical corrollary of this national policy is the indivisibility of citizenship, liberty, justice and democracy in the Americas.

Now the indivisibility of democracy is the negation of a dual standard of democracy. We cannot have one standard of democracy for North America, these United States, and another standard for South America, Mexico and other countries below the Rio Grande. Nor can we have one standard of democracy for white America and another standard for black America. A country with a dual standard of democracy, justice and freedom contains the seeds of its own destruction.

Until the Four Freedoms are enjoyed by all Americans, irrespective of race, color, religion, or national origin, America is not a democracy and only a democracy can win this war for democracy. Only a democracy can win the peace for democracy. Only a democracy can keep the peace for democracy. America cannot assume the moral and spiritual leadership of world democracy until it becomes a democracy in fact and in truth; and America cannot become a true democracy until it eliminates and prohibits discriminations against any of its citizens because of race, color, religion or national origin.

Therefore, America's becoming a moral and spiritual arsenal of democracy is as fundamental and necessary, and perhaps more so, to the winning of this war as is her becoming a material arsenal of democracy. France didn't collapse because of the lack of guns, but because of the lack of spirit. Great Britain did not lose Burma because of the lack of military efficiency and munitions, but because of the lack of faith of the Burmese people in British rule. Verily, a country may lose a war not only because its people fail in fighting, but also because they fail in faith in the government doing the fighting.

The people of India didn't refuse to fight because they cannot fight or don't want to fight, but because their faith in British justice is so completely broken that it is hard for them to decide whether domination by Japan will be any worse than continued domination by Britain. Ghandi and Nehru reject the offer of President Roosevelt to mediate or arbitrate the troubles between India and Great Britain because the Indian people have no faith in American democracy as it applies to colored people.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the faith of the Negro in the American brand of democracy is strained to the breaking point, if, in very truth, it is not already broken. Evidence: It is difficult to find a Negro -educated or uneducated, rich or poor- who is enthusiastic about this war. Reason: The national and official policy of our Government is to discriminate, segregate and Jim-Crow its own citizens merely because of race and color. This is why Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and militarist Japan can point an accusing finger at the United States. The totalitarian states can say we practice what we preach. We tell the world we don't believe in democracy, and we don't. But America, you tell the world you believe in democracy and that you are a democracy and yet deny it to your own citizens because they are not white. How can the colored races of the Pacific, the West Indies, and Africa and your own Negro citizens who are giving of their blood, treasure, toil, sweat and tears to help you fight the war, have any faith in what you say?

ANDOLPH

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE

Speeches

Speech For Golden Gate
Mass Meeting, September 11, 1942

THE NEGRO'S FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY NOW

By A. Philip Randolph

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Marchers, Comrades, Workers and Citizens: We have come together at an hour when the skies are darkened with the horrors and tradgedies of war. The outcome of this war may mean a new order of enlightened democracy and civilization, or it may mean the advent of another Dark Ages. If the United Nations win, there is the hope and the possibility, but not the certainty, of a new order of democracy and humanitarian enlightenment; if the Axis forces triumph, our prospect is totalitarian reaction and tyranny. We are therefore, as a minority group in America and as one of the great sections of the dark races of the world, and also as a group the large majority of whom are workers, our interest lie on the side of the United Nations. We want to see the victory of the arms of America, Great Britain, Russia, China and their allies.

But we know that a military victory is not enough, for the object of the United Nations must not merely be the victory of the United Nations, but the victory of the democratic forces. Be assured that it is possible for the United Nations to win and the cause of democracy to lose. "How can this be?" the question is asked. The answer is simple. If the United Nations win and the old imperialisms continue, the cause of democracy will not have been served. The history of the old imperialisms represents some of the most unhappy chapters of the human race. Under it 1,700,000,000 people of color have been sentenced to walk in darkness at noon day. Their countries have been scenes of the world's worse crimes against humanity committed in the name of Christianity, civilization and democracy. Hundred of millions of human beings have been murdered and mutilated in India, China and Africa to satisfy the power-hungry nations of monopoly capitalism and the vile philosophy of racism. And these power-hungry nations are now dominant forces of the United States.

It is possible that the victory of the United Nations may perpetuate

the Anglo-American empire systems and set up a super world state whose purpose will be to serve as an agency for the maintainence and perpetuation of a world hegemony of the same old doctrines of white supremacy, and the continued subjugation, exploitation and oppression of the darker races.

If this happens, this second world war will not be the last world war, but it will simply serve as a basis for a third world war of increasing severity, cruelty and destruction.

Not only will the victory of the United Nations fail to consolidate the forces of democracy if the old Anglo-Saxon imperialisms are not destroyed, but the units of the Anglo-American imperial order, Great Britain, America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and their allies, will become centers of a devastating and ferocious fascist militarism and administration by men on horse back whose Machiavellian doctrins will be the absolute emasculation of all democratic ideals, institutions, heritages and faiths that have inspired the hearts of men for 150 years.

Thus the central question with the liberal and democratic forces, minority groups and darker races of our contemporary society is two fold: one, the victory of the United Nations over Hitler's nazism, Mussolini's fascism, and Hirohito's militarism, but a victory without the Anglo-Saxon imperialism and the recognition and acceptance of the principles of the equality of races, nations and people. Two, the maintainence of the democratic spirit, that the United Nations may be spiritually and morally qualified and worthy of the trusteeship of the jewel of democracy when victory comes.

Unless the Anglo-American empire systems are ready to accept the peoples of color in the struggle for democracy as equals now, the Atlantic Charter and the declarations about the four freedoms and that this war is a people's war is but as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal, and are preachments that the people of color neither believe or respect for they are the veriest hypocrisies, just words without meaning to the disinherited millions of the darker races of the world.

It is because the faith in American democracy by the Negro people is strained to the breaking point, if, indeed, it is not already broken, that they are calling upon the President and the congress for democracy now.

National Defense Program

It was in the spirit of the belief that Negroes would receive only the beggar's share of jobs in the National Defense Program that Negro leaders at the beginning of the war-emergency sought to secure assurances from the President that Negroes would be given the right of equal participation in the whole defense program and government departments.

Negro leaders who conferred with the President included Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, T. Arnold Hill, Lester Granger of the National Urban League, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, secretary of colored boys work of the YMCA, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune of the National Youth Administration, Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute and a number of others. They told the President the story of discriminations, segregation and jim-crow in the government itself, the armed forces, including the Navy, Army, U. S. Marines, Air Corp, Coast Guard, and the defense industries. He was told how young Negro boys and girls, who had passed civil service examinations and made high ratings, upon applying for jobs to which they were certified were either given the run around or flatly told that no Negroes are employed there or that there must be some mistake. Instances were given of how young Negro boys who had finished certified training courses, set up by the government itself in some of the eastern cities, along with white boys, but were rejected by air craft companies although white boys taking the very same courses and finishing at the very same time, were accepted.

Cases were also presented to him which showed the rankest discrimination against Negroes receiving training courses for skilled jobs to work in defense

industries. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the South no pretense was or is made to give Negroes any training at all for employment in defense industries although the Federal Government has set up training schools and are paying instructors for that purpose.

The President listened with interest in his usual amiable and courteous manner, expressing with force and animation his opposition to discrimination based upon race or color, and gave assurances that every effort would be made to wipe out these discriminatory practices so that Negroes would have the opportunity of employment upon merit and ability. These fine declarations coming from the President at the beginning of the war-emergency made the Negroes feel splendid and hopeful, and they went away with their spirits high, feeling that this might be the dawn of a new day for employment opportunities for Negroes in America.

However, as time went on, they became increasingly disillusioned because there was no end to the number of Negro boys and adults who filed into the offices of the NAACP, the National Urban League, the YWCA and YMCA branches throughout the country, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, various Negro social agencies, churches and papers, relating their stories of how they were denied work and insulted and humiliated to boot. Young men and women came in with their mothers weeping because of the fact that after struggleing and slaving for years to provide an education for their children, and when jobs were available and workers were needed by our own government and industries that had government contracts, their sons and daughters were turned down, elbowed aside and brutally told that they were not wanted, and that no Negroes had ever worked in this or that air craft company and that there was no intention of working any now. With their pride stung and dishonored, young Negro men and women throughout the nation were seized with the spirit of defeatism, pessimism, cynicism, bewilderment and desperation. Out of the depth of their hearts they bitterly condemned American democracy as a mockery and a fraud.

While their democratic hearts and faith caused them to want to see the destuction of fascism in the world today, they also wanted to see the spirit of fascism sentenced to death in the American democratic system.

It was because of this growing demand of the people for action to halt the mad and reckless policies of discrimination in defense industries and government departments that the March On Washington Movement was born.

Having shared in many conferences with the heads of various departments of the Government, Negro leaders finally came to the conclusion that the conference technique was not sufficient, and that the leaders of Negroes in conference like the leaders of labor in conference, must have a mobilized group back of them if they hoped for their demands to receive the slightest consideration. No individual, except in some rare and miraculous cases can walk into the office of a big business today and get an increase in wages, improvement in working conditions, and better hours for a group of unorganized workers merely upon a request, however just and right the request may be. But when the representative chosen and selected by the members of an organized trade union calls upon the management of big business for a conference and makes demands for considerations in increased wages, reduced hours and better working conditions, these demands are recognized and given serious, polite and careful consideration. Why? Because of the organized power of the workers back of their representatives.

The Negro people must take a lesson out of the book of struggles of labor. Without the organization of the Negro masses, representatives of the Negro people who call upon the President, the governors of states, or mayors of cities for rights of Negroes, will only get consideration in direct ration to the organized might of the Negro masses back of these representatives. Well has it been said that the strength of the pack is the wolf and the strength of the wolf is the pack.

Why is this? The reason for this lies in the nature of the state. Every state is both accommodative and repressive in its nature. It attempts to accommodate the interests of conflicting groups in the interest of maintaining a measure of social, economic and political equilibrium, and to prevent any social explosion that may constitute a peril to the state. Because of this condition the President of the United States, the governor of a state, or the mayor of a city has the job of constantly balancing pressures that come from various groups within the community such as organized labor in the form of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations; organizes businesses in the form of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Manufacturers Association, and organized farmers in the form of the National Grange and the Farmers' Bureau Federation. There are other groups within the national community that bring their pressures upon the government such as the American Legion, women's groups, and so forth.

An examination of any community will reveal that there are many conflicting groups therein. Organized labor never makes a claim upon the government unless it is opposed by organized business. The demands of the farmers always meet with opposition from the wholesale and retail dealers associations All of us remember that when the fight of the women for suffrage was opposed by organizations like the Union League Club, the Kiwanis Club, the Democratic and Republic parties, and the organized church; all of us remember when the American Legion was seeking the bonus that it was opposed by practically all of the organizations in the country, and that President Hoover threw the weight of his office in the balance against it. But all of these respective groups continued to press their cause. Women won the right of suffrage, but they won it by the exercise of tremendous mass pressure through parades and mass demonstrations in England and America. The American Legion won the bonus but only after they were put upon by the police and were drenched with the water of fire hose in Washington, D. C.

Organized labor has secured the status of equality with organized business before the American courts and in Federal legislation, but only after rivers of blood and tears marked their struggle. The organized workers won the 8 hour day, but not until after the hay market massacre, desperate and bloody strikes, countless demonstrations and mass struggles for this goal.

Here we have the demonstration of the principles that heads of government respond only to pressure. They move in the direction of the pressure of the greatest challenge. Action and decisions of the government are not based on moral grounds of justice and right, they rest upon the strategy of expediency and opportunism. This is due to the fact that the government is run by politicians who are concerned about maintaining a place of power and control in the affairs of the state. These politicians represent pary organizations and these party organizations are invariably the political spokesmen of certain dominant economic forces in the country. Therefore, the politicians in control of the government only do that which they think will increase the power and extend the life of the control of their party over the government. Democratic politicians therefore do only that which will win votes for the Democratic Party; the Republican politicians do that which is calculated to get the Democratic politicians out and put Republican politicians in control of the government.

There is no fundamental difference between them; it is tweedledee and tweedledum. Democrats oppose the repeal of the Poll-tax law and so do Republicans; Democrats refuse to support the Anti-lynch Bill, and so do Republicans. Republicans and Democrats only support measures of organized labor when they are compelled to do so. Therefore, a logical conclusion is that Negroes, like labor and farmers, must resort to the strategy and technique of using mass pressure upon both the Democratic and the Republican parties when they are in and out of office, and both Democratic and Republican politicians who are in control of various agencies and branches of the government.

This is the philosophy back of the setting up of the March On Washington Movement.

White House Conference

When it was apparent that nothing short of a march on Washington would exact any substantial consideration from the government to the Negro people, the National Committee of the March On Washington Movement set July 1st as the date of the march. About three or more weeks prior to this date, the national director wrote President Roosevelt a letter requesting that he address a throng of 100,000 at the monument of Abraham Lincoln at Washington, D. C. The President did not reply immediately, but the national director was called up over the phone while in Buffalo, New York, by Miss Anna Rosenberg of the Social Security Board and requested that he and Walter White, of NAACP, meet with Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia at the City Hall of New York City on the Friday of that week.

In this conference, Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia pointed out that a march on Washington was entirely too drastic a form of action for Negroes to take during this crisis of the nation and they pled for the march to be called off. Mr. White and myself explained to them that conditions with respect to Negroes receiving employment in defense industries and the government were growing worse instead of better and that unless the President issued an executive order with teeth in it banning discrimination in the defense industries and the government, 100,000 Negroes would march on Washington, July 1st as a demonstration of their resentment and oppositon to the condemnation of a government which professes to be fighting a war in the interest of democracy and refuses democracy to its own citizens because of color.

They requested that the March be called off until the President called us in for a conference in the White House. Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia Called Negro leaders into a conference. We politely assured them of our high regard for them and appreciation of their interest and fine spirit of cooperation, but pointed out very definitely that the March On Washington would not be called off unless the President granted an Executive Order, banning discrimination in the government and defense industries.

Mrs. Roosevelt and the Mayor were greatly disappointed and distressed. We were told that the conference table was the proper place to deal with grave social question such as discriminations on account of races, color, religion or national origin. It was stated that if 100,000 Negroes were marched on Washington, some one would get killed and the blood would be on our heads. But we would not relent, we would not retreat. The conference ended.

A few days thereafter, the famous conference was held in the White House by the President. At this conference were Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson, Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Knox, heads of the powerful Office of Production Management, Mr. Knudsen and Mr. Hillman, Mayor LaGuardia, Miss Anna Rosenberg, Mr. Aubrey Williams, Miss Layle Lane, Mr. Frank R. Crosswaith, Walter White, the President and myself.

The President began the conference by saying, "Randolph, this march on Washington of yours is bad. It is unintelligent. We can't have any march on Washington. Suppose, said he, the Jews or Catholics were to decide to march on Washington. Where would we be? There would be chaos and confusion. You have got the wrong method. Social problems such as discrimination cannot be solved by drastic mass action methods. They must be carefully analyzed and their factors evaluated such as we plan to do in this conference."

It might be interesting to point out here that the President has a habit of taking over all conferences and doing all the talking. He has this advantage. There is a protocol of the White House which says that no one should interrupt the President when he is speaking. Besides when the time of conference is up, one of the secretaries to the President appears in one of the doors which is the signal for you and your committee to pick up your little bed and walk. Now, it must be recognized that the President is a person of rare and exceptional charm. He has such persuasive powers and ability and facility for continuous speech that many a committee have left the President thinking they have gotten something when they haven't got a thing. But we were determined that that would not be the case with our committee.

To the President's statement suppose the Jews and Catholics were to march on Washington, what confusion there would be, we countered that it was apparent that in his mind there was the idea that there is some comparability between the problems of discrimination of the Negro, the Jews and Catholics. But, in fact, there is little. That the Negro is the victim of discriminations and segregation is an outrageous, notorious and obvious fact. The President, who is never lost for a word, said, yes, I know that. But your method of marching on Washington, Randolph, is still wrong and we can't have it. He said if such a march took place, trouble was sure to happen and he couldn't stop it. We stated that nothing would happen if he would speak to these hundred thousand people and tell them what he intended to do. He exclaimed, gesticulating in his usual graphic manner, that he would never speak to them, that he couldn't speak to any group who came to Washington. Walter White said, Mr. President, you spoke to the American Youth Congress. He said, "Yes, I did, and you saw what happened, too."

Our conference with the President ended, and he requested that all of the persons in the conference repair to his cabinet room and stay there until some remedy is found for this question. At this conference, Secretary of War Stimson presided. A subcommittee was appointed and a few days later, we were called back to Washington and presented with Executive Order #8802. It only related to discrimination in defense industry. We demanded that it be changed so as to apply also to the government. This was done, but not until after a long and strenous debate. It was said by the committee of Government representatives that the President would not make the change. We told them to go and find out.

When the President signed Executive Order #8802, he said, now the order is signed and I shall put the weight of my office back of this order to see to it that it is enforced and does the job of eliminating discriminations on account of race, color, religion or national origin. And then he turned to me and said, now that the Order is signed, I want you, Randolph, to get on the radio and tell the Negroes not to come down to Washington, July 1st, the date set for the march. I replied that I would be glad to do so. Arrangements were then made for two radio national hook-ups. On June 28th, the National Director of the March stated to the country that the march on Washington was postponed.

Under the Executive Order, a Fair Employment Practice Committee was appointed by the President. It is now functioning. While it has just scratched the surface, it has done and is doing some effective work. So effective has been its work that following its hearing in Birmingham, Alabama, Governor Dixon rejected a contract because, in harmony with the mandate of the Executive Order, it contained a clause requiring that there be no discrimination in employment on account of race, color, religion or national origin. Red galluses Governor Talmadge of Georgia bitterly assailed the Committee, caricaturing the Negro members of the Committee M. P. Webster, First International Vice-President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as the "Black Tar Baby" and Earl B. Dickerson, Alderman of Chicago, as the "Chocolate Drop".

It was probably due to the prejudicial reaction of Governors Dixon and Talmadge and the other southern politicians, that President Roosevelt issued the order for the transfer of this committee and its submergence into the War Manpower Commission. Prior to this, FEPC was independent and responsible only to the President. This status gave the committee latitude of action as well as great moral strength. The transference of the committee to the Manpower Commission subordinated this agency to the will and whims of Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of this Commission and who has presidential ambitions. Since Mr. McNutt must secure the nomination of the democratic party, largely through the South, as well as his eventual election, it is definitely unlikely that he would take any position in favor of FEPC which would antagonize the southerners. Moreover, the Preisdent's transfer provided that the committee would in the future secure its funds from the general congressional budget. This would make the committee subject to the sharp shooting of southern race hating politicians who would take delight in sabatoging appropriations for this agency.

But the Negro people sensed the cracker in the wood pile and sent such a volume of protest in the form of telegrams and letter to the President about this transfer that he could not fail to understand the feeling of Negroes about this matter. The March On Washington Movement also rallied William Green, President of the A. F. of L. and Philip Murray, President of the C.I.O. to send telegrams to the President calling for the restoration of FEPC to its original status of independence and responsibility to the President. and PM, tha valiant champion of human rights and decency without regard to race, color, religion or national origin, made a powerful fight for the integrity of FEPC. So did the Negro press, the NAACP, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Negro organizations generally.

Soon a statement from the President appeared in the press to the affect that there was great regret that misunderstanding was abroad about the purpose of the transfer of FEPC. He stated that the transfer was intended to strengthen the committee and that placing it in the Manpower Commission would do this very thing. Later reports also indicated that the committee would not be compelled to secure its funds from the congressional budget but would remain upon the President's contingent fund. This was indeed a signal victory for militant, organized intelligent action of Negroes and their liberal white friends such as P.M., Council For Democracy, Union For Democratic Action, League For Industrial Democracy, the Workers Defense League and others, for the salvation of one of the most important government agencies that have ever been created in their behalf. This simply shows what the Negro masses can do when they are once aroused and directed to a given objective. However, we are still dissatisfied with the fact that FEPC is required to remain in the Manpower Commission at all. We consider that transference, unnecessary, and it did not make for its moral dignity and strength. We shall watch the course of its work within the administrative framework of the

Manpower Commission and if its freedom is handicapped in any way, and it is denied adequate funds for operation, the March On Washington Movement will come to the Negro masses and organize them for a new demonstration of opposition to the presence of this committee in the Manpower Commission. It must be remembered that FEPC is the creature of the struggle of the Negro masses. Only the Negro masses can save it, and we are here to serve notice on whomever it may concern, that the March On Washington, the spokesman of the militant Negro masses, will spare no pains and leave no stone unturned to defend and preserve the integrity and organizational entity of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. Since the formation of this committee its activities have resulted in hearings in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York and Birmingham. Hundred of barriers to the employment of Negroes in various plants and industries have been broken down and this has been done with a small and inadequate staff and meager funds. the Negro masses should demand that this committee be supplied with adequate funds to make certain a complete and efficient staff to police and enforce the terms of the Executiv Order.

What are the lessons of the fight of the March On Washington Movement in winning the Executive Order for the Negroes? That the Negro people must pay for their freedom and that they can and will.

Negroes must fight for what they get.

That they will only get what they take.

That they can't take anything without power, economic, political, social, moral and spiritual.

That power comes from organization - the organization of the masses.

That the Government and the President will respond to pressure and that the organization of the Negro masses can exercise pressure.

That there are white liberal and labor forces that will support the fight of the Negro masses for freedom, justice and equality.

That the Negro masses must depend upon themselves to win their rights.

What now is the present state of the Negro in the war emergency? The answer is from the point of view of the spread of race and color discrimination, it is worse than it was at the beginning of the war-emergency. Why?

One, the Federal Government itself has become the carrier of the germ of race discrimination and segregation. It is a well-known fact that government departments transferred from Washington to eastern and western cities, take with them the Washington pattern of segregation. The Debt department of the U. S. Treasury, transferred to Chicago, has introduced segregation in Chicago among the Negro and white employees. Against this condition, the Chicago Division of the March On Washington has set up a picket line around the Merchandise Mart, where this department is housed. Right here in New York City most of the departments transferred here are lily-white.

There is no abatement of the spread of discrimination in the armed forces or the Government. The Government prepares pamphlets for American soldiers so they will not insult English soldiers who are foreigners, but refuses to prepare pamphlets for American soldiers to educate them to treat their Negro native citizens like human beings. Our Government tells American soldiers not to call English soldiers out of their names, but white American army and naval officers call Negro soldiers niggers at will and nothing is done about it. The March On Washington Movement damands that any officer who calls a soldier a nigger be court martialled and drummed out of the service.

Moreover, Negroes are practically cut off from contact with the President. He refuses to meet with Negro leaders for conferences.

Some five or more months ago, Walter White, outstanding Negro leader and Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, sent the President a letter signed by 28 Negro leaders, requesting a conference. The letter was not answered by the President but by W. H. Davis, of the War Labor Board, and no conference was granted.

About six weeks ago, your humble servant wired the President for a conference with the approval of the following committee, Mary McLeod Bethune, Walter White, Channing H. Tobias, Bishop John E. Gregg, J. Finley Wilson, Lester B. Granger. The President's secretary, W. H. McIntyre, replied that the President was too busy, though Negro soldiers are being lynched.

But the President has time to see William Green of the A. F. of L. and Philip Murray of the C.I.O. whenever these men desire to see him. There are only ten million organized workers but upwards of twenty millions of Negroes. He would meet with a group of Jews or Catholics or any foreign group of similar status to the aforementioned committee of Negroes, if , as and when they requested it.

Why then, does he refuse to meet Negroes? The answer is, the President has not yet been made to understand that Negroes are an important factor in the American economy.

The question then of the Negro people securing systematic contact with the President for conference when deemed necessary, becomes a central and paramount question of principle not because of the possibility of achieving any miraculous result in a conference, but to deny Negro leadership conference when requested is to stigmatize the Negro as an inferior citizen.

The President also denies Negro leadership conference privileges because the Negro people have not yet demonstrated in sufficient measure their mass power.

What then shall be done?

Our first problem is to organize the Negro masses. The March On Washington must enlist millions of Negroes in the struggle for their rights. These millions of the Negro masses must be put into physical motion on marches in all of the cities in America with one or more thousand of Negroes, to the City Halls, to memoralize the city councils and mayors, to memorialize the President and the Congress, to abolish discrimination, segregation and jim-crow in the armed forces, defense industries and the government. The Negro masses in action is the only power that will cause the President to move to give the problems of the Negroes serious consideration.

We must have the March On Washington Divisions serve as mass Negro parliaments for discussion and decision by the Negro masses on issues vital to their life and liberty. Every Negro, big and little, preacher and crap-shooter, Ph.D, and jitter-bug, social worker and whist fan, lawyer and longshoreman, must be made to feel and realize that he must join with other Negroes to win our democratic rights now.

Some papers announced that I had said the march on Washington is abandoned. This is not true. The March On Washington Movement has no intention of abondoning the march on Washington. This is our major strategy, and the March On Washington Movement will lead the Negro masses in a march on Washington when we are ready. "Whether Negroes shall march on Washington, and if so, when," will be the chief them of a national conference which will be planned at a March On Washington Policy Conference in Detroit, September 26th and 27th. The decision to march on Washington will be made by the millions of Negro masses in hamlet, village, town and city, through the press, meetings, church, lodge, labor unions, socail club, etc.

Personally, I have no doubt that a march on Washington will have to be made during this war to let the President and white America know that the Negro is not going to take a licking from jim-crow lying down.

But in some quarters the statement is made that Negroes should be all-out for the war to lick Hitler in Europe. Our answer is, we are. We are also all-out for war to lick the hell out of Hitlerism in America. We believe the fight for democratic rights for Negroes now here at home, is a part of the fight for democracy abroad. If we don't win democracy abroad, we will not be able completely to win democracy at home. The fights for democracy on the home and foreign fronts are one and the same fight. One strengthens the other. And the lack of a fight on either front weakens the other front.

Negroes made the blunder of closing ranks and forgetting their grievances in the last war. We are resolved that we shall not make that blunder again.

Some of our appeasers say that if Negroes persist in fighting for their rights now, they are going to have trouble. Well, Negroes are already having trouble, and a little more trouble won't hurt. Moreover, no cause for human rights was ever carried on without trouble. It is written in Holy Writ that there is no remission of sin except through blood. Blood here is used as the symbol of sacrifice, struggle and suffering. It is both figuratively and literally true. But, the March On Washington Movement is a non-violent movement.

We don't propose to fight for democracy in Burma and not get it in Birmingham. We are not going to permit this country to remain after this war what is was before this war. We are here to tell a cockeyed world that Negroes are not going to stand for black boys in Uncle Sam's uniform to be lynched, mobbed and abused, while they are fighting to save our so-called democratic, christian civilization. Negroes are not challenged to be loyal to democracy and the Government. The Government is challenged to be loyal to democracy and the Negro. Negroes don't have to be disloyal to the Government to be loyal to themselves and they don't have to be disloyal to themselves to be loyal to the Government. A Negro who is disloyal to our Government is disloyal to the race and a Negro who is disloyal to his race cannot be loyal to and effectively serve our government.

If the President wants us to stop our agitation, then let him stop discrimination. Negroes have been pushed around long enough. We are not going to continue to take it, and we don't give a damn who doesn't like it.

The basis of Negro oppression now and the past, has been due to the fact that we have been scared. Instead of our troubles arising out of the fact that we are black, they have arisen out of the fact that we have been yellow, and any people who are yellow, like rats, will and ought to be scourged and crushed. A cringing, craven, white-livered, boot-licking coward, deserves no rights that any man is bound to respect. But all of us are not scared any longer.

If Negroes are afraid to fight, afraid to go to jail, and afraid to die for freedom, equality and justice, then, they ought to get off the earth so that men of stouter hearts can take their place.

The March On Washington Movement will continue our uncompromising fight to abolish discrimination and jim-crow and segregation even if it means our complete extermination. Rather would we die upon our feet fighting for our rights, than to exist upon our knees begging for life. For life without rights is an illusion.

Nor are Negroes alone scared. The white people in the South are also scared Negroes won't remain scared. If 5,000 Negroes were to march on the city hall of any southern city, it would shake up the entire South, and bring about a new day in race relations.

India

But Negroes also realize that their fight here in America is tied up with the fight of the Indian people for freedom. As long as one section of the darker races, or any people, regardless of color, is in bondage, the freedom of the Negro is not secure. Freedom, democracy and peace are indivisible. The March On Washington Movement demands independence for India and the release of their Nationalist leaders, Ghandi and Nehru, and the abandonment of the wanton murder of the Indian people by British soldiers.

We call upon President Roosevelt to call upon Prime Minister Churchill to let the Indian people go. Let them be free. We call upon President Roosevelt to call upon Prime Minister Churchill to grant to the Negro people in the West Indies wide suffrage and Dominion status. Release our brave and militant fighter for Negro rights, W. A. Domingo, now languishing in a concentration camp in Jamaica for no other crime that that he seeks more freedom for the West Indies.

Thus, fellow marchers, let us build our great movement to secure the adoption of our eight point program by our government, to fight to protect our interest in the post-war world and win racial, economic, political and social equality, and abolish the exploitation of man by man.

For this job let us dedicate our hearts to the spirit reflected in this poem of that militant singer of the Negro people, Claude McKay:

IF WE MUST DIE

If we must die--
Let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned
In an inglorious spot,
While round us
Bark the mad and hungry dogs
Making their mock
At our accursed lot.

If we must die--
Oh, let us nobly die,
So that our precious
Blood may not be shed
In vain, then even
The monsters we defy
Shall be constrained
to honor us though dead!

Oh, Kinsmen! We must meet the common foe;
Though far outnumbered, let us show us brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one death-blow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!

Negro America, wake up! Stand upon thy feet, unite and fight for the right to work, the right to live, the right to be free--yes, the right to die--not as vassals or slaves, but as equals, as men.

Now, the tides of democracy are running low for the Negro, but it is also the hour of our greatest opportunity. If we don't fight for our rights when the Government needs us, we cannot fight effectively for our rights when it doesn't need us. If we don't fight for our rights during this war, it will be too late after this war.

Be not afraid! Negroes have nothing to lose but their chains. They have the world to gain.

We salute America--our country, we love--may you always remain independent and some day may you become democratic and free for all of the sons and daughters of our land.

We hail the Negro, our race, we love. May you ever fight to be free and never accept an inferior post.

We greet the workers of the world and oppressed peoples everywhere regardless of color, race, creed or national origin, and bid the gallant peoples of England to fight on, the heroic soldiers of Russia to stand fast, the brave warriors of Abyssinia to never say die, the intrepid Negro boys in Uncle Sam's uniform all over the world to hold up Old Glory, the fearless people of India and China to battle on for independence and freedom!

Confident in the justice of the cause of the Negro masses, our souls consecrated to the unfinished task to win our liberty whatever may be the sweat and blood, sacrifice, suffering, dangers and troubles ahead. Believing in the dawn of the morning of freedom, peace and good, and the equality of all men regardless of race, creed, color or national origin, we, the March On Washington Movement, dedicate our spirit and pledge our lives never to faint by the wayside, never to compromise with truth, never to fail, never to falter, so help us God.

Speech For Golden Gate
Mass Meeting, September 11, 1942

THE NEGRO'S FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY ~~NOW~~

By A Philip Randolph

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Marchers, Comrades, Workers and Citizens: We have come together at an hour when the skies are darkened with the horrors and tradgedies of war. The outcome of this war may mean a new order of enlightened democracy and civilization, or it may mean the advent of another Dark Ages. If the United Nations win, there is the hope and the possibility, but not the certainty, of a new order of democracy and humanitarian enlightment; if the Axis forces triumph, our prospect is totalitarian reaction and tyranny. We are therefore, as a minority group in America and as one of the great sections of the dark races of the world, and also as a group the large majority of whom are workers, our interests lie on the side of the United Nations. We want to see the victory of the arms of America, Great Britain, Russia, China and their allies.

But we know that military victory is not enough, for the object of the United Nations must not merely be the victory of the United Nations, but the victory of the democratic forces. Be assured that it is possible for the United Nations to win and the cause of democracy to lose. "How can this be?" the question is asked. The answer is simple. If the United Nations win and the old imperialisms continue, the cause of democracy will not have been served. The history of the old imperialisms represents some of the most unhappy chapters of the human race. Under it 1,700,000,000 people of color have been sentenced to walk in darkness at noon day. Their countries have been scenes of the world's worse crimes against humanity committed in the name of Christianity, civilization and democracy. Hundreds of millions of human beings have been murdered and mutilated in India, China and Africa to satisfy the power-hungry nations of monopoly capitalism and the vile philosophy of ~~races~~ racism. And these same power-hungry nations are now dominant forces of the United States.

It is possible that the victory of the United Nations may perpetuate

the Anglo-American empire systems and set up a super world state whose purpose will be to serve as an agency for the maintainence and perpetuation of a world hegemony of the same old doctrines of white supremacy, and the continued subjugation, exploitation and oppression of the darker races.

If this happens, this second world war will not be the last world war, but it will simply serve as a basis for a third world war of increasing severity, cruelty and destruction.

Not only will the victory of the United Nations fail to consolidate the forces of democracy if the old Anglo-Saxon imperialisms are not destroyed, but the units of the Anglo-American imperial order, Great Britain, America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and their allies, will become centers of a devastating and ferocious fascist militarism and administration by men on horse back whose Machiavellian doctrines will be the absolute emascualtion of all democratic ideals, institutions, heritages and faiths that have inspired the hearts of men for 150 years.

Thus the central question with the liberal and democratic forces, minority groups and darker races of our contemporary society is two fold: one, the victory of the United Nations over Hitler's nazism, Mussolini's fascism, and Hirohito's militarism, but a victory without the Anglo-Saxon imperialism and the recognition and acceptance of the principles of the equality of races, nations and people. Two, the maintainence of the democratic spirit, that the United Nations may be spiritually and morally qualified and worthy of the trusteeship of the jewel of democracy when victory comes.

Unless the Anglo-American empire systems are ready to accept the peoples of color in the struggle for democracy as equals now, the Atlantic Charter and the declarations about the four freedoms and that this war is a people's war is but as sounding brass ~~or~~ and tinkling cymbal, and are preachments that the people of color neither believe or respect for they are the veriest hypocrisies, just words without meaning to the disinherited millions of the darker races of the world.

It is because the faith in American democracy by the Negro people is strained to the breaking point, if, indeed, it is not already broken, that they are calling upon the President and the congress for democracy now.

National Defense Program

It was in the spirit of the belief that Negroes would receive only the beggars' share of jobs in the National Defense Program that Negro leaders at the beginning of the war-emergency sought to secure assurances from the President that Negroes would be given the right of equal participation in the whole defense program and government departments.

Negro leaders who conferred with the President included Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, T. Arnold Hill, Lester Granger of the National Urban League, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, secretary of colored boys work of the YMCA, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune of the National Youth Administration, Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute and a number of others. They told the President the story of discriminations, segregation and jim-crow in the government itself, the armed forces, including the Navy, Army, U.S.Marines, Air Corp, Coast Guard, and the defense industries. He was told how young Negro boys and girls, who had passed civil service examinations and made high ratings, upon applying for jobs to which they were certified were either given the run around or flatly told that no Negroes are employed there or that there must be some mistake. Instances were given of how young Negro boys who had finished certified training courses, set up by the government itself in some of the eastern cities, along with white boys, but were rejected by air craft companies although white boys taking the very same courses and finishing at the very same time, were accepted.

Cases were also presented to him which showed the rankest discrimination against Negroes receiving training courses for skilled jobs to work in defense

industries. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the South no pretense was, ~~and~~ or is made to give Negroes any training at all for employment in defense industries although the Federal Government has set up training schools and are paying instructors for that purpose.

The President listened with interest in his usual amiable and courteous manner, expressing with force and animation his opposition to discrimination based upon race or color, and gave assurances that every effort would be made to wipe out these discriminatory practices so that Negroes would have the opportunity of employment based upon ~~opportunity~~ merit and ability. These fine declarations coming from the President at the beginning of the war-emergency made the Negroes feel splendid and hopeful, and they went away with their spirits high, feeling that this might be the dawn of a new day for employment opportunities for Negroes in America.

However, as time went on, they became increasingly disillusioned because there was no end to the number of Negro boys and adults who filed into the offices of the NAACP, the National Urban League, the YWCA and YMCA branches throughout the country, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, various Negro social agencies, churches and papers, relating their stories of how they were denied work and insulted and humiliated to boot. Young men and women came in with their mothers weeping because of the fact that after struggling and slaving for years to provide an education for their children, and when jobs were available and workers were needed by our own government and industries that had government contracts, their sons and daughters were turned down, elbowed aside and brutally told that they were not wanted, and that no Negroes had ever worked in this or that air craft company and that there was no intention of working any now. With their pride stung and dishonored, young Negro men and women throughout the nation were seized with the spirit of defeatism, pessimism, cynicism, bewilderment and desperation. Out of the depth of their hearts they bitterly condemned American democracy as a mockery and a fraud.

While their democratic hearts and faith caused them to want to see the destruction of fascism in the world today, they also wanted to see the spirit of fascism sentenced to death in the American democratic system.

It was because of this growing demand of the people for action to halt the mad and reckless policies of discrimination in defense industries and government departments that the March On Washington Movement was born.

Having shared in many conferences with the heads of various departments of the Government, Negro leaders finally came to the conclusion that the conference technique was not sufficient, and that the leaders of Negroes in conference, like the leaders of labor in conference, must have a mobilized group back of them if they hoped for their demands to receive the slightest consideration. No individual, except in some rare and miraculous cases can walk into the office of a big business today and get an increase in wages, improvement in working conditions, and better hours for a group of unorganized workers merely upon a request, however just and right the request may be. But when the representative chosen and selected by the members of an organized trade union calls upon the management of ~~a~~ big business for a conference and makes demands for considerations in increased wages, reduced hours and better working conditions, these demands are recognized and given serious, polite and careful consideration. Why? Because of the organized power of the workers back of their representatives.

The Negro people must take a lesson out of the book of struggles of labor. Without the organization of the Negro masses, representatives of the Negro people who call upon the President, the governors of states, or mayors of cities for rights of Negroes, will only get consideration in direct ratio to the organized might of the Negro masses back of these representatives. Well has it been said that the strength of the pack is the wolf and the strength of the wolf is the pack.

Why is this? The reason for this lies in the nature of the state. Every state is both accommodative and repressive in its nature. It attempts to accommodate the interests of conflicting groups in the interest of maintaining a measure of social, economic and political equilibrium, and to prevent any social explosion that may constitute a peril to the state. Because of this condition, the President of the United States, the governor of a state, or the mayor of a city has the job of constantly balancing pressures that come from various groups within the community such as organized labor in the form of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations; organized businesses in the form of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Manufacturers Association, and organized farmers in the form of the National Grange and the Farmers' Bureau Federation. There are other groups within the national community that bring their pressures upon the government such as the American Legion, women's groups, and so forth.

An examination of any community will reveal that there are many conflicting groups therein. Organized labor never makes a claim upon the government unless it is opposed by organized business. The demands of the farmers always meet with oppositon from the wholesale and retail dealers associations. All of us remember that when the fight of the women for suffrage was opposed by organizations like the Union League Club, the Kiwanis Club, the Democratic and Republican parties, and the organized church; all of us remember when the American Legion was seeking the bonus that it was opposed by practically all of the organizations in the country, and that President Hoover threw the weight of his office in the balance against it. But all of these respective groups continued to press their cause. Women won the right of suffrage, but they won it by the exercise of tremendous mass pressure through parades and mass demonstrations in England and America. The American Legion won the bonus but only after they were put upon by the police and were drenched with the water of fire hose in Washington, D.C.

Organized labor has secured the status of equality with organized business before the American courts and in Federal legislation, but only after rivers of blood and tears marked their struggle. The organized workers won the 8 hour day, but not until after the hay market massacre, desperate and bloody strikes, countless demonstrations and mass struggles for this goal.

Here we have the demonstration of the principles that heads of government respnd only to pressure. They move in the direction of the pressure of the greatest challenge. Action and decisions of the government are not based on moral grounds of justice and right, they rest upon the strategy of expediency and opportunism. This is due to the fact that the government is run by politicians who are concerned about maintaining a place of power and control in the affairs of the state. These politicians represent party organizations and these party organizations are invariably the political spokesmen of certain dominant economic forces in the country. Therefore, the politicians in control of the government only do that which they think will increase the power and extend the life of the control of their party over the government. Democratic politicians, therefore do only that which will win votes for the Democratic Party; the Republican politicans do that which is calculated to get the Democratic politicians out and put Republican politicians in control of the government.

There is no fundamental difference between them; it it Twiddledee and Twiddledum. Democrats oppose the repeal of the Poll-tax law and so do Republicans; Democrats refuse to support the Anti-lynch Bill, and so do Republicans. Republicans and Democrats only support measures of organized labor when they are compelled to do so. Therefor, a logical conclusion is that Negroes, like labor and farmers, must resort to the strategy and technique of using mass pressure upon both the Democratic and the Republican parties when they are in and out of office, and both Democratic and Republican politicians who are in control of various agencies and branches of the government.

This is the ~~the~~ philosophy back of the setting up of the ~~a~~ March On Washington Movement.

White House Conference

When it was apparent that nothing short of a march on Washington would exact any substantial consideration from the government to the Negro people, the National Committee of the March On Washington Movement set July 1st as the date of the march. About three or more weeks prior to this date, the national director wrote President Roosevelt a letter requesting that he address a throng of 100,000 at the monument of Abraham Lincoln at Washington, D. C. The President did not reply immediately, but the national director was called up over the phone while in Buffalo, New York, by Miss Anna Rosenberg of the Social Security Board and requests ed that he and ~~with~~ Walter White of the NAACP, to meet with Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia at the City Hall of New York City on the Friday of that week.

In this conference, Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia pointed out that a march on Washington was entirely too drastic a form of action for Negroes to take during this crisis of the nation and they pled for the march to be called off. Mr. White and myself explained to them that conditions with respect to Negroes receiving employment in defense industries and the government were growing worse instead of better and that unless the President issued an executive order with teeth in it banning discrimination in the defense industries and the government, 100,000 Negroes would march on Washington, July 1st as a demonstration of their resentment and opposition to and condemnation of a government which professes to be fighting a war in the interest of democracy and refuses democracy to its own citizens because of color.

They requested that the March be called off until the President called us in for a conference in the White House. Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia assured us that they would use their good offices to get the President to call Negro leaders into a conference. We politely assured them of our high regard for them and appreciation of their interests and fine spirit of cooperation, but pointed out very definitely that the March On Washington would not be called off unless the President granted an Executive Order, banning discrimination in the government and defense industries.

Mrs. Roosevelt and the Mayor were greatly disappointed and distressed. We were told that the conference table was the proper place to deal with grave social question such as discriminations on account of race, color, religion or national origin. It was stated that if 100,000 Negroes were marched on Washington, some one would get killed and the blood would be on our heads. But we would not relent, we would not retreat. The conference ended.

A few days thereafter, the famous conference was held in the White House by the President. At this conference were Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson, Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Knox, heads of the powerful Office of Production Management, Mr. Knudsen and Mr. Hillman, Mayor LaGuardia, Miss Anna Rosenberg, Mr. Aubrey Williams, Miss Layle Lane, Mr. Frank R. Crosswaith, Walter White, ~~myself~~, ~~and~~ the President, and myself;

The President began the conference by saying, "Randolph, this march on Washington of yours is bad. It is unintelligent. We can't have any march on Washington. Suppose, said he, the Jews or Catholics were to decide to march on Washington. Where would we be? There would be chaos and confusion. You have got the wrong method. Social problems such as discrimination cannot be solved by drastic mass action methods. They must be carefully analyzed and ~~its~~ their factors evaluated such as we plan to do in this conference.

It might be interesting to point out here that the President has a habit of taking over all conferences and doing all the talking. He has this advantage. There is a protocol of the White House which says that no one should interrupt the President when he is speaking. Besides when the time of conference is up, one of the secretaries to the President appears in one of the doors which is the signal for you and your committee to pick up your little bed and walk. Now, it must be recognized that the President is a person of rare and exceptional charm. He has such persuasive powers and ability and facility for continuous speech that many a committee have left the President thinking they have gotten something when they haven't got a thing. But we were determined that that would not be the case with our committee.

To the President's statement suppose the Jews and Catholic were to march on Washington, what confusion there would be, we ~~stated to the President~~ countered that it was apparent that in his mind there was the idea that there is some comparability between the problems of discrimination of the Negro, the Jews and Catholics. But, in fact, there ~~was~~ is little. That the Negro is the victim of discriminations and segregation is an outrageous, notorious and obvious fact. The President, who is never lost for a work, said, yes, I know that. But your method of marching on Washington, Randolph, is still wrong and we can't have it. He said if such a march took place, trouble was sure to happen and he couldn't stop it. We ~~countered~~ stated that nothing would happen if he would speak to these hundred thousand people and tell them what he intended to do. He exclaimed, gesticulating in his usual graphic manner, that he would never speak to them, that he couldn't speak to any group who came to Washington. Walter White said, Mr. President, you spoke to the American Youth Congress. He said, "Yes, I did, and you saw what happened, too."

Our conference with the President ended, and he requested that all of t e persons in the conference repair to his cabinet room and stay there until some remedy is found for this question. At this conference, Secretary of War Stimson presided. A subcommittee was appointed and a few days later, we were called back to Washington and presented with Executive Order #8802. It only related to discrimination in defense industry. We demanded that it be changed so as to apply also to the government. This was done, but not until after a long and strenuous debate. It was said by the committee of Government representatives that the President would not make the change. We told them to go and find out.

When the President signed Executive Order #8802, he said, now the Executive is signed and I shall put the weight of my office back of this order to see to it that is is enforced and does the job of eliminating discriminations on account of race, color, religion or national origin." And then he turned to me and said, now that the Order is signed, I want you, Randolph, to get on the radio and tell the Negroes not to come down to Washington, July 1st, the date set for the march. I replied that I would be glad to do so. Arrangements were then made for two radio national hook-ups. On June 28th, the National Director of the March stated to the country that the March on Washington was postponed.

Under the Executive Order, a Fair Employment Practice Committee was appointed by the President. It is now functioning. While it has just scratched the surface, it has done and is doing some effective work. So effective has been its work that following its hearing in Birmingham, Alabama, Governor Dixon rejected a contract because, in harmony with the mandate of the Executive Order, it contained a clause requiring that there be no discrimination in employment on account of race, color, religion or national origin. Red galluses Governor Talmadge of Georgia bitterly assailed the Committee, caricaturing the Negro members of the Committee M. P. Webster, First International Vice-President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as the "Black Tar Baby" and Earl B. Dickerson, Alderman of Chicago, as the "Chocolate Drop".

It was probably due to the prejudicial reaction of Governors Dixon and Talmadge and the other southern politicians, that President Roosevelt issued the order for the transfer of this committee and its submergence into the War Manpower Commission. Prior to this, FEPC was independent and responsible only to the President. This status gave the committee latitude of action as well as great moral strength. The transference of the committee to the Man power Commission subordinated this agency to the will and whims of Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of this Commission and who has presidential ambitions. Since Mr. McNutt must secure the nomination of the democratic party, largely through the South, as well as his eventual election, it is definitely unlikely that he would take any position in favor of FEPC which would antagonize the southerners. Moreover, the President's transfer provided that the committee would in the future secure its funds from the general congressional budget. This would make the committee subject to the sharp shooting of southern race hating politicians who would take delight in sabatoging appropriations for this agency.

But the Negro people sensed the cracker in the wood pile and sent such a volume of protests in the form of telegrams and letters to the President about this transfer that he could not fail to understand the feeling of Negroes about this matter. The March On Washington Movement also rallied William Green, President of the A. F. of L. and Philip Murray, President of the C.I.O. to send telegrams to the President calling for the restoration of ~~the~~ FEPC to its original status of independence and responsibility to the President. And PM, that valiant champion of human rights and decency without regard to race, color, religion or national origin, made a powerful fight for the integrity of FEPC. So did the Negro press, the NAACP, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Negro organizations generally.

Soon a statement from the President appeared in the press to the affect that there was great regret that misunderstanding was abroad about the purpose of the transfer of FEPC. He stated that the transfer was intended to strengthen the committee and that placing it in the Manpower Commission would do this very thing. Later reports also indicated that the committee would not be compelled to secure its funds from the congressional budget but would remain upon the President's contingent fund. This was indeed a signal victory for militant, organized intelligent action of Negroes and their liberal white friends such as P.M., Council For Democracy, Union For Democratic Action, League For Industrial Democracy, The Workers Defense League and others, for the salvation of one of the most important government agencies that have ever been created in their behalf. This simply shows what the Negro masses can do when they are once aroused and directed to a given objective. However, we are still dissatisfied with the fact that ~~the~~ FEPC is required to remain in the Manpower Commission at all. We consider that transference, unnecessary, and it did not make for its moral dignity and strength. We shall watch the course of its work within the administrative framework of the Manpower Commission and if its freedom is handicapped in any way ~~and if its freedom is handicapped in any way~~ and it is denied adequate funds for operation, the March On Washington Movement will come to the Negro masses and organize them for a new demonstration of opposition to the presence of this committee in the Manpower Commission. It must be remembered that FEPC is the creature of the struggle of the Negro masses. Only the Negro masses can save it, and we are here to serve notice on whom ever it may concern, that the March On Washington, the spokesman of the militant Negro masses, will spare no pains and leave no stone unturned to defend and preserve the integrity and organizational entity of ~~the~~ the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. Since the formation of this committee its activities have resulted in hearings in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York and Birmingham. Hundred of barriers to the employment of Negroes in various plants and industries have been broken down and this has been done with a small and inadequate staff and ~~with~~ meager funds. The Negro masses should demand that this committee be supplied with adequate funds to make certain a complete and efficient staff to police and enforce the terms of the Executive Order.

What are the lessons of the fight of the March On Washington Movement in winning the Executive Oreder for the Negroes?

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

That the Negro people must pay for their freedom and that they can and will.

A

What now is the present state of the Negro in the war emergency? The answer is from the point of view of the spread of race and color discrimination, it is worse than it was at the beginning of the war-emergency. Why?

One, the Federal Government itself has become the carrier of the germ of race discrimination and segregation. It is a well-known fact that government departments transferred from Washington to eastern and western cities, take with them the Washington pattern of segregation. The Debt department of the U. S. Treasury, transferred to Chicago, has introduced segregation in Chicago among the Negro and white employees. Against this condition, the Chicago Division of the March On Washington has set up a picket line around the Merchandise Mart, where this department is housed. Right here in New York City, most of the departments transferred here are lily-white.

put a B on Page 15

~~The lessons are:~~

Negroes must fight for what they get.

That they will only get what they can take.

That they can't take anything without power, economic, political, social, moral and spiritual.

That power comes from organization - the organization of the masses.

That the Government and the President will respond to pressure and that the organization of the Negro masses can exercise pressure.

That there are white liberal and labor farces that will support the fight of the Negro masses for freedom, justice and equality.

put at A

C

Insert at C on page 14

B

That the Negro Masses must depend upon themselves to win their rights.

There is no abatement of the spread of discrimination in the armed forces or the Government. The Government prepares pamphlets for American soldiers so they will not insult the English soldiers who are foreigners, but refuses to prepare pamphlets for American soldiers to educate them to treat their Negro native citizens like human beings. Our Government tells American soldiers not to call English soldiers out of their names, but white American army and **naval** officers call Negro soldiers niggers at will and nothing is done about it. The March On Washington Movement demands that any officer who calls a soldier a nigger be court martialled and drummed out of the service.

Moreover, Negroes are practically cut off from contact with the President. He refuses to meet with Negro leaders for conferences.

Some five or more months ago, Walter White, outstanding Negro leader and Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, sent the President a letter signed by 28 Negro leaders, requesting a conference. The letter was not answered by the President but by W. H. Davis, of the War Labor Board, and no conference was granted.

About six weeks ago, your humble servant wired the President for a conference with the approval of the following committee, Mary McLeod Bethune, Walter White, Channing H. Tobias, Bishop John E. Gregg, J. Finley Wilson, Lester B. Granger. The President's secretary. W. H. McIntyre, replied that the President was too busy, though Negro soldiers are being lynched.

But the President has time to see William Green of the A. F. of L. and Philip Murray of the C.I.O. whenever these men desire to see him. There are only ten million organized workers but upwards of twenty millions of Negroes. He would meet with a group of Jews or Catholics or any ~~other~~ foreign group of similar status to the aforementioned committee of Negroes, if, as and when they request it.

Why then, does he refuse to meet Negroes. The answer is, the President has not yet been made to understand that Negroes are an important factor in the American economy.

The question then of the Negro people securing systematic contact with the President for conference when deemed necessary, becomes a central and paramount question of principle not because of the possibility of achieving anything miraculous result in a conference, but to deny Negro leadership conference when requested is to stigmatize the Negro as an inferior citizen.

The President also denies Negro leadership conference privileges because the Negro people have not yet demonstrated in sufficient measure their mass power.

What then shall be done?

Our first problem is to organize the Negro masses. The March On Washington must enlist millions of Negroes in the struggle for their rights. These millions of the Negro masses must be put into physical motion on marches in all of the cities in America with one or more thousand of Negroes, to the City Halls, to memoralize the City councils and mayors, to memorzlize the President and the Congress, to abolish discrimination, segregation and jim-crow in the armed forces, defense industries and the government. The Negro masses in action is the only power that will cause the President to move to give the problems of Negroes serious consideration.

We must have the March On Washington Divisions serve as mass Negro parliaments for discussion and decision by the Negro masses on issues vital to their life and liberty. Every Negro, big and little, preacher, crap-shooter, Ph.D, and jitter-bug, social worker and whist fan, lawyer and longshoreman, must be made to feel and realize that he must join with other Negroes to win our democratic rights now.

Some papers announced that I had said the march on Washington is abandoned. This is not true. The March On Washington Movement has no intention of abandoning the march on Washington. This is our major strategy, and the March On Washington will lead the Negro masses in a march On Washington when we are ready. "Whether Negroes shall march on Washington, and if so, when, " will be the chief theme of a national conference which will be planned at a March On Washington Policy Conference in Detroit, September 26-27. The decision to march on Washington will be made by the millions of Negro masses in hamlet, village, town and city, through the press, meetings, church, lodge, labor unions, social club, etc.

Personally, I have no doubt that a march on Washington will have to be made during this war to let the President and white America know that the Negro is not going to take a licking from jim-crow lying down.

But in some quarters the statement is made that Negroes should be all-out for the War to lick Hitler in Europe. Our answer is, we are. We are also all-out for war to lick the hell out of Hitlerism in America. We believe the fight for democratic rights for Negroes now here at home, is a part of the fight for democracy abroad. If we don't win democracy abroad, we will not be able completely to win democracy at home. The fights for democracy on the home and foreign fronts are one and the same fight. One strengthens the other. And the lack of a fight on either front weakens the other front.

Negroes made the blunder of closing ranks and forgetting their grievances in the last war. We are resolved that we shall not make that blunder again.

Some of our appeasers say that if Negroes persist in fighting for their rights now, they are going to have trouble. Well, Negroes are already having trouble ~~anyway~~, and a little more trouble won't hurt. Moreover, no cause for human rights was ever carried on without trouble. It is written in Holy Writ that there is no remission of sin except through blood. Blood here is used as the symbol of sacrifice, struggle and suffering. It is both figuratively and literally true. But, the March on Washington M vement is a non-violent movement.

We don't propose to fight for democracy in Burma and not get in Birmingham. We are not going to permit this country to remain after this war what it was before this war. We are here to tell a cockeyed world that Negroes are not going to stand for black boys in Uncle Sam's uniform to be lynched, mobbed, and abused, while they are fighting to save our so-called democratic, christian civilization. Negroes are not challenged to be loyal to democracy and the Government. The Government is challenged to be loyal to democracy and the Negro. Negroes don't have to be disloyal to the Government to be loyal to themselves and they don't have to be disloyal to themselves to be loyal to the Government. A Negro who is disloyal to our Government is disloyal to the race and a Negro who is disloyal to his race can not be loyal to and effectively serve our government.

If the President wants us to stop our ajigation. Then let him stop discrimination. Negroes have been pushed around long enough. We are not going to continue to take it, and we don't give a damn who doesn't like it.

The basis of Negro oppression now and the past, has been due to the fact that we have been scared. Instead of our troubles arising out of the fact that we are black, they have arisen out of the fact that we have been yellow, and any people who are yellow, like rats, will and ought to be scourged and crushed. A cringing, craven, white-livered, boot-licking coward, deserves no rights any man is bound to respect. But ~~are we all~~ all of us are not scared any longer?

If Negroes are afraid to fight, afraid to go to jail, and afraid to die for freedom, equality and justice, ~~T~~hen, they ought to get off the earth so that men of stouter hearts can take their place.

The March On Washington Movement will continue our uncompromising fight to abolish discrimination and jim-crow and segregation even if it means our complete extermination. Rather would we die upon our feet fighting for our rights, than to exist upon our knees begging for life. For life without rights is an illusion.

Nor are Negroes alone scared. The white people in the South are also scared Negroes won't remain scared. If 5,000 Negroes were to march on the city hall of any southern city, it would shake up the entire South, and bring about a new day in race relations.

INDIA

But Negroes also realize that their fight here in America is tied up with the fight of the Indian people for freedom. As long as one section of the darker races, or any people, regardless of color, is in bondage, the freedom of the Negro is not secure. Freedom, democracy and peace are indivisible. The March On Washington Movement demands independence for India and the release of their Nationalist leaders, Ghandi and Nehru, and the abandonment of the wanton murder of the Indian people by British soldiers.

We call upon President Roosevelt to call upon Prime Minister Churchill to let the Indian people go. Let them be free. We call upon President Roosevelt to call upon Prime Minister Churchill to grant to the Negro people in the West Indies wide suffrage and Dominion status. Release our brave and militant fighter for Negro rights, W. A. Domingo, now languishing in a concentration camp in Jamaica for no other crime than that he seeks more freedom for the West Indies.

Thus, fellow marchers, let us build our great movement to secure the adoption of our eight point program by our government, to fight to protect our interest in the post-war world and win racial, economic, political and social equality, and ~~also help~~ abolish the exploitation of man by man.

For this job let us dedicate our hearts to the spirit reflected in this poem of that militant singer of the Negro people, Claude McCay:

IF WE MUST DIE

BY
Claude McCay

If we must die--
Let it not be like hogs

Hunted and penned
In an inglorious spot,

While round us
Bark the mad and hungry dogs

Making their mock
At our accursed lot.

If we must die--
Oh, let us nobly die,

So that our precious
Blood may not be shed

In vain, then even
The monsters we defy

Shall be constrained
To honor us though dead!

Oh, Kinsmen! we must meet the common foe;
Though far out numbered
Let us show us brave,

And for their thousand blows
Deal one death blow!

What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous,

Cowardly pack
Pressed to the wall, dying, but Fighting back!

Chattanooga
[redacted]
~~Mass Meeting~~, Dec 7/ September 11, 1942

THE NEGRO'S FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY NOW

By A. Philip Randolph

Any Negro who has eyes to see, knows that

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Marchers, Comrades, Workers and Citizens: We have come together at an hour when the skies are darkened with the horrors and tradgedies of war. The outcome of this war may mean a new order of enlightened democracy and civilization, or it may mean the advent of another Dark Ages. If the United Nations win, there is the hope and the possibility, but not the certainty, of a new order of democracy and humanitarian enlightenment; if the Axis forces triumph, our prospect is totalitarian reaction and tyranny. We are therefore, as a minority group in America and as one of the great sections of the dark races of the world, and also as a group the large majority of whom are workers, our interest lie on the side of the United Nations. We want to see the victory of the arms of America, Great Britain, Russia, China and their allies.

But we know that a military victory is not enough, for the object of the United Nations must not merely be the victory of the arms the United Nations, but the victory of the democratic forces. Be assured that it is possible for the United Nations to win and the cause of democracy to lose. "How can this be?" the question is asked. The answer is simple. If the United Nations win and the old imperialisms continue, the cause of democracy will not have been served. The history of the old imperialisms represents some of the most unhappy chapters of the human race. Under it 1,700,000,000 people of color have been sentenced to walk in darkness at noon day. Their countries have been scenes of the world's worse crimes against humanity committed in the name of Christianity, civilization and democracy. Hundred of millions of human beings have been murdered and mutilated in India, China and Africa to satisfy the power-hungry nations of monopoly capitalism and the vile philosophy of racism. And these power-hungry nations are now dominant forces of the United States.

It is possible that the victory of the United Nations may perpetuate

the old Anglo-American empire systems and set up a super world state whose purpose will be to serve as an agency for the maintainence and perpetuation of a world hegemony of the same old doctrines of white supremacy, and the continued subjugation, exploitation and oppression of the darker races. ////

If this happens, this second world war will not be the last world war, but it will simply serve as a basis for a third world war of increasing severity, cruelty and destruction.

Not only will the victory of the United Nations fail to consolidate the forces of democracy if the old Anglo-Saxon imperialisms are not destroyed, but the units of the Anglo-American imperial order, Great Britain, America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and their allies, will become centers of a devastating and ferocious fascist militarism and administration by men on horse back whose Machiavellian doctrines will be the absolute emasculation of all democratic ideals, institutions, heritages and faiths that have inspired the hearts of men for 150 years.

Thus the central question with the liberal and democratic forces, minority groups and darker races of our contemporary society is two fold: one, the victory of the United Nations over Hitler's nazism, Mussolini's fascism, and Hirohito's militarism, but a victory without the Anglo-Saxon imperialisms and the recognition and acceptance of the principles of the equality of races, nations and people. Two, the maintainence of the democratic spirit, that the United Nations may be spiritually and morally qualified and worthy of the trusteeship of the jewel of democracy when victory comes.

Unless the Anglo-American empire systems are ready to accept the peoples of color in the struggle for democracy as equals now, the Atlantic Charter and the declarations about the four freedoms and that this war is a people's war is but as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal, and are preachments that the people of color neither believe or respect for they are the veriest hypocrisies, just words without meaning to the disinherited millions of the darker peoples of the world.

It is because the faith in American democracy by the Negro people is strained to the breaking point, if, indeed, it is not already broken, that they are calling upon the President and the congress for democracy now. ////

National Defense Program

It was in the spirit of the belief that Negroes would receive only the beggar's share of jobs in the National Defense Program that Negro leaders at the beginning of the war-emergency sought to secure assurances from the President that Negroes would be given the right of equal participation in the whole defense program and government departments.

Negro leaders who conferred with the President included Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, T. Arnold Hill, Lester Granger of the National Urban League, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, secretary of colored boys work of the YMCA, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune of the National Youth Administration, Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute and a number of others. They told the President the story of discriminations, segregation and jim-crow in the government itself, the armed forces, including the Navy, Army, U. S. Marines, Air Corp, Coast Guard, and the defense industries. He was told how young Negro boys and girls, who had passed civil service examinations and made high ratings, upon applying for jobs to which they were certified were either given the run around or flatly told that no Negroes are employed there or that there must be some mistake. Instances were given of how young Negro boys who had finished certified training courses, set up by the government itself in some of the eastern cities, along with white boys, but were rejected by air craft companies although white boys taking the very same courses and finishing at the very same time, were accepted.

Cases were also presented to him which showed the rankest discrimination against Negroes receiving training courses for skilled jobs to work in defense

industries. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the South no pretense was or is made to give Negroes any training at all for employment in defense industries although the Federal Government has set up training schools and are paying instructors for that purpose.

The President listened with interest in his usual amiable and courteous manner, expressing with force and animation his opposition to discrimination based upon race or color, and gave assurances that every effort would be made to wipe out these discriminatory practices so that Negroes would have the opportunity of employment upon merit and ability. These fine declarations coming from the President at the beginning of the war-emergency made the Negroes feel splendid and hopeful, and they went away with their spirits high, feeling that this might be the dawn of a new day for employment opportunities for Negroes in America.

However, as time went on, they became increasingly disillusioned because there was no end to the number of Negro boys and adults who filed into the offices of the NAACP, the National Urban League, the YWCA and YMCA branches throughout the country, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, various Negro social agencies, churches and papers, relating their stories of how they were denied work and insulted and humiliated to boot. Young men and women came in with their mothers weeping because of the fact that after struggling and slaving for years to provide an education for their children, and when jobs were available and workers were needed by our own government and industries that had government contracts, their sons and daughters were turned down, elbowed aside and brutally told that they were not wanted, and that no Negroes had ever worked in this or that air craft company and that there was no intention of working any now. With their pride stung and dishonored, young Negro men and women throughout the nation were seized with the spirit of defeatism, pessimism, cynicism, bewilderment and desperation. Out of the depth of their hearts they bitterly condemned American democracy as a mockery and a fraud.

While their democratic hearts and faith caused them to want to see the destuction of fascism in the world today, they also wanted to see the spirit of fascism sentenced to death in the American democratic system.

It was because of this growing demand of the people for action to halt the mad and reckless policies of discrimination in defense industries and government departments that the March On Washington Movement was born.

Having shared in many conferences with the heads of various departments of the Government, Negro leaders finally came to the conclusion that the conference technique was not sufficient, and that the leaders of Negroes in conference, like the leaders of labor in conference, must have a mobilized group back of them if they hoped for their demands to receive the slightest consideration. No individual, except in some rare and miraculous cases can walk into the office of a big business today and get an increase in wages, improvement in working conditions, and better hours for a group of unorganized workers merely upon a request, however just and right the request may be. But when the representative chosen and selected by the members of an organized trade union calls upon the management of big business for a conference and makes demands for considerations in increased wages, reduced hours and better working conditions, these demands are recognized and given serious, polite and careful consideration. Why? Because of the organized power of the workers back of their representatives.

The Negro people must take a lesson out of the book of struggles of labor. Without the organization of the Negro masses, representatives of the Negro people who call upon the President, the governors of states, or mayors of cities for rights of Negroes, will only get consideration in direct ration to the organized might of the Negro masses back of these representatives. Well has it been said that the strength of the pack is the wolf and the strength of the wolf is the pack.

Why is this? The reason for this lies in the nature of the state. Every state is both accommodative and repressive in its nature. It attempts to accommodate the interests of conflicting groups in the interest of maintaining a measure of social, economic and political equilibrium, and to prevent any social explosion that may constitute a peril to the state. Because of this condition the President of the United States, the governor of a state, or the mayor of a city has the job of constantly balancing pressures that come from various groups within the community such as organized labor in the form of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations; organizes businesses in the form of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Manufacturers Association, and organized farmers in the form of the National Grange and the American Farmers' Bureau Federation. ~~There are other groups within the national community that bring their pressures upon the government such as the American Legion, women's groups, and so forth.~~

An examination of any community will reveal that there are many conflicting groups therein. Organized labor never makes a claim upon the government unless it is opposed by organized business. The demands of the farmers always meet with opposition from the wholesale and retail dealers associations All of us remember that when the fight of the women for suffrage was opposed by organizations like the Union League Club, the Kiwanis Club, the Democratic and Republican parties, and the organized church; all of us remember when the American Legion was seeking the bonus that it was opposed by practically all of the organizations in the country, and that President Hoover threw the weight of his office in the balance against it. But all of these respective groups continued to press their cause. Women won the right of suffrage, but they won it by the exercise of tremendous mass pressure through parades and mass demonstrations in England and America. The American Legion won the bonus but only after they were put upon by the police and were drenched with the water of fire hose in Washington, D. C.

Organized labor has secured the status of equality with organized business before the American courts and in Federal legislation, but only after rivers of blood and tears marked their struggle. The organized workers won the 8 hour day, but not until after the hay market massacre, desperate and bloody strikes, countless demonstrations and mass struggles for this goal.

Here we have the demonstration of the principles that heads of government respond only to pressure. They move in the direction of the pressure of the greatest challenge. Action and decisions of the government are not based on moral grounds of justice and right, they rest upon the strategy of expediency and opportunism. This is due to the fact that the government is run by politicians who are concerned about maintaining a place of power and control in the affairs of the state. These politicians represent party organizations and these party organizations are invariably the political spokesmen of certain dominant economic forces in the country. Therefore, the politicians in control of the government only do that which they think will increase the power and extend the life of the control of their party over the government. Democratic politicians therefore do only that which will win votes for the Democratic Party; the Republican politicians do that which is calculated to get the Democratic politicians out and put Republican politicians in control of the government.

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There is no fundamental difference between them; it is tweedledee and tweedledum. Democrats oppose the repeal of the Poll-tax law and so do Republicans; Democrats refuse to support the Anti-lynch Bill, and so do Republicans. Republicans and Democrats only support measures of organized labor when they are compelled to do so by the PRESSURE OF ORGANIZED LABOR. Therefore, a logical conclusion is that Negroes, like labor and farmers, must resort to the strategy and technique of using mass pressure upon both the Democratic and the Republican parties when they are in and out of office, and both Democratic and Republican politicians who are in control of various agencies and branches of the government.

This is the philosophy back of the setting up of the March On Washington Movement.

White House Conference

When it was apparent that nothing short of a march on Washington would exact any substantial consideration from the government to the Negro people, the National Committee of the March On Washington Movement set July 1st as the date of the march. About three or more weeks prior to this date, the national director wrote President Roosevelt a letter requesting that he address a throng of 100,000 at the monument of Abraham Lincoln at Washington, D. C. The President did not reply immediately, but the national director was called up over the phone while in Buffalo, New York, by Miss Anna Rosenberg of the Social Security Board and requested that he and Walter White, of NAACP, meet with Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia at the City Hall of New York City on the Friday of that week.

In this conference, Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia pointed out that a march on Washington was entirely too drastic a form of action for Negroes to take during this crisis of the nation and they pled for the march to be called off. Mr. White and myself explained to them that conditions with respect to Negroes receiving employment in defense industries and the government were growing worse instead of better and that unless the President issued an executive order with teeth in it banning discrimination in the defense industries and the government, 100,000 Negroes would march on Washington, July 1st as a demonstration of their resentment and oppositon to and the condemnation of a government which professes to be fighting a war in the interest of democracy and refuses democracy to its own citizens because of color.

They requested that the March be called off until the President called us in for a conference in the White House. ~~Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia Negro leaders into a conference.~~ We politely assured them of our high regard for them and appreciation of their interest and fine spirit of cooperation, but pointed out very definitely that the March On Washington would not be called off unless the President granted an Executive Order, banning discrimination in the government and defense industries.

Mrs. Roosevelt and the Mayor were greatly disappointed and distressed. We were told that the conference table was the proper place to deal with grave social question such as discriminations on account of races, color, religion or national origin. It was stated that if 100,000 Negroes were marched on Washington, some one would get killed and the blood would be on our heads. But we woul not relent, we would not retreat. The conference ended.

A few days thereafter, the famous conference was held in the White House by the President. At this conference were Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson, Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Knox, heads of the powerful Office of Production Mana ment, Mr. Knudsen and Mr. Hillman, Mayor LaGuardia, Miss Anna Rosenberg, Mr. Aubrey Williams, Miss Layle Lane, Mr. Frank R. Crosswaith, Mr. Walter White, the President and myself.

The President began the conference by saying, "Randolph, this march on Washington of yours is bad. It is unintelligent. We can't have any march on Washington. Suppose, said he, the Jews or Catholics were to decide to march on Washington. Where would we be? There would be chaos and confusion. You have got the wrong method. Social problems such as discrimination cannot be solved by drastic mass action methods. They must be carefully analyzed and their facto evaluated such as we plan to do in this conference.

It might be interesting to point out here that the President has a habit of taking over all conferences and doing all the talking. He has this advantage. There is a protocol of the White House which says that no one should interrupt the President when he is speaking. Besides when the time of conferenc is up, one of the secretaries to the President appears in one of the doors which is the signal for you and your committee to pick up your little bed and walk. Now, it must be recognized that the President is a person of rare and exceptiona charm. He has such persuasive powers and ability and facility for continuous speech that many a committee have left the President thinking they have gotten something when they haven't got a thing. But we were determined that that would

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not be the case with our committee.

To the President's statement suppose the Jews and Catholics were to march on Washington, what confusion there would be, we countered that it was apparent that in his mind there was the idea that there is some comparability between the problems of discrimination of the Negro, the Jews and Catholics. But, in fact, there is little. That the Negro is the victim of discriminations and segregation is an outrageous, notorious and obvious fact. The President, who is never lost for a word, said, yes, I know that. But your method of marching on Washington, Randolph, is still wrong and we can't have it. He said if such a march took place, trouble was sure to happen and he couldn't stop it. We stated that nothing would happen if he would speak to these hundred thousand people and tell them what he intended to do. He exclaimed, gesticulating in his usual graphic manner, that he would never speak to them, that he couldn't speak to any group who came to Washington. Walter White said, Mr. President, you spoke to the American Youth Congress. He said, "Yes, I did, and you saw what happened, too."

Our conference with the President ended, and he requested that all of the persons in the conference repair to his cabinet room and stay there until some remedy is found for this question. At this conference, Secretary of War Stimson presided. 2 A subcommittee was appointed and a few days later, we were called back to Washington and presented with Executive Order #8802. It only related to discrimination in defense industry. We demanded that it be changed so as to apply also to the government. This was done, but not until after a long and strenous debate. It was said by the committee of Government representatives that the President would not make the change. We told them to go and find out.

When the President signed Executive Order #8802, he said, now the order is signed and I shall put the weight of my office back of this order to see to it that it is enforced and does the job of eliminating discriminations on account of race, color, religion or national origin. And then he turned to me and said, now that the Order is signed, I want you, Randolph, to get on the radio and tell the Negroes not to come down to Washington, July 1st, the date set for the march. I replied that I would be glad to do so. Arrangements were then made for two radio national hook-ups. On June 28th, the National Director of the March stated to the country that the march on Washington was postponed.

Under the Executive Order, a Fair Employment Practice Committee was appointed by the President. It is now functioning. While it has just scratched the surface, it has done and is doing some effective work. So effective has been its work that following its hearing in Birmingham, Alabama, Governor Dixon rejected a contract because, in harmony with the mandate of the Executive Order, it contained a clause requiring that there be no discrimination in employment on account of race, color, religion or national origin. Red galluses Governor Talmadge of Georgia bitterly assailed the Committee, caricaturing the Negro members of the Committee M. P. Webster, First International Vice-President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as the "Black Tar Baby" and Earl B. Dickerson, Alderman of Chicago, as the "Chocolate Drop".

It was probably due to the prejudicial reaction of Governors Dixon and Talmadge and the other southern politicians, that President Roosevelt issued the order for the transfer of this committee and its submergence into the War Manpower Commission. Prior to this, FEPC was independent and responsible only to the President. This status gave the committee latitude of action as well as great moral strength. The transference of the committee to the Manpower Commission subordinated this agency to the will and whims of Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of this Commission and who has presidential ambitions. Since Mr. McNutt must secure the nomination of the democratic party, largely through the South, as well as his eventual election, it is definitely unlikely that he would take any position in favor of FEPC which would antagonize the southerners. Moreover, the Preisdent's transfer provided that the committee would in the future secure its funds from the general congressional budget. This would make the committee subject to the sharp shooting of southern race hating politicians who would take delight in sabatoging appropriations for this agency.

But the Negro people sensed the cracker in the wood pile and sent such a volume of protest in the form of telegrams and letters to the President about this transfer that he could not fail to understand the feeling of Negroes about this matter. The March On Washington Movement also rallied William Green, President of the A. F. of L. and Philip Murray, President of the C.I.O. to send telegrams to the President calling for the restoration of FEPC to its original status of independence and responsibility to the President. and PM, tha valiant champion of human rights and decency without regard to race, color, religion or national origin, made a powerful fight for the integrity of FEPC. So did the Negro press, the NAACP, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Negro organizations generally.

Soon a statement from the President appeared in the press to the affect that there was great regret that misunderstanding was abroad about the purpose of the transfer of FEPC. He stated that the transfer was intended to strengthen the committee and that placing it in the Manpower Commission would do this very thing. Later reports also indicated that the committee would not be compelled to secure its funds from the congressional budget but would remain upon the President's contingent fund. This was indeed a signal victory for militant, organized intelligent action of Negroes and their liberal white friends such as P.M., Council For Democracy, Union For Democratic Action, League For Industrial Democracy, the Workers Defense League and others, for the salvation of one of the most important government agencies that have ever been created in their behalf. This simply shows what the Negro masses can do when they are once aroused and directed to a given objective. However, we are still dissatisfied with the fact that FEPC is required to remain in the Manpower Commission at all. We consider that transference, unnecessary, and it did not make for its moral dignity and strength. We shall watch the course of its work within the administrative framework of the

Manpower Commission and if its freedom is handicapped in any way, and it is denied adequate funds for operation, the March On Washington Movement will come to the Negro masses and organize them for a new demonstration of opposition to the presence of this committee in the Manpower Commission. It must be remembered that FEPC is the creature of the struggle of the Negro masses. Only the Negro masses can save it, and we are here to serve notice on whomever it may concern, that the March On Washington, the spokesman of the militant Negro masses, will spare no pains and leave no stone unturned to defend and preserve the integrity and organizational entity of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. A head on fight with Manpower Commission seems imminent for one "General" McSherry in the Commission is the hatchet man who is playing the role of hamstringing F.E.P.C. with red tape and doubtful administrative schemes. Since the formation of this committee its activities have resulted in hearings in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York and Birmingham. Hundred of barriers to the employment of Negroes in various plants and industries have been broken down and this has been done with a small and inadequate staff and meager funds. The Negro masses should demand that this committee be supplied with adequate funds to make certain a complete and efficient staff to police and enforce the terms of the Executiv Order.

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What are the lessons of the fight of the March On Washington Movement in winning the Executive Order for the Negroes? That the Negro people must pay for their own freedom and that they can and will.

Negroes must fight for what they get.

That they will only get what they can take.

That they can't take anything without power, economic, political, social, moral and spiritual.

That power comes from organization - the organization of the masses.

That the Government and the President will respond to pressure and that the organization of the Negro masses can exercise pressure.

That there are white liberal and labor forces that will support the fight of the Negro masses for freedom, justice and equality.

That the Negro masses must depend upon themselves to win their rights.

What now is the present state of the Negro in the war emergency? The answer is from the point of view of the spread of race and color discrimination, it is worse than it was at the beginning of the war-emergency. Why?

One, the Federal Government itself has become the carrier of the germ of race discrimination and segregation. It is a well-known fact that government departments transferred from Washington to eastern and western cities, take with them the Washington pattern of segregation. The Debt department of the U. S. Treasury, transferred to Chicago, has introduced segregation in Chicago among the Negro and white employees. Against this condition, the Chicago Division of the March On Washington ~~has~~ set up a picket line around the Merchandise Mart, where this department is housed. Right ~~here~~ in New York City most of the departments transferred THERE here are lily-white.

There is no abatement of the spread of discrimination in the armed forces or the Government. The Government prepares pamphlets for American soldiers so they will not insult English soldiers who are foreigners, but refuses to prepare pamphlets for American soldiers to educate them to treat their Negro native citizens like human beings. Our Government tells American soldiers not to call English soldiers out of their names, but white American army and naval officers call Negro soldiers niggers at will and nothing is done about it. The March On Washington Movement damands that any officer who calls a soldier a nigger be court martialled and drummed out of the service.

Moreover, Negroes are practically cut off from contact with the President. He refuses to meet with Negro leaders for conferences.

Some five or more months ago, Walter White, outstanding Negro leader and Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, sent the President a letter signed by 28 Negro leaders, requesting a conference. The letter was not answered by the President but, by W. H. Davis, of the War Labor Board, and no conference was granted.

About three months six weeks ago, your humble servant wired the President for a conference with the approval of the following committee, Mary McLeod Bethune, Walter White, Channing H. Tobias, Bishop John E. Gregg, J. Finley Wilson, Lester B. Granger. The President's secretary, W. H. McIntyre, replied that the President was too busy, though Negro soldiers are being lynched.

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But the President has time to see William Green of the A. F. of L. and Philip Murray of the C.I.O. whenever these men desire to see him. There are only ten million organized workers but upwards of twenty millions of Negroes. He would meet with a group of Jews or Catholics or any foreign group of similar status to the aforementioned committee of Negroes, if , as and when they requested it.

Why then, does he refuse to meet Negroes? The answer is, the President has not yet been made to understand that Negroes are an important factor in the American economy.

The question then of the Negro people securing systematic contact with the President for conference when deemed necessary, becomes a central and paramount question of principle not because of the possibility of achieving any miraculous result in a conference, but to deny Negro leadership conference when requested is to stigmatize the Negro as an inferior citizen.

The President also denies Negro leadership conference privileges because the Negro people have not yet demonstrated in sufficient measure their mass power.

What then shall be done?

Our first problem is to organize the Negro masses. The March On Washington must enlist millions of Negroes in the struggle for their rights. These millions of the Negro masses must be put into physical motion on marches in all of the cities in America with one or more thousand of Negroes, to the City Halls, to memoralize the city councils and mayors, to memorialize the President and the Congress, to abolish discrimination, segregation and jim-crow in the armed forces, defense industries and the government. The Negro masses in action is the only power that will cause the President to move ~~to~~ and give the problems of the Negroes serious consideration.

We must have the March On Washington Divisions serve as mass Negro parliaments for discussion and decision by the Negro masses on issues vital to their life and liberty. Every Negro, big and little, preacher and crap-shooter, Ph.D, and jitter-bug, social worker and whist fan, lawyer and Carpenter longshoreman, must be made to feel and realize that he must join with other Negroes to win our democratic rights now.

Some papers announced that I had said the march on Washington is abandoned. This is not true. The March On Washington Movement has no intention of abondoning the march on Washington. This is our major strategy, and the March On Washington Movement will lead the Negro masses in a march on Washington when we are ready. "Whether Negroes shall march on Washington, and if so, when," will be the chief theme of a national conference which ~~will be~~ WAS planned at a March On Washington Policy Conference in Detroit, September 26th and 27th. The decision to march on Washington will be made by the millions of Negro masses in hamlet, village, town and city, through the press, meetings, church, lodge, labor unions, socail club, etc.

Personally, I have no doubt that a march on Washington will have to be made during this war to let the President and white America know that the Negro is not going to take a licking from jim-crow lying down.

But in some quarters the statement is made that Negroes should be all-out for the war to lick Hitler in Europe. Our answer is, we are. And We are also all-out for war to lick the hell out of Hitlerism in TENNESSEE AND America. We believe the fight for democratic rights for Negroes now here at home, is a part of the fight for democracy abroad. If we don't win democracy abroad, we will not be able completely to win democracy at home. The fights for democracy on the home and foreign fronts are one and the same fight. One strengthens the other. And the lack of a fight on either front weakens the other front.

Negroes made the blunder of closing ranks and forgetting their grievances in the last war. We are resolved that we shall not make that blunder again.

Some of our appeasers say that if Negroes persist in fighting for their rights now, they are going to have trouble. Well, Negroes are already having trouble, and a little more trouble won't hurt. Moreover, no cause for human rights was ever carried on without trouble. It is written in Holy Writ that there is no remission of sin except through blood. Blood here is used as the symbol of sacrifice, struggle and suffering. It is both figuratively and literally true. But, the March On Washington Movement is a non-violent movement.

We don't propose to fight for democracy in Burma and not get it in Birmingham. We are not going to permit this country to remain after this war what is was before this war. We are here to tell a cockeyed world that Negroes are not going to stand for black boys in Uncle Sam's uniform to be lynched, mobbed and abused, while they are fighting to save our so-called democratic, christian civilization. Negroes are not challenged to be loyal to democracy and the Government. The Government is challenged to be loyal to democracy and the Negro. Negroes don't have to be disloyal to the Government to be loyal to themselves and they don't have to be disloyal to themselves to be loyal to the Government. A Negro who is disloyal to our Government is disloyal to the race and a Negro who is disloyal to his race cannot be loyal to and effectively serve our government.

If the President wants us to stop our agitation, then let him stop discrimination. Negroes have been pushed around long enough. We are not going to continue to take it, and we don't give a damn who doesn't like it.

The basis of Negro oppression now and the past, has been due to the fact that we have been scared. Instead of our troubles arising out of the fact that we are black, they have arisen out of the fact that we have been yellow, and any people who are yellow, like rate, will and ought to be scourged and crushed. A cringing, craven, white-livered, boot-licking coward, deserves no rights that any man is bound to respect. But all of us are not scared any longer.

If Negroes are afraid to fight, afraid to go to jail, and afraid to die for freedom, equality and justice, then, they ought to get off the earth so that men of stouter hearts can take their place.

The March On Washington Movement will continue our uncompromising fight to abolish discrimination and jim-crow and segregation even if it means our complete extermination. Rather would we die upon our feet fighting for our rights, than to exist upon our knees begging for life. For life without rights is an illusion. Negroes have been scared. Now, they are losing the fear they once had.

Nor are Negroes alone scared. The white people in the South are also

now scared Negroes won't remain scared. If 5,000 Negroes were to march on the city hall of any southern city, it would shake up the entire South, and bring about a new day in race relations.

India

But Negroes also realize that their fight here in America is tied up with the fight of the Indian people for freedom. As long as one section of the darker races, or any people, regardless of color, is in bondage, the freedom of the Negro is not secure. Freedom, democracy and peace are indivisible. The March On Washington Movement demands independence for India and the release of their Nationalist leaders, Ghandi and Nehru, and the abandonment of the wanton murder of the Indian people by British soldiers.

We call upon President Roosevelt to call upon Prime Minister Churchill to let the Indian people go. Let them be free. We call upon President Roosevelt to call upon Prime Minister Churchill to grant to the Negro people in the West Indies wide suffrage and Dominion status. Release our brave and militant fighter for Negro rights, W. A. Domingo, now languishing in a concentration camp in Jamaica for no other crime that that he seeks more freedom for the West Indies.

Thus, fellow marchers, let us build our great movement to secure the

We salute America--our country, we love--may you always remain independent and some day may you become democratic and free for all of the sons and daughters of our land.

We hail the Negro, our race, we love. May you ever fight to be free and never accept an inferior post.

We greet the workers of the world and oppressed peoples everywhere regardless of color, race, creed or national origin, and bid the gallant peoples of England to fight on, the heroic soldiers of Russia to stand fast, the brave warriors of Abyssinia to never say die, the intrepid Negro boys in Uncle Sam's uniform all over the world to hold up Old Glory, the fearless people of India and China to battle on for independence and freedom!

Confident in the justice of the cause of the Negro masses, our souls consecrated to the unfinished task to win our liberty whatever may be the sweat and blood, sacrifice, suffering, dangers and troubles ahead. Believing in the dawn of the morning of freedom, peace and good, and the equality of all men regardless of race, creed, color or national origin, we, the March On Washington Movement, dedicate our spirit and pledge our lives never to faint by the wayside, never to compromise with truth, never to fail, never to falter, so help us God.

Vernon E Coward
3137 St Antoine
West Mount Quebec

APR
Speech

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Text of Address Given By

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President of the Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters.

At the Union United Church, November 1,1942.

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Reverend Este and Brother Coward, secretary-treasurer of the Montreal Division of the Sleeping Car Porters and fellow workers of Montreal, -- It is a great pleasure to be back here again and to be here for the specific purpose of organizing the Brotherhood of the Canadian Pacific Railway into a bonified Labour organization.

Now it is important for us to know something about the basic principals that underlies line the struggle of the organization. Primarily wealth is the result of the combination of labor, land, capital and management. Land was created by God. Management serves the capacity of co-ordinating labour, land, man and capital. Capital is the consequence of labour. Labour existed prior to capital. As a matter of fact, capital is based on performed labour, for instance, the C. P. R. car represents capital and the C. P. R. management had to be organized and the various parts constituted the elements that entered into the process of organization. Definite relationship between these parts was the task of labour. In the early history of mankind, fire was capital, but the primitive man struck two sticks together and created fire, but as you may strike two sticks together and create fire, it is the physical action of the individual that brings about labour, hence labour management cannot exist without you first have labour.

Labour has a choice and moral right to its share of work and produces a resulting value co-ordinating all of these four facts. To have the right to think is one thing, but to exercise that right is another. The fact that the right thing is based on justice is not sufficient, for instance, slavery was just as wrong in 1840 as it was in 1863; was just as wrong in the West Indies as it was in 1832. But the evil was not abolished merely because of the fact that it was wrong, something had to be done to annihilate and change conditions. Again, women were entitled to the right to vote years and years before they secured it, but they did not get it because they had not exercised certain practical and scientific functions that were necessary to the achievement of their right, namely, the organizing of their forces.

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ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE Speeches

1943

Address to the Christian Street
Branch YMCA, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
January 21, 1943

A PROGRAM FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE WORLD TODAY

By A. Philip Randolph

In 1863, the chains of chattel slavery were broken from the body of the Negro. In 1943, the Negro people face a new slavery. It is the slavery of second-class citizenship. 1943 is crucial for the Negro. 1943 is a crucial year for democracy. It is crucial for American democracy. It is crucial for industrial, economic, political and social democracy. It may be the year of destiny for ethnic democracy. This is so because a decisive stage may be reached not only between the arms of the United Nations and the Axis Powers but also between their ideologies. If aggressive totalitarianism triumphs over embattled democracy, a dreadful and tragic era of tyranny and oppression will follow and the world may be swept back into the midnight of social barbarism. If the cause of democracy prevails the lamps of freedom will burn again and with increasing luster. But there is no assurance that the cause of democracy will prevail if only the Axis Powers are defeated. Something more is essential. The existing anglo-American empire systems, the bone and sinew of the United Nations, must be changed. The grand era of empire has passed. It was an era of the worse forms of exploitation of the land and labor of the darker races. It was the hey-day of the mythical doctrine of Nordic supremacy. It marked the rise of the Christian Missionary Movement into the so-called backward countries of the peoples of color. The white Christian church blessed the black Africans, the brown Indians, the yellow Chinese with bibles while the imperialists overlords robbed them of bread.

If, at the end of this war, the old imperial possessions of Great Britain and Holland and France are restored, if India is still held as a colonial vassal, if the natives of Africa remain the disinherited step-children of civilization, if the

Negro people of America continue as civil and economic serfs of this country, this war shall have been fought in vain and will only serve as a prelude to a future war--a war between the white and darker races of indescribable ferocity and destruction. It requires no gift of a seer to see that one-billion seven hundred millions of people of color will not continue to permit five-hundred million white peoples to hold them in subjection.

From the pronouncements of the war leaders, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, the darker peoples can take little solace in the victory of the arms of the United Nations. The Atlantic Charter widely proclaimed as a major social document of freedom calls for the liberation of the European peoples under Nazi yoke but says nothing about the teaming millions of the peoples of color who are languishing under the yoke of British imperialism. Thus, the Atlantic Charter may be quite appropriately styled as an international instrument for the freedom of white people only. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that Mr. Churchill, despite the pleas of Gandhi and Nehru for the independence and freedom of India, observed that he had not become the first minister of Great Britain to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. The implication here is that Great Britain is fighting this war for the re-establishment of her imperial domains. Apparently, this bit of inept British diplomacy has not escaped the Indian people.

With respect to the four freedoms, set forth by President Roosevelt, it may be said that they represent the highest expression and aspiration of a people for a free world, if only they were applied without regard to race or color, religion or national origin. But there is nothing in the policy and action of the leader of the New Deal to indicate that the Negro people of America can expect that these four freedoms will be granted them. On the contrary, the history of the American Empire System, so far as peoples of color are concerned shows that it is little different from other empire systems. The black colonial proletariat of Great Britain and the Negro workers of America are both without basic civil and economic rights. Negro sharecroppers in the black belt, like the natives of South Africa, are voteless and propertyless. They are the social serfs of great empires. They are caught, helpless and hopeless, within the vice of an imperial monopoly capitalism.

Today, while there is talk about the four freedoms and democracy, race tensions are more taut and threatening. Uncle Sam's uniform on a Negro in the South is like a red rag to a bull. While all Americans justly rage against and condemn Hitler's cruel persecution of the Jews, Negro soldiers are shot, beaten and lynched here in America, on the home front, and one wonders if black and white soldiers realize they are fighting for the same thing and that the enemy is not each other. On railroad lines they are denied food in the Diner. The Red Cross accepts but jim-crows Negro blood, Negro women are segregated in the WAACS, Negro doctors can only treat Negro soldiers, the Navy still rejects Negro commissioned officers

In very truth, the peoples of color are without freedom everywhere. While Japan broke away from the chains of western imperialism, the millions of the masses of Japan are tormented and tortured with the most terrible tyranny. They are free only to be bled and brutalized by some of the world's worse dictators and oppressors. The Empire of Nippon holds no promise to the peoples of color save subjugation and slavery.

NEGRO AND JAPAN

Any Negro who is so naive as to believe that Japan, which has never sought to help Negroes anywhere at anytime, will become the savior of colored people, merely because she is a colored nation, is living in a fool's paradise. Japan, of course, being at war with white nations will use the question of color as a psychological propaganda political weapon, just as Hitler uses the question of the Aryan race as a psychological, propaganda political weapon to ~~gather~~ ADVANCE their imperial, militaristic ends, but it ought to be obvious to the most credulous, that Japan cares nothing about the Negro people because of color. This fact is validated by Japan's attack upon the Chinese, who are not white, and who ethnologically are ~~chosen~~ CLOSER to the Japanese than are Negroes.

Now, at the Peace Conference, Japan will undoubtedly, as in World War I, fight for the principle of racial equality, but not because of any love for Negroes, or Chinese or Africans or Hindus, but for her own aggrandisement and because it is a sound and good political bargaining weapon. And, of course, it will properly reserve the backing of all peoples of color and the liberal forces of the world. In fact, Japan, like Nazi Germany, is the enemy of the Negro, because she is the enemy of democracy and a free labor movement, and a free world.

Moreover, Negroes do not seek freedom and justice under the little brown men of Japan, but we seek freedom and justice here in our own land which we have built and defended with our toil, tears, sweat and blood.

9 Unless the Negro saves democracy for America and America for democracy, America cannot save democracy for the world and the world for democracy.

Now, the Negro problem, like the problem of labor, the problem of infantile paralysis, the problem of India or of tuberculosis, involves the fact of relationships, -- relationships between people, race, church, nation, government, organized labor, business, school, means of transportation, public places of amusement, entertainment and recreation.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the relationships between the Negro and the Federal Government, the state and municipal governments in the north, are maladjusted. They are not normal. Why? Because Negroes are the victims of discrimination and segregation on account of race or color. They are not the relationships of normal human beings and citizens. What is the evidence? Let us see:

> There is no board or commission in the Federal Government which formulates policy upon which a Negro sits as a member, except the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice and it was the mass pressure of the March On Washington Movement which created this Agency. There is no administrative government body upon which a Negro holds a ranking position in which he handles and administers government

policies for the government as they affect American peple, and under whom are employed colored and white employees.

Negroes have become the classic advisors of our American government, but only in relation to Negroes, such as an aide, director of Negro affairs or some such abnormal relationship. We have this situation in the War Department, the National Youth Administration, the War Manpower Commission, the United States Housing Authority, and in everyother department in which a Negro is given a fairly important salary. I need not add that nobody takes the Negro advisor's advise, not even the Negroes, in or out of the government. There is only one exception to this, namely, the Recorder of Deeds. But this is an unimportant government Agency, for serious discussion has been given to its abolishment.

While it is eminently important that Negroes hold government jobs, appointive, elective and civil service selected, it is highly debatable as to whether a ranking Negro advisor with a 6 or 7 thousand dollar a year job in a Jim-Crow set-up in the government is of any use at all to the race, comparable, for instance, to a postal letter carrier or government truck driver. For not only is the Negro advisor's advice not taken by anybody seriously, but the existence of these advisors are viewed and pointed to as a proper reward and logical place for the Negro. These places of advisors are supposed to be accepted not only uncomplainingly but with elation. They also serve as bottle-necks to the normal progression of an issue of an aggrieved Negro citizen because, as a rule, it is referred to the Negro advisor, who might be permitted to investigate it in a fashion, but, of course, can do nothing about it.

Obviously, the President, government officials, and Negro and white citizens recognize Negro advisors as rubber stamps, decoy ducks, appropriate window dressing or a sort of political appeasement to the Negro people.

I wonder sometime whether it would not be to the broad, basic and long run interest to the Negro people for all of the Negro advisors and aides to resign and sacrifice their jobs on the grounds that they are being used by the Government to perpetuate the pattern of second-class citizenship. And, may I here add that the Negro advisors are men and women of high competence, and as a rule, head and shoulder above the white administrators above them.

But why should this be? Negro and white employes can work under a bona-fide Negro government administrator. It is now being done in New York City and Chicago. Even in most cities of the South today, Negro railway mail-clerks operating on in-charge jobs have white railway mail-clerks under them, and the mail is still safe and delivered. This Negro-white occupational relationship now obtains in the state of ex-governor Talmadge. The reason is that the exigencies of the service require it and it is done, in spite of the fact that laws exist against the contact of the races. Here a blackman is the boss of a white man in the South of the so-called white man's supremacy.

The government even begrudges the Negro advisor being given the same title of white men and women doing similar work. The whites are designated as consultants. This term is more implicit with expert connotation, whereas advisor is rather commonplace, and hackneyed. While this may seem inconsequential, it counts big with southern crackers, who will call a Negro "doctor," "bishop," or even the "pope" himself, rather than accord him the simple salutation of Mister, which suggests a form of equality.

Even the compensation fixed for the so-called big Negro appointees is done with due regard to the sensitive South. I know of no Negro government official whose salary exceeds $7,500a year, if indeed, it reaches that amount. Negro and white teachers in the South with similar training and doing similar work get unequal pay, with the Negroes always being lower, until the NAACP attacked the problem of unequal teachers' salaries. To the South lower pay of the Negro represents race inferiority.

It is a matter of common knowledge as well as a mockery of American democracy that Negroes are carefully and punctiliously segregated in all government departments at Washington, D. C., the capitol of the Nation--the one place in the country where there should be no second-class citizenship. If a Negro is promoted to the position of supervisor, it is only in departments where there are Negro employes, and the Negro supervisor can supervise Negroes only. Even a white criminal is not supposed to be arrested by a Negro policeman in the Capitol of our American Democracy. Better that he go free than that a Negro policeman serve to bring him to justice. And of course, the Negro dead must not be permitted to contaminate the white dead by being buried in the same grave yard in the Capitol of this arsenal of democracy. Segregated in life! Segregated in death! Segregated in Hell! Segregated in Heaven! Such is the pattern of our American democracy and Christian Civilization.

NEGRO AND A BLIND ALLEY ECONOMY

Because of his second class citizenship status, Negroes are sentenced to a blind alley economy. In no phase of life in America, has the Negro been permitted to follow through and reach the top-flight in harmony with his talent, genius and ability except in the sports and some phases of art and here only as a prize fighter, a track star, such as Joe Louis, or Jessie Owens. He is bared from tennis, National League baseball, etc. In industry, the professions, business and labor, he is always stopped short of the apex.

We can call the roll: On the railroads a Pullman porter may run in-charge but for a small differential in pay, but cannot become a Pullman conductor. A Negro brakeman is not promotable to a train conductor, the next step in promotion. But all train conductors had to be brakeman or flagmen or switchmen. A Negro fireman cannot progress up to an engineer. It's traditional that only white men can become engineers in the railroad industry. A Negro waiter may serve as a waiter-in-charge but cannot become a steward. A Negro cook may be promoted to be a chef but only at lower pay than a white chef in the SAME railroads ~~receive~~ SERVICE. A Negro red cap may become a captain but can go no higher.

In the professions, Negro doctors are barred from membership in the American Medical Association. So are Negro lawyers not permitted to join the bar association. Marian Anderson is a great world artist but she cannot sing in the Metropolitan Opera Company. The International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters cannot join the Association of Railway Labor Executives, although national and international executives of all railroad unions are supposed to be eligible for membership in this body, which is largely responsible for all legislation affecting railroad workers in America.

In the Government, no Negro has ever become the head of a government department, or even an assistant. He can take but not give orders, especially to white people in our American political system. This is not due to the fact that he lacks education or character but to the fact of race and color. Our second-class citizenship has compelled Negroes to build jim-crow college fraternities and sororities and lodges, YMCA and YWCA'S and a Negro mason is not accepted on the square though he may master THE ~~an order of~~ the ritual and laws. If a Negro preacher is made a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal church, he is assigned to preside only over Negro preachers--while worshipping the same God--maybe.

And yet we call this christianity, democracy, civilization.

When the National Defense Program began and the United Nations started to wage this war for democracy, such as it is, Negroes looked to a new era of hope and oppertunity. It was the belief that in a death grapple between the so-called democracies and the totalitarian powers, when the Negro presented himself for service in the defense industries, the government and armed forces, the evil agents of racial prejudice would be relegated to the sea of oblivion, and that men and women would be considered solely upon a basis of merit, ability, talent and productive capacity. But not so. The hydra-headed monster of color-racial hatred rose up and attacked Negroes seeking placement in skilled jobs. Only a threat of Negroes to march on Washington, won Executive Order #8802 and the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice which is charged with the responsibility of breaking down barriers in defense industries and the government on account of discriminations of any kind. And the white southern tories reactionary unions and businesses are now yelping for the blood of this committee. Only the unity of the Negro people can save it.

Albeit, the surface has only been scratched for there are industries and labor unions throughout the country that still bar Negroes, thereby, preventing them from securing employment commensurate with their training and skill. Federal government training courses for jobs in defense industries are practically closed to Negroes in the South, and in a number of cities in the north and east and west, Negroes are only given token recognition.

Despite the fact, that discrimination against a Negro worker who seeks a job to make tanks, airplane fortresses, battleships, guns and the various implements of war is discrimination against the Negro and white soldiers and sailors on the far-flung battle fields and the seven seas of the world, and may cause the unnecessary death of our boys on the foreign fronts and the Victory of the Axis forces, by causing war materials to arrive too late or in insufficient quantities. But what do the Ku Kluxers care about this. It is obvious to anyone who runs and reads that the South would rather lose the war than give Negroes their rights. Die-hard southern Negro phobists would embrace Hitler, the Nazi devil any day rather than sit around a conference table with a Negro saint.

Yes, while there must not be business as usual, note the price ceiling on products and the priority system; while there must not be labor union bargaining as usual; note the ceiling on wages and the moratorium on working rules, there must be race discrimination, segregation and Jim-crow as usual a la Poll Tax Senators and Congressmen, Bilbo, Rankin and Martin Dies.

But the Negro is definitely on the march, clear-eyed, and with firm-set jaw, his feet are placed well upon the road to the goal of First-Class Citizenship in America. He will press on. Nothing can daunt or deter him. He may and will experience set-backs. He may lose skirmishes here and there on this and that sector, but the broad battle of the Negro for first-class citizenship cannot be defeated.

It is not in his heart, either soldier or civilian, to work, fight, bleed and die for the privilege to return to a life, haunted by the sinister shadows and fesrs of the mob, with violence, murder, and beatings; and black bodies riddled with burning bullets hanging from a tree, as the low grade morons of a so-called Christian master-race, dance like mad dervishes with estatic glee as they glare at their helpless bleeding, black victim, a victim of the basest edition of Hitlerism and sadism ~~of~~ in America.

It is not in the heart of the Negro of any stratum to return to the life and shame of Jim-Crow untouchables, barred from all of the civilizing and refining agencies and influencies of a decent, normal existence. They seek equality. They will fight for equality. It is not in his heart to die for an America or return to it or live in it, with its notorious fascist forms of disfranchisement, the Poll Tax and white primaries. He demands the right to vote and to be voted for.

It is not in his heart to return to his own country for which he has fought bled and died with heroism and honor in every war from Bunker Hill to Pearl Harbor, only to find written upon industry and labor, education and religion, citizenship and culture, ne plus ultra--"No Farther Beyond." Why? Not because of the lack of genius, talent and ability, or worth, merit and character. But for one reason and one reason only. He is black. He is a Negro.

Yes, he is black. He is a Negro. And because he is a Negro, he is the last hired and first fired. He is sentenced to the sickening and saddening spectacle of segregated city slums and the hardest work at the lowest pay. He is given a Jim-Crow education of inferiority. Places of general amusement, entertainment, recreation are closed to him. His jim-Crow travel is hard, uncomfortable, humiliating and painful.

This is the lot and the plight of second-class citizen, a citizen without civil respectability, dignity or honor in America -- America, who at the Peace Conference Table will demand that democratic rights and civil liberties be accorded the people now under Nazi despotism.

There can be no compromise with this civil monstrosity. It must be abolished root and branch. It must be not part of the world of tomorrow. And this fight must be waged now.

But how? Comes the inquiry.

This is our program:

1. Develop the organization of the Negro masses by the hundreds of thousands and millions. This is our hardest job. But it must be accomplished. There is no substitute for organization. We have never taken the time to do this job. We have sought the short-cut-the easiest way. But like the workers, the Negro can never march forward successfully until the masses are united and honestly directed.

But some of our friends will say that the Negro is organized. Yes, that is true. They are chiefly organized into fraternal lodges, churches and social clubs. These forms of organizations are valuable, important and necessary. Each has a special purpose. But in addition to them, we need fighting organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the March On Washington Movement that were created to struggle for Negro rights. Our first task then is organization because organization is the source of power, and no fight can be waged effectively without power. Power lies with the masses, the people, in the churches, trade unions, pool-rooms, taverns and saloons, barber-shops, social clubs, fraternal societies, sororities and on the street corners.

Witness the successful fight of the Pullman porters through the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Here is an organization which conquered one of the mighteous industrial giants of America, the Pullman Company. Today, the Brotherhood owns a wage contract with over 14 million dollars a year and cannot be changed except in conference between the Brotherhood and the Company. A porter today earns $400 a month, before the Brotherhood WAS BORN HE RECEIVED only $67.50 per month.

But the cynically super-sophisticated professional intellectual who are always telling us how to do that which they have never done or will attempt, state, and believe that the Negro masses cannot be organized.

But this is not true. Uncle Sam organizes them into the army to fight for democracy abroad, a democrady which they have never known. Capitalists organize them in industry to work to help make profits at home, profits which they never get. A name band, Satchel Page, the wonder Negro baseball pitcher, and Joe Louis, the miracle man-boxer, can attract thousands of Negroes for a jitter-bug contest, a baseball or a prize fight, and these are good and necessary amusements and entertainment. Why can't the Negro masses be organized to fight for their rights? They can. But they must be made to feel that they count, that they are important and significant. The humblest Negro jitterbug, hepcat, the illiterate share-cropper, crapshooter or turpentine still, black toiler must be given a sense of his or her worthwhileness and of his ship capacity, ability and obligation to contribute to the well-being advancement of the Negro people. His role is not lesss important th of the PHD, preacher, teacher, doctor, lawyer or business man. More his pride of race is just as great and deep, his convictions are jus noble and his willingness to fight for his rights just as strong. Wi him, the Negro people cannot go forward.

However, to organize the masses, you must go to the masses, in hovels and shacks across the railroad track, in the slums and huts c and want. It cannot be done by euridite speeches, brilliant editori alone, if at all. It can only be done by personal contact, sacrific and suffering with the people to the end of having them share in the process. It's a door-bell ringing ~~parlor~~ PROBLEM. This will give and beget discipline and mutual respect among the Negro people for the organiz

In terms of social technique and mechanics, the March On Washir seeks to organize the Negro masses through the Block-Captain System. provides the organizational basis for immediate and instantaneous co for sommoning hundreds of thousands, yes, millions, overnight for ma such as marching, picketing, and great public mass meeting demonstra or against a social program. This sort of socio-racial machinery, not have anywhere. And hence, we are not in a position to tax and our maximum striking power against jim-crow until such a machine is This organizational plan assures the mobilization of hundreds of th of Negroes as well as the source of the financing of the most collo and racial maneuvers for justice, equality and freedom. These obje the Negro can no more be realized without organization that rallies than this war can be won without huge armies or the peace achieved organizational machinery, supported by a world sentiment. But the

(Negro?)

made that the educated Negro has always lived on and not with the people. This is largely true. The educated Negro has looked with contempt upon the uneducated Negro and the uneducated Negro has looked with suspicion upon the educated Negro. But this condition is changing , if slowly.

The organization of the Negro masses plus intelligent, and honest and courageous direction, spell success in winning our democratic rights just as positively as two plus two equal four. But this has yet to be tried.

A chasm still exists between the so-called upper and lower strata of Negroes, the professional and working Negroes, the so-called 400 and the millions of plebian blacks, the talented tenth and the untalented nine-tenth. This chasm exists because it was wrought by a slave regime and fostered and perpetuated by a monopoly capitalist imperialism. This division of the Negro was essential to slavery and is an aid to capitalist exploitation.

Albeit, this slave psychology must be abolished. What difference does it make whether a Negro ~~wishes~~ works with a pen or pick, [illegible] is a doctor or a ditch digger, a porter or a preacher, a lawyer or longshoreman, can conjugate an irregular Greek verb or splits verbs, owns a packard or a ford, has a bank account or is without a quarter, is the only Negro living in a white neighborhood or lives in hovel in the black belt, goes to hear grand opera or must listen to juke box rags, has white friends or only Negroes to talk to, he still is a Negro, and is the victim of America's double standards of democracy, freedom, citizenship and he is hopeless and helpless when he stands alone.

Unity of the Negro masses and classes is his chief salvation. How can this be achieved. One essential is that the so-called educated Negro must be reeducated. He must be brought down out of the clouds of illusions and false values and artificial social glamor and made to put his feet on ternaferma. He must get out of the world of escape and defense mechanisms and make-believe super sophistication and cynical defeatism and seek simple reality. He must become humble with a courageous pride of race.

And strangely enough, this process of the reeducation of the educated Negro must be carried out by the so-called uneducated Negro. Permit me to observe in this connection that there are no uneducated Negroes. There are illiterate Negroes just as there are illiterate white people. But because one is illiterate is no proof he is uneducated or ignorant. There are ~~i~~literate FOOLS ~~dummies~~ and illiterate philosophers. The so-called uneducated Negro is qualified to reeducate the educated Negro because he is in contact with reality. His feet are on the ground. His mind is not confused with numberless isms and schivisms. While he may not have a great deal of information he has little misinformation. And if the masses of uneducated Negroes unite and march forward, the educated Negro, professionals and leaders must follow because the uneducated Negroes have got the bate. The leaders, educated and professional Negro cannot exist without the masses. They therefore must and will follow the masses and only as they do so! ~~they~~ are THEY right. Misinformation is worse than no information. For it does not only not lead one where he ought to go but leads one away from where he ought to go.

Thus, the uneducated Negro must become the teacher of the educated Negro just as Jesus Christ, the child-the lowly Nazarene, taught the scribes, and Pharasees, the truth. This has now become a racial imperative. This will give the Negro people moral and spiritual strength and prepare them to lead white America along the road of love, democracy, Christianity, the Brotherhood of man, economic, political, social and ethnic egalitarianism.

And too, the Negro, big and little, must learn to sacrifice his material possessions for freedom and justice. Money without manhood is a menace. Dollars without democracy are a delusion. No possession is more priceless than liberty. The Jews had money in Germany but it vanished with their democratic rights. If we ARE unwilling to pay for our rights, we are unworthy to receive them. What wouldn't the Jews of Poland give in this world's GOODS for civil and democratic liberty. Negroes must either pay the price of liberty or perish in slavery.

Yes, the task today is the organization of the Negro people into militant mass social movements to fight racial injustices, BY the establishment of consumers and producers cooperatives, to increase the purchasing power of the dollar, and to unify and direct buying power to some purposeful and constructive end; through the boycott OF INTERPRISES FOR BETTER TREATEMENT AND JOBS, the creation of credit unions to harness the meager monies of the masses; and the building of labor unions, with affiliation with the A. F. of L. and the CIO to develop power, and ~~to~~ inspire the young Negro with the spirit of daring adventure, ambition, integrity, education and granite-like determination never to say die. This is the field of the new statesmanship. The path is rough and forbidding. The Negro who enters here must have patience, abiding faith, humility and a sacrificial devotion to the cause of the Negro liberation movement and a belief that this is, in Very truth, the Century of the Common Man, and a more abundant life for all men, regardless of race, color, creed, class or nationality. He must believe in the egalitarian theory of mankind, namely, that all men are created equal; that there is no master-race, that there is no difference in blood, that genius is the common property of the world and is not the monopoly of any race or people, that what man has done, man can do and more; that society is not static. That it may be changed by evolution or devolution and that revolution may be a phase of this upward or downward metamorphosis. That human beings are the agents of the social forces that are responsible for the shape of things that are and to come; that the workers of hand and brain are the elect of the human race; that service to one's follow neighbor without thought of gain is the noblest function of man and the highest expression of the moral law. That money is not everything. It fades. That organization is the Negro's chief salvation, and that the salvation of the Negro must come from within. That our friends may keep us but they cannot save us. That collaboration with the white workers' unions is sound and imperative. That material things will perish. But that character endureth long. Its influence is eternal. It abideth ever. He must believe that character is more to be cherished and honored than silver or gold.

PROGRAM

This is a day of big things, great conceptions, colossal maneuvers and far-reaching strategies. Nothing small can attract or hold attention. If the workers strike, it must be a sit-down strike or huge in scope and numbers. Military battles must involve millions. By the same token, in order to make the main stream of national and world public opinion, the Negroes struggles must be dramatized by unique, drastic, or mighty movements. We have passed the stage of brilliant theses, or of polite, respectable but colorless inter-racial exchanges, of the mere talking conference. This is the era of power-politics. The mass pressure of organized labor--the A. F. of L. and CIO put a stop to no-strike legislation and other anti-labor laws sponsored by Democratic and Republican Tories at the beginning of the war. The pressure of the Farm Block boosted the ceiling on farm products against the will of the President and forced the resignation of Leon Henderson from OPA. The pressure power of the Southern Block sentenced Odell Waller to death and murdered the Anti-Poll Tax Bill. Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-shek threatens to recall a Chinese Military Mission from Washington, D. C. which is here for more support for China and President Roosevelt finds it immediately convenient to give General Shiung a conference who has been cooling his diplomatic heels for a month waiting for a nod from FDR. When Stalin spoke up for a second front, the

United Nations got busy in the Lybian Desert and North Africa.

The workers won the 8-hour day through great strikes and demonstrations--not arguments alone--though logical. Women won the right of suffrage through huge demonstrations and constant mass public meetings and not only because their cause was just. The Legions got the bonus when they marched on Washington, though clubbed by the police and drenced with water from fire hose but not because the bonus was right. The soldiers' demand for a bonus was rejected continually by Congress and President Hoover even though they had fought a war to make the world safe for democracy.

History shows that governments and the ruling class don't give two whoops whether the cause of a group is right or wrong. The only question is how much power can the group wield. This is true regardless of the race, color, creed or nationality of the aggrieved group. Of course, it is fine to be on the right side. But you can be on the right side and not win. To win you must have power and the will to fight hard and long and pay the price. Bear in mind ~~and~~ I do not by any means disregard or underrate the value of logical, sound arguments, but there must be something more than arguments. There must be pressure--continuous pressure, social, economic and political.

Now, the thesis has been set forth that if the war last long enough the Negro's condition will be greatly improved. Maybe! But this will only happen if the Negro fights to improve his condition. Improvements won't come automatically. We closed ranks and forgot our grievances in the last war and the world promptly forgot us. If Negroes don't fight now for their rights, when the war is over, even Pearl Harbor will be forgotten and the now hated Japanese and Nazi and Italian Fascists will come to America--our own country--and receive preferential treatments, privileges and rights--we Negro citizens do not enjoy--and may not enjoy even after we have given of our blood--life and treasure. Why? Because these nationals demand respect and will fight for it and they know the technique and mechanics of pressure-power.

But in order for Negroes to fight effectively not only must the Negro masses be organized but the high and low command of Negro leadership should be coordinated, so as to avoid working at cross purposes when crises arise. This can be achieved just as easily as the high command of the leadership of the United Nations was coordinated. The great need for a coordinated leadership was seen when the National Defense Program began. There were many leaders but no unity of purpose or action. Some were for and against a jim-crow army. Some were for and against the principle of seeking and fighting for the integration of the Negro into the armed forces upon a basis of equality. There was confusion and the Southern Anti-Negro forces knew it and took advantage of it.

Another notable instance that there is little or no coordination among Negro leaders, was the fight for an Anti-Poll Tax Bill. The result was its ignominious defeat by a disgraceful filibuster of Southern bourbon bandits and a notorious collusion and conspiracy between Republicans and Democracts, to kill the Bill. WALTER White of THE NAACP TALKS Things OVER FROM time to time but WE ARE not enough. WE DON'T TOUCH A LARGE enough segment of THE MASSES.

When the war ends, Negroes may still be unprepared to take advantage of their opportunity because of THE inadequate organization of the masses and the disunity of their leadership. Coordination of Negro leaders and organizations, local and national can be effected, without the leaders or organizations sacrificing their leadership command or organizational entity and autonomy, by developing a periodic conference technique for the discussion of broad policies, programs and strategies in relation to local and national issues vital to the Negro people. Even where there is disagreement on method--this form of coordination would make for a far greater measure of unity in objective and procedure. No broad, grave and important question of policy or strategy which is of far-reaching moment to the Negro people should ever be initiated by any leader or organization without prior disucussion in a common conference with the leaders and organizations' heads of the community, even if the leader or organization elects to push the project alone, if turned down by the community or national or local leaders or organizations. And, of course, any leader is free to follow his own course, if convinced he is right, whether he gets the popular acclaim or not. Many a movement which wrought profound changes for the public good, was built up in the teeth of bitter opposition. Such were the abolition movement, the labor movement, the cause of democracy and Christianity.

Witness the March On Washington Movement. Its accomplishments are concrete for all to see. I have only to mention the President's Executive Order 8802 and the Committee on Fair Employment Practice. While it has a long way to go to batter down employment discrimination, progress which is being made in breaking down discriminations on account of race, creed, color or national origin, is largely due to the Executive Order and the work of FEPC even with its limited staff and budget.

Note the greatest public mass meetings in the history of the Negro against jim-crow, in New York City, in Madison Square Garden, with over 20,000 Negroes, and in the Coliseum of Chicago, with over 15,000 Negroes, and in the City Auditorium of St. Louis, with over 9,000 Negroes were staged by the March On Washington Movement. But the March On Washington Movement is opposed by ~~such~~ SOME Negro~~es~~ LEADERS and practically all white persons of prominence and power. However, the Negro masses seem to have faith in it.

Opposition from some comes on the grounds that we did not march. Our answer is, we did not march because the President granted the March On Washington Movement's demand--namely--the issuance of an Executive Order to ban discriminations in defense industry and the government. This was a specific request of the President and we got it. How could we march in the face of this? If we had still marched we then would have been condemned and rightly so for marching merely for the sake of marching and not for the well-being of the Negro people. These critics are wholly unaware of the history of the struggles of organized labor in America or the world.

Thousands of strike votes are taken by trade unions yearly to walk out for certain demands but if, as and when the demands are granted before the date set for the strike--the strike is called off. No union anywhere, whether, right --center--or left--A. F. OF L. --CIO--COmmunist--IWW --independent or what not--would even entertain the discussion of striking after its demands were granted. Labor history is replete with instances where strikes were called off when only the union's demands were partially granted. In fact, the cases are few and far between where the demands of a union were granted, 100 percent either through direct negotiation, mediation or arbitration and yet, when some demands ~~are~~ WERE met, the strikes were called off.

But the calling off of a strike against a business does not mean that the strategy and weapon of the strike is abandoned by the union. No--not at all.

This is the strategy of the March On Washington Movement--we postponed the march when the Executive Order was conceded, but the plan to March On Washington when necessary is not abandoned.

Now, the question is raised but when will you march? The answer is: We will march when the movement and the people are well organized and ready to march and a challenging situation exists that demands one. Every great mass maneuver must be projected with respect to time. We will choose the most strategic hour. Even war--when a nation is on the offensive is started with respect to preparation and strategic time for advantage.

Of course, there are those who bewail that even a march on Washington will have no value. The reply to this cry of defeatism and manifestation of a fear complex with its rationalization in a pose of super-strategy is that if only the threat of a march won Executive Order 8802--the second Executive Order ever issued in the interest of the Negro, the strategy of actually marching on Washington may justify a trial to supplement and complement our other forms of strategy.

The brilliant and successful fight waged by the Negroes of Detroit for the Sojourner Truth Homes was chiefly due to its mass militant character, or the march on Washington technique.

But no one contends that the March On Washington Movement methodology is a panacea--a cure-all. No single social, economic or political strategy is a cure-all for any social malady. Programs, policies and tactics for the Negroes as for labor or any oppressed group must be varied and variagated as well as rationally coordinated.

What is the Chief Objective of Negroes Now? It is Threefold:

1. The realization of the status of first-class citizenship by the abolition of the remnants and vestiges of a pre-capitalist era, such as the Poll-Tax, white primaries, discriminatory registation practices, peonage, lynch-law, segregation and jim-crow.

2. The winning of the war against the Axis powers with the destruction of Hitler's Nazism, Mussolini's Fascism and Hirohito's militarism.

3. The extension of the frontiers of industrial democracy through the development of a more powerful labor movement with the unity of the A. F. of L. and the CIO--thereby strengthening the underpinnings of collective bargaining. The creation of economic democracy by the dispersal and transition of economic power and equality among the people with some camparability to the dispersal of political power and equality, through the socialization and democratization of control of the social resources and productive instrumentalities, stressing production for use instead of for profit.

And the consolidation of political democracy in order that the state may cease to serve as an engine of repression in the hands of an invisible economic empire, but as a social agency of accommodation and progress in the hands of the people.

To achieve these objectives the Negro people must build economic, political and social power and seek alliance with labor, the progressive and liberal forces of the church, education and minority groups.

Since history demonstrates the indivisibility of liberty, democracy and peace, Negroes can never be free so long as any other people are in bondage on account of race, color, class, religion or national origin. Hence, it is our moral and spiritual duty to condemn the indescribable persecution, wanton murder and terrorization of the Jews by the barbarious Nazi under Hitler. It is a part of the Negro's struggle for freedom to demand the freedom and independence of India now from the imperialistic yoke of Britain, the support of the cause of China and the arms of Russia.

I warn you that if this is not done and the labor and liberal forces of America don't unite and fight, it is already apparent from certain trends that America is moving toward the extreme right of reaction. I can visualize with the coming of the peace, the resuscitation of the old embers of isolationism, and with the possible rise of some unknown political quantity or a man on horseback, a move toward the normalcy of Harding and Coolidge and Hoover, or a fascist dictatorship, with the reactionary cry for rugged individualism and free enterprise as against a planned economy--the only hope of the post-war world. This means another decade or more of an industrial depression--business bankruptcies--unemployment, relief, poverty and want, rent and job riots.

Yes, we are witnessing victories of the United Nations abroad on the Russian Libyan and Solomon's Islands fronts with defeats on the home front against A democratic liberal economy. We have only to note the defeat of Senator Norris, and the Anti-Poll Tax Bill. Witness the passing of the idealism of the New Deal and the silence of President Roosevelt in the White House--who was once the ~~mer~~TRENchant leader of American liberalism. And, of course, the Republicans offer no promise. For, so far as Negroes and labor are concerned, the Republican and Democratic parties are tweedledee and tweedledum--Negroes and the workers can and will only get from these twins of a decadent and desperate monopoly capitalism that which by their pressure-power, they are able to take. Already, lynch-rope Dixie are making overturns to ~~a~~ reactionary ~~new town~~ Republicans to gang up on labor and liberalism. Minority Republican leader of the Senate Mc~~Kay~~ NARY joined in a wicked covenant with Mississippi Bilbo to stop the drive for a free suffrage in the South ~~where~~ When they agreed to with draw the Anti-Poll Tax Bill if the vote for cloture failed.

The March On Washington which is now in a period of expansion, plans an all-out Negro National Conference in May in Chicago. It shall be composed of a cross section of the Negro people throughout America, including the sharecropper in Alabama, and Arkansas, the turpentine still and lumber worker in Florida and Georgia, waiters and Pullman porters, domestic workers, teachers, preachers, doctors, lawyers, business men, longshoremen. The purpose of this Conference will be:

1. To make declarations of principles and policies on the status of the Negro in America, explore and evaluate the effectiveness of the policies, programs, strategies, tactics and methodoligies employed by the Negro to meet his problems, AND to analyze, weigh and appraise the organizations
    - a. The Negro in the War.
    - b. The Negro and Fascism, Nazism, Communism
    - c. The Negro and organized labor--A. F. of L. and CIO and the Big Four.
    - d. The Negro and Monopoly Capitalism.
    - e. The Negro and modern liberalism.
    - f. The Negro and political action--With special reference to the the Republican, Democratic, Socialist, Communist and labor parties.
    - g. The Negro and American imperialism.
    - h. The Negro and a planned economy.

2. To make and set forth programs and strategies with which to meet the Negro problem, including:

   a. Staging a March On Washington. If so, when. The March On Washington idea was designed to dramatize and give world focust to the Negro problem in America and develop and exercise mass pressure at Washington, which is becoming the acknowledged responsible capitol of the world. Its purpose is to make official, white and black America conscious of the struggle and of the justification of the struggle of Negro America for the status of first-class citizenship. Nothing short of such a drastic, socio-racial maneuver seems to be able to place the problem of the Negro in the main stream of public opinion of America and the world. It may cleanse and save the soul of America as well as chasten, discipline and enrich the struggles of the Negro people to be free.

   b. Plan a week of protest against Negro oppression and exploitation, to be known as: ~~I AM AN~~ WE ARE AMERICANS TOO WEEK--SLOGAN: DEFEAT HITLER, MUSSOLINI AND HIROHITO--BY ENFORCING THE CONSTITUTION AND ABOLISHING JIM-CROW.

During this week the following plan of action will be executed:

3. ~~I AM AN~~ WE ARE AMERICANS TOO WEEK.

(Marches)

   a. Nation-wide series of ~~I AM AN~~ WE ARE AMERICANS TOO marches on the City Halls, to memorialize the President and the Congress to Enforce the Constitution and Abolish Jim-Crow. When great masses of people are in motion, they provoke though an inspire respect.

(Telephone calls,
letters, telegrams)

   b. Putting through long distance telephone calls from different sections of the country and the sending of telegrams and letters to the President, urging specific things such as:

1) Abolish segregation in the Army, Navy, Air Corps, U. S. Marines, Coast Guard, WAACS, WAVES, SPARS and the FEPC.
2) Abolish segregation and discrimination in the Government everywhere there is Federal Government property.
3) Support the Anti-Poll Tax Bill.
4) Support the Anti-Lynching Bill.
5) Appoint a Negro Supreme Court Judge

c. Also have thousands of telegrams, letters and post-cards sent sent to the President, urging the same things.

d. Put through long distance telephone calls from all over the country and send thousands of telegrams, letters and post cards, to the Secretaries of War, Henry L. Stimpson; Navy, Frank Knox--demanding abolition of discrimination and segregation and eforcement of Constitution.

e. Carry out the same program with War Labor Board, War Manpower Commission, War Production Board, Office of War Information, Office of Price Administration, Office of Civilian Defense, USO, Red Cross, J. M. Byrnes', Stabilization Department, Department of Labor, Interior, Commerce State, John B. Eastman's Department of War Transportation, etc.

f. Bring same pressure to bear up on the chairmen of Committees in the Senate and House.

g. Make long distance telephone calls, send telegrams, letters and post cards to Francis Biddle of Department of Justice--urging that action be taken immediately to prosecute the infraction of Negroes' constitutional rights through the white primaries. You can imagine what will happen in the White House and the Capitol when these long distance telephone calls and telegrams and letters come pouring in for Negro rights.

(Negro and white churches)

4. Request Negro and white ministers to preach sermons on ~~I AM AN~~ WE ARE AMERICANS TOO WEEK--DEFEAT HITLER, MUSSOLINI AND HIROHITO BY ENFORCING THE CONSTITUTION AND ABOLISHING JIM-CROW.

(Press)

5. Request Negro and white press to write editorials and feature articles on ~~I AM AN~~ WE ARE AMERICANS TOO WEEK--DEFEAT HITLER, MUSSOLINI AND HIROHITO--BY ENFORCING THE CONSTITUTION AND ABOLISHING JIM-CROW.

(National Broadcast)

6. Plan ~~I AM AN~~ WE ARE AMERICANS TOO SPEAKS TO THE NATION broadcast--Leaders, Walter White, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, Lester Granger, Bishop Green, M. P. Webster, Congressman Dawson--Youth.

7. Plan the projection of NON VIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND NON COOPERATION WEEK

    1) Refusal to obey or cooperate with the enforcement of any law which violates the basic moral, human and citizenship rights of the Negro in America.

    2) Reason: It is a violation of a higher law--the moral law of God which reorganizes all mankind as the children of God, and made of one blood--it violates the principles of Christianity which seeks the salvation of the human soul and the full expression of the human personality.

        a. Procedures and Directives

            1. Boycott Jim-crow coach, is unjust, undemocratic and unchristian

            2. Insist upon eating in dining cars in South as a human and citizenship right.

            3. Demand service in the Congressional restaurant in Washington, D. C.

NEGROES EATING DOWNTOWN

It will be quite refreshing for Negro American citizens to dress up some Sunday morning or Saturday afternoon, and take the wife or girl friend downtown to some of the swanky and exclusive hotels and restaurants to enjoy breakfasts, luncheon or dinner.with some of our white Christian friends, with whom we are fighting side-by-side to save democracy, justice and freedom.

Of course, our splendid white neighbors may not have had the pleasure of seeing us before in these lovely centers, but, we wish to assure them that it was not due to any desire on our part to discriminate against them. We do not believe in the fantastic doctrine of herrenvolk. We are perfectly willing to recognize our white fellow American~~Mothers and sister~~s as our social equals.

Well, we didn't show up in these down retreats to dine for many reasons. But we are not so concerned with the past. Suffice it to say, it is our intention to visit them in the future.

We know that our white Christian American patriots will be delighted to see us, and, it goes without saying that we will be glad to see them.

If we don't rush to engage them with a conversation on the weather or war, they will understand that these are trying times and that one ~~may~~ must be permitted to keep his counsel and enjoy a peaceful meal without controversy or incident. However, please ~~bring~~ BEAR to mind that we have no~~t~~ avers~~e~~ion to a chat if it is felt imperative.

We know, of course, about the ubiquitous OPA and the rationing of foods, but since it is being done in the interest of democracy for which all of us are giving up our life, blood and leisure, we shall not mind that. We assume that all of us observe these rules at home to help win the war.

Now because of emotional instabilities, incident to the war some of the Christian ~~nations~~ NEIGHBORS may exhibit certain abnormal tendencies, probably of an inferiority complex, but don't worry about a thing, that malady can be cured by the principle of the application of the democratic therapeutic. It is of a piece of the treatment the United Nations seek to minister to Hitler ~~out~~ but of a non-violent pattern.

While these host~~ilit~~ELRIES may not have had the pleasure of serving us before, we wish to su~~bject~~ggest that there need not be any special effort to raise or lower the price ceilings or give any higher ~~alive~~ SALINE content to the choice dishes, our taste is relatively normal.

Restaurant and Hotel
Service in downtown sections)

8. Exercise civil rights to receive service in the downtown sections of cities.
   a. If attacked and ejected--
      Refuse to fight back. Our weapon is the justice of our cause--our courage--our moral and spiritual force, an awakened public conscience against an unjust, unchristian law, barbarious v~~irtu~~e and material force.
   b. If arrested--we should not resist--they cannot put the whole Negro race in jail.

PROPAGANDA

PAPER CAPS WITH "~~I AM AN~~ NEGROES AMERICANS TOO--DEFEAT HITLER, MUSSOLINI AND HIROHITO BY ENFORCING THE CONSTITUTION AND ABOLISHING JIM-CROW.

We sell these caps to raise funds for our program.

Policy Conference of Western Hemisphere free Negroes----

World Congress of darker peoples -- secretariat--

It is true that the militant Negro has torn the mask of the southern liberal so they may be seen as they really are. It clarified the atmosphere. It helps the Negro to understand when not to look for aid. It puts the Negro on his own.

This is our reply to the bankrupt southern liberals who are now leading the pack of race baiters in full cry against the Negroes fight for first-class citizenship. Virginia Dabney, of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, John Temple Graves II of the Birmingham Age-Herald and Mark Etheridge of the Louisville Courier Journal practice dire racial conflicts if Negroes continue to demand their rights and the abolition of segregation and jim-crow. In the first World War, we were modest and unassuming, but there were still race riots. Of course, the Negroes did not take a beating lying down. They fought back. They had no other alternative and it was in the American tradition ~~of an era~~ of self-defense.

'JOURNALISTIC TREACHERY'

In reply to Mr. Paul Mallon in his column of Jan. 25, 1943, when he used "Negroes' Rights" as a topic:

We are again, as in the past, brought under conviction of the instrumentality of the American Press in its never-ending determination to throttle the progressive efforts of the American black people. A people who in times of hostilities must pay the same price for the "Four Freedoms" as all other Americans - - whether or not they are made co-beneficiaries of the promise, on parity with all other Americans.

We have not been informed of a people who lived at any time or place, who were absolutely faultless, regardless of race, color or opportunity. And the present world condition, with its many opposing schools of thought, its angry military camps, and rivaling idealogies and political philosophies- a confused cosmopolitan 'Black-out' through which no man can see without super human revelation, testifies all too loudly to the fact that too much wrong thinking has already been done, together with ill-chosen words.

The beautiful day has dawned - the glorious sun-beams of mid-day are withdrawn, and we now face the twilight hours. Don't you think it high time the American Press took its heel off the neck of the American black people?

In his column of January 25th, Mr. Mallon goes on a foray of the Colored people of America and India, naming A. Philip Randolph and the followers of Ghandi. Wonder if Mr. Mallon ever dreamed of making as great a contribution to the well-being of humanity as either of these gentlemen? And if he has, or is, why the attack? Mr. Mallon, this is no time for 'wanton babbling' nor 'fallacious bungling'. In view of the necessity for unity and the tremendousness of our task and the impending hazards born in disunity- we need to sow the seeds of friendliness and good will.

The fact that colored people must agitate, protest and 'fuss' to get humane treatment, is rather unfortunate and reflective in a 'land flowing gathering', than some thing to chuckle about or feel proud of.

Is it not obvious, that wherever and whenever a man of color attempts the improvement of his people's status whether in war or in peace, he is quickly labeled a radical? And with this in mind, can one actually understand why the Mahatma is made a prisoner in India? Huh?

If Democracy is to live, it must live in the hearts of men, and not on paper. And it is a travesty on Democracy, to continually do it 'lip-service', but always careful to reject it in our hearts. The time has dome when the standard of truth is being applied to all institutions. And those not founded thereon, will vanish. Mr. Mallon refers to some laws which he says: 'Mr. Randolph apparently wants to have American Negroes violate en masse, in the manner of Ghandists in India.' It is not clear, what laws these are - to which he also says, 'they are opposed'.

But we feel safe to surmise they are laws for Negroes only. And perhaps laws which Mr. Mallon nor any decent citizen would want aimed at the obstruction of his progress. To the Colored people, there is a law which seperates the country into two parts. There are laws which limit them socially, economically and even politically, besides the civil laws of the land in general. Now therefore, seeing they are bound hands and feet by laws, Mr. Mallon -- and are trying to shake off the 'wrong ones', pray tell us which of these should be laid aside, and which should be kept? Or should they have some more yet?

Indeed, Mr. Mallon, the day of retribution always has and will dawn for the unjust. There are set bounds, beyond which individuals and nations may not pass in the flouting of justice, though the time may seem long.

'Unity for Victory' at this time would make better journalism and truth, humanitarianism, fidelity and a good conscience toward God and Man will make possible a better post-war world.

SAMUEL W. SAMPLES
Chicago, Ill.

SPEECH GIVEN AT AFL CONVENTION - BOSTON 1943

The Race Problem is the number one problem of America today. It is the number one problem of American Labor. It is the number one problem of the American Federation of Labor.

The fact that the U. S. A. - Organized Labor or the A. F. of L. may not be conscious of it does not alter the fact that it is so.

In very truth, the question of race and color is the central historical social issue of these times. There are several reasons for this. One is the fact that two-thirds of the population of the world is colored. Second the peoples of color have reached a higher level of moral, spiritual and intellectual maturity and have thus raised the question of their freedom and independence to a major world political issue.

In the U. S. A. the question of freedom, equality and justice to the Negro people, has assumed the status of a major national political issue. This problem must be met. It cannot be continuously evaded. Its solution does not involve, will not involve Negroes alone. It involves all of America. Until this problem is frankly and courageously met and solved, the major problems of America and world democracy will continue to baffle the American people and world governments. Until the A. F. of L. realistically attacks this question of racial discriminations, it cannot mobilize the complete strength of American labor or develop a healthy and sound and progressive existence.

Thus, racial discrimination should be abolished by every union affiliated with the A. F. of L. not only for the benefit of the Negro and other minorities but for the sake of itself--to square its practices with its professions.

This Federation is challenged in this hour of national and world crisis to make up its mind as to whether it shall shape and measure the soundness, value and worthwhileness of its policies and programs upon solid and universal moral laws and principles that the civilized world accepts and respects or whether it ignore, disregard and flout these laws and principles and formulate tactics and methods that give it the power to override opposition and squelch valid criticism. If it recognizes and accepts the tenets and standards of the christian and democratic moral order, it will wipe out all distinctions between workers based upon race, color, religion or national origin and justify its existence as a symbol and expression of the age-old struggles of the working people in particular and mankind in general to achieve justice, freedom and equality. If this Federation refuses to cleanse its house of labor of the poisons of discrimination on account of race, color, religion or national origin, it will, despite its material and economic power, forfeit and lose the confidence and faith of the enlightened and liberal people of America and the world. The leaders of the A. F. of L. must realize and understand that material strength and economic power that have no moral sanction and spiritual social justification, are hollow, superficial and impermanent.

We are witnessing now in Nazi Germany an arrogant, irresponsible, and reckless use of power--military power--spreading battle and blood, death and destruction, terrorism and tyranny over the space of the globe.

Why is this? The answer is that Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito possess no code and concept of moral righteousness; no answer to the questions: What is wrong or right except material and military power. Their philosophy is that the structure of relationships of society will always and inevitably be the dominator and dominated, master and slave, oppressor and oppressed, top dog and bottom dog. This is a dog eat dog, tooth and claw, beak and fang doctrine. The right to rule is not based upon justice, truth and righteousness but upon blood and sword, gun and force. Under this creed the bottom dog will always remain the bottom dog unless he can mobilize more and greater brute force than the top dog. The unavoidable implication of this philosophy is eternal war, conflict, chaos and confusion. Why? Because the oppressed, the bottom dog will not calmly remain the bottom dog without a struggle to death for freedom, justice and equality.

In the nature of things no human being will forever accept the status of a slave and acknowledge another man as his master. By the same token, no people will be content to exist as second-class citizens or second-class union men. Men, regardless of race, color, religion or national origin will ever protest and fight against this condition. It is this ceaseless struggle of the oppressed for justice, freedom, and equality which is the great insurance of the preservation of the democratic liberal tradition. Without this agitation of the forgotten men, the conscience of the tyrants will be undisturbed, their ruthless rule unquestioned and the errative and liberal spirit would die.

It is for this reason, Mr. President and delegates, that the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor will always hear the voice of a Negro crying out against the color bar and discrimination in the constitutions, rituals and policies of certain trade unions. When the Negro delegates that are now here are gone, others will come and take their places and continue to cry out against membership exclusion policies by unions on account of race, color, religion or national origin until it is wiped out. And we Negro delegates now amongst you are confident that day will eventually come. For the American Federation of Labor cannot continue to exist with a part of its members who are white, as first-class union men, and another part who are colored, as second-class union men. This division of the house of labor is fatal to its existence and future.

INFLUENCE OF SOUTHERN MEMBERSHIP

But when you raise the question of the right of Negro workers to join certain trade unions, the leaders of these unions present the alibi, antagonism and opposition from their southern members. These officials privately proclaim their liberal attitude upon Negro workers joining their unions but express fear of sticking their necks out by championing the Negro workers' cause. This raises a moral and educational problem. The moral problem is: can a true leader of labor shirk the responsibility to challenge and condemn the policy of his union's violation of the most fundamental tenet of trade unionism, namely, the right of a worker to join the organization of his choice, of his craft or class or industry, without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. Where a labor leader refuses either from fear or prejudice, to fulfil this mission, is he not the foe rather than the friend of his own union. Moreover, each member of a union has a responsibility, second only to that of the leader, to see to it that his union does not violate the moral right of a worker to join the organization of his choice, to protect his economic interests and rights. It is enlightened self-interest for every union worker to fight for the right of every other worker to join the union of his choice, for the rights of no white union worker are secure as long as the rights of a black worker are insecure. The denial to a worker on account of race, color, religion or national origin, under system of Government support of union rights and interests, is tantamount to denying the worker the right to work, and to deny a worker the right to work is just like pointing a gun at the worker's head and telling him he shall not eat. That this is morally wrong and indefensible, not even a Robin Hood could gain-say.

Now, the A. F. of L. labor leader would consider it criminal for a man to take bread out of the mouth of another man solely because he had the power to do so. But he not only condones this very act by his own union but is a party to it. But this is an anti-social position. An individual's moral responsibilities don't end at the threshold of an organization. This is true of a member or leader of a union. A union may be criminal and immoral just as an individual and its conduct may justify the moral condensation of the community. If this were not true, then it would be improper and unjust to impose any penalties upon the German, Japanese or Italian nation after Hitler, Hirohito and Mussolini are killed. A nation is morally responsible for the conduct of its people and the people are morally responsible for the conduct of their nation.

This logic holds true with an individual union or international. It also holds true with the American Federation of Labor.

The A. F. of L. cannot expect the public to give it moral immunity from condemnation for racial discriminations by its international unions on the grounds that it is a federated body. If the A. F. of L. claims that it is the house of labor, then it cannot escape criticism for the wrongs committed in that house. If the A. F. of L. is justified in claiming credit for the numerical increase of general union membership, it must bear the guilt for the lack of increase of Negro union membership because of narrow racial policy. Can the United States of America justifiably take refuge in the thread-bare doctrine of States Rights when it is condemned because of the Poll Tax disgrace?

Now, the educational problem consists in exploding the myth of race, and its danger to the workingclass solidarity, the salvation of labor.

HOW DOES RACIAL DISCRIMINATION FUNCTION IN UNIONS

Let us take the case involving a controversy over the representation of employees in a shipyard and the National Labor Relations Board is called upon to determine what effect it shall give to racial discrimination by a labor union when, on the one hand, that union seeks to represent a unit composed in part of workers which it excludes from membership rights because of their race.

More specifically, the Bay Cities Metal Trades Council of the A. F. of L. sought to define the appropriate unit for collective bargaining on a plant-wide basis and to have an election ordered solely within that unit.

The record shows that substantial numbers of Negroes and other non-white employees are working within the plant and within the smaller functional areas whose demarcation as appropriate units was in issue.

The record also shows the extent of the practice of racial discrimination by the constitution and by-laws of the Bay Cities Metal Trades Council and the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers, principal constituent member of the Trades Council involved in the case.

Now representation by the Trades Council would be representation by an affiliated group of unions among which the Boilermakers claim and exercise exclusive jurisdiction over a large part of the work and the great majority of the employees required for shipbuilding. The record and the basic law of the Boilermakers show that Negroes under jurisdiction of that union must be organized into so called "auxiliary lodges" of which there are two in the plants where the controversy in question arose, namely, the Bethlehem Almeda Shipyard, Inc. But the record further shows that the so called "auxiliary lodges" are excluded from membership in the aforementioned Trades Council. Thus, the Trades Council, through the neat but questionable device of forcing Negro workmen into "auxiliary lodges" and excluding these auxiliaries from the Council, effectively denied Negro workmen a measure of participation in or control over the conduct of the proposed bargaining agency, set up by the Federal government.

THE IMPROPRIETY OF ENFORCED REPRESENTATION BY A DISCRIMINATORY UNION

If a labor organization which in substance excludes Negroes from membership or denied Negroes essential rights of membership, as do the Trades Council here and the Boilermakers, should be accorded exclusive rights or representation for a group including Negro workmen, those Negroes, because of their race, would arbitrarily be denied that measure of participation in and control over their "representatives" which is enjoyed by white union members and inheres in the very concept of collective bargaining. The processes of the National Labor Relations Board designed to insure workmen substantive benefits of collective bargaining would in such case, or in case of any similiar denial or exclusion predicated on sex, creed, or national origin, be employed to exclude the injured group altogether from any real participation in collective bargaining. Such misuse and perversion of its processes should not be tolerated by public opinion or the National Labor Relations Board.

In this connection it is believed that the National Labor Relation Board may and should properly be influenced by the fact that throughout the history of American organized labor the exclusion of Negroes from labor unions and the resultant promotion of strife between white and Negro workmen have been disturbing factors of major importance in industry and commerce. Thus to the extent that the Board, in its adjudication of particular cases, can achieve participation of workmen in the processes of collective bargaining without discrimination as to race, sex, religion or national origin by so much will the Board promote order and harmony in commerce and industry and thus advance the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act.

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Not only are the special purposes of the National Labor Relations Act defeated by the discriminatory practices herewith considered, but national policies of the United States in furtherance of war production as well.

The Board should also consider that the Negro worker, no less than to any other, has viewed the National Labor Relations Act as a charter for orderly and just processes in labor relations. Such confidence is essential to successful administration of the law. It would be catastrophic for Negro workers to find that the Labor Relations Act could be used to force them to accept as a bargaining agent a union from which they are excluded bluntly or by sophistical devices. The progress which Negroes are making toward equality of status in organized labor would be arrested by the very legislation to which all labor looks for a new measure of justice and security. A substantial minority group, outraged and disillusioned, would become a source of continuing discord and strife and would serve dissident employers as a ready tool for exploitation of black and white workers alike.

One of the consequences most likely to result from exclusive representation under sanction of the National Labor Relations Act is the negotiation of a closed shop contract between the employer and the exclusive bargaining representative. The union seeking a still stronger position and the employer seeking stability in labor relations are both impelled toward such a contract. But to the worker of a minority group who is arbitrarily denied status in the union such a closed shop contract becomes the means of his total exclusion from employment. Thus, to the Negro worker, the greater calamity of total denial of employment is the probable consequence of granting exclusive bargaining rights to a discriminatory union.

The injustice of enforced representation by a union which excludes from membership a group of Negroes whom it claims to represent has most recently been recognized by the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in a case arising under the Railway Labor Act, but enunciating a principle entirely applicable to the present case:

> "It will be observed that Congress granted employees certain positive rights, both affirmative and negative in character. They have the right to organize and bargain collectively throught representatives of their own choosing which carries the corollary that the right to organize is essential to the right to bargain collectively. And yet the employees in the case at bar are ineligible to organize with the only labor union that their employer will recognize as their bargaining agent."

THE APPROPRIATE REMEDY

The National Labor Relation Board enjoys wide discretion to determine on the facts of each case whether a proposed unit is appropriate for collective bargaining. For the reasons above stated the Board should not recognize or certify a unit as appropriate if the effect of exclusive representation by the only petitioner who proposes that unit and seeks exclusive bargaining rights therein would be to deny to persons of any race, sex, creed or origin the real participation in the collective bargaining process enjoyed by other employees within the unit. On the other hand, if such full participation of all workmen in the collective bargaining process would be promoted by setting up a proposed bargaining unit, this fact should be one of the controlling considerations in favor of the determination that such a unit is the appropriate one under the circumstances of the case.

CONSISTENCY OF THE PROPOSED RULE WITH PRIOR ADJUDICATIONS OF THE RULE

This National Labor Relations Board has consistently held that a unit is not appropriate for collective bargaining if it is differentiated and established on the basis of the race of the employees who would constitute the unit. A "white" unit or a "Negro" unit is not appropriate.

The soundness of this doctrine seems clear. The Utah Cooper case shows that the exclusion of Negroes from a proposed unit may properly be a controlling factor in the Board's refusal to order an election therein. As a corollary it seems proper that, since both colored and white employees whose functions are not differentiated must be included within a single bargaining unit, the Board should find the proposed unit appropriate and certify a representative only if real representation and bargaining rights would be afforded to both white and Negro workmen by the union, or by one or more of the unions, seeking status within that unit.

AREA COVERED BY PRESENT ISSUE

This Board has not heretofore found it necessary to decide the issue now before it although within the month the issue has been noted and expressly reserved for future decision. But its recurrence in future cases can reasonably be anticipated.

Only a minority of unions practice the discrimination herein complained of. Yet the minority is great enough to affect a large area of industry and commerce. The most recently published survey of the extent of such discrimination and exclusion is the study by Herbert R. Northrup, Organized Labor and Negro Workers, 51 Journal of Political Economy, 206 (June 1943). Northrup lists the major unions which exclude Negroes or discriminate against them as follows:

I. Union which excludes Negroes by provision in ritual:
Machinists, International Association of (A. F. of L.)

II. Unions which exclude Negroes by provision in consitution:

A. F. of L. affiliates:

- Airline Pilots Association
- Commercial Telegraphers Union
- Masters, Mates and Pilots, National Organization
- Railroad Telegraphers, Order of
- Railway Mail Association
- Switchmen's Union of North America
- Wire Weavers' Protective Association, American

Unaffiliated organizations:

- Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of
- Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of
- Railroad Trainmen, Brotherhood of
- Railroad Yardmasters of America
- Railroad Yardmasters of North America
- Railway Conductors, Order of
- Train Dispatchers' Association, American

III. Unions which habitually exclude Negroes by tacit consent:

All A. F. of L. affiliates:

- Asbestos Workers, Heat and Frost Insulators
- Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of
- Fling Glass Workers' Union, American
- Granite Cutters, International Association of
- Plumbers and Steamfitters, United Association of Journeymen

IV. Unions which afford Negroes only segregated auxiliary status:

A. F. of L. affiliates:

- Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, Brotherhood of
- Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders Welders and Helpers, Brotherhood of
- Maintenance of Way Employees Brotherhood of
- Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood

Railway and Steamship Clerks
Freight Handlers, Express and Station
Employes, Brotherhood of
Rural Letter Carriers, Federation of
Sheet Metal Workers' International Association

Unaffiliated organizations:

Rural Letter Carriers' Association
Railroad Workers, American Federation of

It is to be noted that this list includes unions, among them the Boilermakers, which have their historic roots in the highly restrictive organization of precisely defined crafts but currently are in process of rapid transformation into vast industrial unions; Thus, racial, religious and sex discriminations stand as irrational surviving impediments to the present course of union development in an area which widens as the discriminatory unions become increasingly industrial in character.

1943

WEEPING FOR THE POOR WHITE FOLKS

-by A. Philip Randolph

"If you have tears, prepare to shed them now!"

What is it all about?

Well, it is not because of the Detroit race riot.

It is not because of the race-riot strikes in the Mobile ship building yards against the up-grading of race workers, or of the New York Riot.

It is not because the leading Solons of Crackerocracy snubbed President Barclay of Liberia when he addressed the Senate and the House upon his visit to U. S. A.

What then is the solemn occasion?

The black intelligentsia became sorely exercised when, at the "We Are Americans, Too" Conference, held in Chicago, June 30 to July 4, by the March On Washington Movement, a resolution, to exclude white people from membership in the M. O. W. M., was adopted.

But what of the whys and the wherefores?

--Plaint of Petit Black Bourgeoisie--

A painful outcry from the petit black bourgeoisie has rung down the charges that it isn't democracy for Negroes to exclude the white people from anything. Tearfully, they charge that the March On Washington Movement is preaching and practicing black chauvinism, that it is guilty of Negro nationalism, that it just ain't what it ought to be.

What do the plain, every-day run-of-the-mill Negro say about it? The answer is that the resolution to make M. O. W. M. an all Negro movement was passed at the M. O. W. M. Conference 102 to 2. Of course, the plain Negroes who voted "yes" may not be fully conversant with the nature and grounds of the rapidly changing unpredictable political climate of Moscow, Russia, or why Joe Stalin has dismantled the Comintern, or why the violent shifts by the Communists from picketing the White House against war to the place where they are ready to cut any man's throat who dares to whisper peace, or how to wangle bits of dough out of some innocent philanthropists, or how to play me-too opportunist politics, for public office and notoriety, but they know life and reality and what their genuine interests are. In very truth, the ordinary man of every race, nation and clime will go straight to the truth if he is not confused and led astray by the schisms and isms of the reactionary or romantic intellectuals and well-meaning, but misguided fellow travelers.

Why, a new-comer of the Senegambian Fourth Estate became so enraged about the inexcusable effrontery of the M.O.W.M.'s drawing a line against the so-called Master Race that it cartooned the poor, little March On Washington Movement as being left all alone, lost in a fog, while the grand parade of the human race marched on to Glory. No one at this writing can predict what will happen to the M.O.W.M., but no less an authority than P. V. is responsible for this oracular prognostication.

--Position of Plain Negro--

However, when you ask the man in the street, in the barber shop, and in the tavern about M.O.W.M.'s excluding white people from membership, the feeling is one of amazement that the question as to whether a Negro organization should keep whites out should even be raised.

But, is it undemocratic to keep white people out of the March On Washington Movement? If excluding white people from M.O.W.M. limited or restricted their rights and privileges to work and fight for their security and freedom, it would be undemocratic. But such is not the case. For example, the color bar in the constitutions and rituals of the International Boiler-Makers' Union, which prevents Negro workers from becoming members, limits and restricts the right of the Negro workers to work and earn wages with which to buy food, clothing and shelter, because these unions maintain closed contract conditions. If Negro machinists cannot get union cards, they cannot get jobs, and they cannot get union cards unless they are allowed to become members of the unions.

--Does Excluding White Persons Make M.O.W.M. Undemocratic?--

Let us take the case of the Negro and the White-Primaries in the South. Since Negroes cannot become members of the Democratic Party in the South they cannot vote in the White-Primaries. ~~Still,~~ This White Primaries decide elections. Here the exclusion of Negroes from membership in the Democratic Party, restricts and negates their ability to exercise their constitutional right to vote as American citizens.

Negroes, therefore, have a right to fight too for the right to join the trade unions that exclude them. They have a right to fight for the right to register as Democrats and vote in the White-Primaries of the South, because they have an economic and political stake involved.

Now, there is no comparability between the aforementioned cases of Negroes seeking to join trade unions and the Democratic Party in the South, and a white person seeking to join the March on Washington Movement. If a white person was allowed to join the M.O.W.M., he would gain no right he did not already possess before he joined. This is not true of a Negro worker who tries to join the Machinists' Union. When a Negro machinist joins the Machinists' Union, he gains the right to work which he did not already possess.

Thus, ~~for~~ anyone ~~to~~ who contends that the denial of the right to join M.O.W.M. to white people is undemocratic, is naive, silly and ridiculous.

It is a matter of common knowledge that white persons may join the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League and other interracial movements. White people can satisfy their penchant for fighting for the equality of Negroes in these movements. This is an alternative white persons possess who want to join a Negro movement. No one has the right or rather a reasonable right to deny Negroes the right to organize a movement which shall be composed of only Negroes, any more than anyone has the right to deny the right to a group of people to form themselves into a Club of Star-gazers, if this be their wish.

--Does Excluding White Persons Make M.O.W.M. Jim-Crow--

The March On Washington Movement is simply not an interracial movement.

Does this fact make it a jim-crow organization? The answer to this question depends upon the definition of a jim-crow organization. Now, it is a matter of historical racial experience and practice and custom that a jim-crow organization or institution is one which is set aside by white people for Negroes. It always limits and restricts the privileges and rights of Negroes. The purpose of jim-crow is to establish in the mind of the Negro a sense of his inferiority.

What are the deductions? In the first place, the March On Washington Movement has not been set aside by white people for Negroes only. Negroes created the M.O.W.M. themselves. It seeks to build up the status of equality for the Negro in our American economy. The primary condition to this is that Negroes become conscious themselves of their historical mission, moral obligation and responsibility to take the initiative and make the fight and sacrifice to free themselves. This consciousness will be difficult to develop in an interracial movement. It can and will ~~only~~ be awakened and nurtured in an all-Negro movement

Why?

--Only the Negro is Jim-Crowed--

The reason is that Negroes endure the pain, the insult and humiliation of jim-crow. Pain involves feeling. Feeling is the result of the report of the contact and experience of the sensory organization with the outside world of environment, to the brain - the coordinating and integrating agent of the human organism. It is a well known axiom of psychology that unless there is feeling there can be no consciousness. Unless there is consciousness, there will be no effort, no motor activity to remove the cause of the feeling if it occasions pain or to secure the object or condition of the feeling, if it occasions pleasure. Now, since white people are not jim-crowed, they cannot possibly feel the pain of the insult experienced by a Negro. Since they cannot feel the pain, they cannot, by the same token, become primarily conscious of its existence and become a crusading missionary to remove the cause of the insult and demoralizing conditions, with the necessary intensity and determination. The most liberal and revolutionary white person, if honest, will admit this.

P.V. states rather blandly that it is undemocratic for Negro movements to exclude white people, but adds that the leadership should always be maintained by Negroes. However, if it is undemocratic to exclude white people from membership in Negro movements, is it less undemocratic to exclude white persons from the right to vote or to hold any office of leadership in the life of the movement?

--Oppressed Peoples Must Free Themselves--

Is it strange that Sun Yat Sen, Chiang Kai Shek and the Chinese people have initiated and carried on the fight for a free China against the over-lord imperialists of Europe and Japan? Would one expect the All-India Congress to be composed of non-Indians? But, China and India welcomes the support and collaboration of Europeans and Americans who believe in their cause. It isn't necessary for the friends of China to become Chinese citizens in order to fight effectively for the freedom and independence of China, and what is true of China is also true of India.

Who is waging the fight for a Palestinian homeland for the Jewish people? It is the Jews. Moreover, the Zionist Movement is an all-Jewish movement. But, naturally, this Movement seeks the support of non-Jewish groups. Should it be condemned because it is all Jewish?

Who waged the fight for the independence and freedom of Ireland? The Irish, of course. Who are the participants in the St. Patrick's Day Parade? The Irish, of course. The non-Irish are not permitted to march in this demonstration. BECAUSE THE IRISH WANT THE WORLD TO KNOW THAT THE IRISH, THEMSELVES, HAVE FOUGHT FOR THEIR OWN FREEDOM

Would you expect Hungarians to march in a Polish Day parade? Is it necessary in order to prove that the Poles believe in Democracy?

Who broke the power of the Czar of Russia in 1917? The answer is the Russian Bolsheviks, not British Socialists or French Revolutionaries.

--Women Led Woman's Suffrage Movement--

When the time came to build and carry on the fight for woman's suffrage, women built the movement and carried on and paid for the fight, and won the right of women to vote. They welcomed the support and cooperation of all men who believed in their cause, but men were not accepted as members of the organizations that constituted the Suffrage Movement.

Note the League For Women Voters. It is composed of women only. Is it sound to brand it undemocratic because it will not accept President Roosevelt as a member, though he may believe in the aims of the organization? Women consider that they are the victims of certain disabilities for no other reason except that they are women. They also believe that effectively to fight for the removal of these disabilities, they need an organization composed of women only. But does the fact that the League for Women Voters is all-women make it ipso-facto, anti-men? No, not at all. Is it woman nationalism, or female chauvinism for women to establish an all-woman movement to fight for their rights? The very idea is preposterous.

--What of the Workers' Unions?--

Industrial, social and political conditions have made it necessary for working people to create workingmen's associations. Thus, we have the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O.

Is it proper and correct to charge the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. with workers' nationalism and chauvinism, and as being undemocratic, because they exclude from memberhip Tom Girdler, President of the Republic Steel Cooperative, or even Wendell Wilkie, who may be considered friendly?

Does the democracy of an organization depend ~~upon~~ solely upon its including everybody regardless of basic interests and value? Is democracy the only test of the value of every institution?

Is an army useless because the soldiers cannot vote for the general they may wish to lead them? Is a college anti-social because the faculty is not chosen by the students? Do Baptists have to take in Methodists in order to be democratic?

Trade unions were organized to fight the battles of workers, nothing else. History shows that they have been fairly successful because they are composed only of workers, that class for whom the trade unions fight. However, labor unions invite the support of the general public in their struggles. The A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. want everybody to help them kill the Connally-Smith anti-labor law recently passed by Congress. But everybody who helps doesn't have to join, nor will he be permitted to join the A.F. of L. or C.I.O.

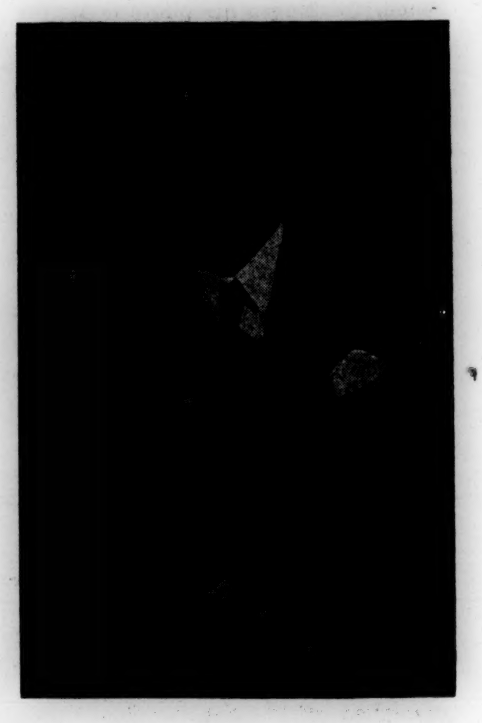
--Why Labor Unions Confine Its Members to Labor--

The only reason why labor unions confine their members to labor is that labor alone is the victim of low wages and long hours. Labor feels the pain of oppression and exploitation. Therefore, the workers organize themselves into unions to carry on strikes and conduct picket-lines, and so forth, to improve their lot. Only labor can be fully conscious of the needs of labor. Only labor will pay for the formation and maintenance of trade unions. Trade unions do not seek donations from employers to finance the fight against employers. Labor maintains its own press to present its cause to the public.

AP Article

The Negro in the American Democracy

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH



EDITORIAL NOTE: This article is from an address before a joint session of Protestant cooperative agencies in Cleveland, Ohio, on December 8, 1942. Mr. Randolph is International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He is one of the most influential leaders of American Negroes. The American public and the people of the churches, in particular, have need for an understanding of the thinking of such leaders with respect to the place of the Negro in the present and future of American democracy. Mr. Randolph has made here a distinct contribution toward such an understanding. A discussion of the implications of this issue for the life of America and of the world is found on the editorial pages of this issue.

THE problem of the Negro is a problem of discrimination, segregation and jim-crow in the economic, political and social life of America. It has its roots in world movement; namely, the slave trade of the 17th and 18th centuries, and the exploitation of slave labor in the production of sugar, rice, tobacco and cotton in the new world.

The Civil War—America's Second or Bourgeois Revolution—was uncompleted, and hence, unlike the bourgeois revolution of 19th century Europe, failed to transform the black slaves into free workers and independent peasant proprietors. Vestiges and remnants of a pre-capitalist era hedge in, circumscribe and encumber the freed-men, giving them the status of second class citizens.

When the industrial and financial capitalist economy gained ascendency over the agrarian-feudal-slave pattern of production, following the triumph of the Union army over the Confederate forces, the orderly and progressive march of the bourgeois revolution was halted and the attention of the American national community was turned from the social idealism of consummating the liberation of the former slave to the matter-of-fact, Yankee business of consolidating the Union as a political agency to subserve the interest of an incipient and nascent monopoly capitalism.

Verily, the Civil War, or the main American social revolution, fell short of conformity to the typical Eighteenth Century revolutionary liberal political scheme of change. Although it broke down the framework and economic power and mastery of the old slave regime, the former slave masters remained as the personnel managers or *padrones* of the absentee northern and eastern investment bankers and business entrepreneurs, and proceeded with vengeance, hatred, and greed for economic gain, political advantage and social prestige and security, to devise engines of persecution, deception and oppression to deprive the freed-men of their newly found liberties. We, therefore, witnessed the rise of peonage or a form of involuntary servitude, the company store or the turpentine still, the lumber camp and the cotton plantations, vagrancy laws, convict labor, grandfather clauses, white primaries, poll taxes, lynching-mob law and Ku Kluxism, racial discrimination segregation and jim-crow, bi-racial public and private schools and churches—all constituting a well-defined system for freezing the Negro in the status of inferior economic, occupational and civil citizenship.

Having practically re-enslaved the Negro freed-man through forms of political and economic disfranchisement, the Old South sought a moral and ideological justification for its act. Hence the Tillmans, Cole Bleases, Vardmans, Thomas Dixons, Bilbos, and Eugene Talmadges of today preach the doctrine of Negro inferiority of Negro domination and white supremacy to make American public opinion subscribe to the process of dehumanization of the Negro. The violent and ceaseless struggle of the white South to keep the Negro down has caused the South to become the nation's Number One Problem, and virtually an arid desert wherein hot winds of hate and mob violence hold sway at the expense of culture and art, philosophy and science, and the higher reaches of religious idealism. As Booker T. Washington, the founder of Tuskegee, declared in one of his epigrammatical statements: "In order to keep a fellow neighbor in the ditch, you must remain in the ditch with him."

Flagrant instances of this anti-social behavior and unchristian practice may be seen in the position the Negro found himself when the present war began. When he went to defense industries for jobs, he was either flatly told that he was not wanted or given "the run-around." Defense training courses were closed to him; government departments discriminated against him as private industry; trade unions refused Negroes membership; the armed forces, including the Army, Navy, Merchant Marine, and Coast Guard, while giving first class status to our foreign brothers such as Filipinos and Chinese, put Negroes into segregated and jim-crow divisions. The Navy, although making some concessions to the clamor of the Negro people for consideration, still refuses to make Negroes commissioned officers. The Red Cross relents and accepts Negro blood, but jim-crows it, and Negro women although accepted in the WAACs are trained and maintained as segregated units. Doctors of color can practice only on soldiers of color. The great mass of Negroes recruited for the army are placed in labor battalions; a jim-crow school for Negro air pilots is set up at Tuskegee and the policy of segregation is so sharply fixed in the Army that Negro and white soldiers hardly realize that they are fighting for the same things; and hence, instead of waiting for combat on the foreign fronts, they go to war with each other on the home front. Negro soldiers are mobbed, shot and killed in Fort Dix, New Jersey; Fort Bragg, North Carolina; Alexandria, Louisiana; Little Rock, Arkansas; and various other sections of the country.

The government sends its Negro expeditionary forces to England with its jim-crow pattern. A leaflet is prepared by the War Department and given to white soldiers sent to England informing them what not to do or say lest they insult their white English comrades, but white officers in the South freely insult Negro soldiers by calling them "niggers" and nothing is done about it.

Because of this outrageous violation of democratic practice and principle and the failure of Negroes to secure jobs in the defense industries, Negro leaders planned a march on Washington July 1, 1941, in protest of this condition. The March on Washington Movement was supported by the Negro churches of various denominations as well as the Negro workers and professional groups. It demanded an executive order to put a stop to discrimination in defense industries and the government. Because the executive order was granted, the march on Washington was called off but not abandoned.

Under the Executive Order 8802, issued by President Roosevelt June 25, 1941, there was established a Committee on Fair Employment Practice. The Committee is handicapped, however, because of two things. It is submerged as a result of an order issued by the President a few months ago placing it in the War Manpower Commission, no longer independent with sole responsibility in the President, as it was in the beginning. In addition, the Fair Employment Practice Committee has never received adequate funds to provide proper personnel and machinery for policing the Executive Order.

But the question may be raised as to the advisability of the Negroes fighting at this time for their democratic rights, in view of the war. It is my position, and the general feeling of practically all the Negro leaders throughout the nation, that the Negro must fight against discriminations wherever they appear at this time and insist upon the status of a first class citizen. We believe that the fight for democracy on the home front is a part of the fight for democracy on the foreign front. It is our position that it is not enough for the United Nations to win a military victory alone for it is possible for the armed forces of the United Nations to prevail and the Anglo-American Empire Systems to remain with their old policies and practices of imperialistic oppression and exploitation of the darker races. We stand for all-out support for the war by the Negro. This he is giving with his life, blood and treasure. We also stand for a fight not only against Hitler in Europe but Hitlerism in Washington, D. C., the South and Cleveland. The strength of the underpinnings of democracy will make for a stronger national unity in America which will give force and power to our armed forces. Racial discrimination is not only sabotage of the struggle of the United Nations but it is treason to democracy. When we discriminate against Negroes here at home in defense jobs, we discriminate against soldiers and sailors upon the far-flung battlefields of the world and the seven seas. When we deny the Negro the opportunity to build ships, tanks, guns and airplanes, we may be withholding some instruments of war from the armed forces or prevent them from reaching our boys in time.

What can the church do to make racial relations better, more constructive and creative?

I suggest the following:

1. The white church could set aside a week in which sermons could be preached and religious meetings held for the specific purpose of impressing the membership with the necessity of translating the principle of Jesus Christ into reality by the employers and workers who are members of the church observing the President's Executive Order 8802 and giving Negroes the right to work according to their training and skills and also the opportunity to become members of trade unions.

2. Print in the church bulletins the Executive Order with a description of the effect of race prejudice on national unity and the production of munitions for the armed forces and how it plays into the hands of the Axis powers.

3. Demand the abolition of the segregation of Negro blood by the Red Cross, a humanitarian institution, since there are no scientific grounds to indicate any difference in the blood plasma.

4. Demand the abolition of discrimination in the armed forces of all forms.

5. Call for the abolition of discrimination in the government; for the government sets the cue for discrimination in private industry. The federal government has also been the means of carrying throughout the country the pattern of racial discrimination and jim-crow, thereby making of democracy a mockery and a fraud in America.

6. The church should cleanse its own temples of the sin of race discrimination, segregation and jim-crow and thereby, make itself truly a "House of God" to minister to the souls and spirits of man, not the white man, the yellow man, the brown man, the black man or the red man, but man.

7. Form a church committee for the purpose of supporting the Anti-Poll Tax bill which will be presented in Congress when it reopens and fight for the abolition of the white primaries that obtain in eleven states, and thereby help give the Negro people the right to exercise their constitutional suffrage.

8. Call for membership for the Negro people on the peace commission of the United States which will help to make the peace of the world.

The Negro today constitutes the supreme test of American democracy. There is need today for the church to raise the banner for the brotherhood of man and the application of Christian principles without regard to race, color, or national origin. If this war does not achieve racial, economic, political and social equality for the Negro and all of the darker races, it will have been fought in vain and will be only a prelude to a more terrible war between the colored and white races of the world.

Editorial.

The Negro and Democracy

AN IMPORTANT article in this issue is that by A. Philip Randolph. It is an abbreviation of an address before cooperative bodies of American Protestantism in Cleveland in December. The address made a profound impression. Many will disagree with some of the things Mr. Randolph says and others may wish he had not spoken so frankly. Most of us do not like a frankness that tells us unpleasant facts. It would be very difficult, however, to make a case against Mr. Randolph's basic contention that it is idle to pretend to be on a crusade for democracy and at the same time deny the rights and privileges of democracy to any group whatsoever. In our opinion Mr. Randolph was proportionately too hard on the South. This is not a mere problem of the South. As Eliot Janeway has said, "The plain truth is that the Negro is not treated as a first-class citizen in America. In the Northern states, some pretense is made that Negroes as a group participate in the rights of citizenship. But they live in a no man's land between slavery and citizenship, and everyone knows it."

America cannot afford the luxury of second-class citizens.

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ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE Speeches

1944

NC FEPC

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
20 VESEY ST.
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Testimony
of
Rt. Rev. John A. Ryan, D. D.
before
Senate Committee at Hearing on S.2048, August 31, 1944

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

For the last forty-two years, I have taught the principles and rules of morality to various groups of students, comprising priests, seminarians, nuns, laymen and laywomen. It is from that point of view, the viewpoint of moral right and moral wrong, that I wish to advocate briefly the enactment of the bill which is the subject of this hearing.

Among the grievances suffered by certain minorities in our population the most grave and the most fundamental are those which we call economic. There are many occupations from which the Negro is excluded because of the color of his skin. Sometimes the offender is the employer; sometimes it is the employees. When an employer refuses to hire Negroes because he dislikes to have them in his presence or to come into constant contact with them, his reason is clearly racial, or if you prefer, psychological. When an employer excludes all Negroes because he has found some of them unreliable his motive is economic, but he acts unfairly when he penalizes a whole group on account of the faults of individuals. When he refuses to employ Negroes because his white employees will not work beside them, his motive is economic; and in the circumstances it may be excusable. When his refusal is dictated by the assumption that Negroes should be kept in menial occupations, his conduct is uncharitable and contemptible.

In all these cases, the human dignity of the Negro is outraged and the virtues of justice or charity, or both, are violated. The Negro worker is not treated as a man possessing a natural right to reasonable intercourse with his fellows, nor as a brother having the same needs and claims as the white employer and the white employee.

Sometimes the Negro is excluded from certain occupations by the rules and practices of labor unions. This is even more reprehensible than exclusion by employers: for the wage earners have themselves been the victims of oppression by stronger economic classes. It must be noted, however, that the great majority of those unions which refuse to admit Negroes are moved, not by racial prejudices, but by practical economics. The unions desire to keep the jobs for their own members or for their relatives and friends. This is clearly illustrated in the case of the 2,400 Negro firemen in the South who, through an agreement between the railroad managers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, have been denied promotion to the position of engine drivers.

Even the economic motive does not morally justify the exclusion of Negroes from employment. Job scarcity should be dealt with in some other way than through the exclusion of a whole class. The sooner the unions discard this practice, the sooner will they bring about a rational and ethical solution of this very real difficulty. My conclusion, then, is that these discriminations by the unions are nearly always against charity and frequently against justice.

The most recent and one of the most flagrant instances of job discrimination was perpetrated a few weeks ago on the lines of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company. Practically all the employees of that concern went out on strike against the promotion of less than ten Negro employees to the position of motormen on the buses and street cars. It was particularly flagrant because it deprived several hundred thousand citizens of transportation and prevented the production of an enormous amount of vital war materials. Apparently the responsibility for the strike was shared in a secondary degree by the officials of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company.

In connection with the foregoing paragraph I should like to make a brief historical reference. Just one hundred years ago, there occurred another and enormously more destructive attack upon a minority, in the same city of Philadelphia. In that case, the minority was not composed of Negroes but of Irish Catholics. The motive was in part racial, in part economic, but mainly religious. The attackers feared that the despised Irish immigrants would take their jobs, and they hated the religion of the Irish so much that they killed thirteen and wounded fifty of them; and burned two Catholic churches, the seminary, and "whole rows of Irish houses". Two of the four principal leaders of the recent strike bear distinctively Irish names. If perchance they are descended from the Irish who suffered persecution in Philadelphia a century ago, their recent conduct constitutes one of the scandals and ironies of history.

Such discrimination, whether practiced by employees or by employers, is definitely immoral. It is immoral because it violates the moral precepts of charity and justice. The precept of charity is expressed in the command: "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself". This injunction is a part of the moral law of nature; it was proclaimed by God Himself to the Ancient Hebrews; it was reaffirmed and perfected by Christ for all mankind. According to the teaching of Christ, the neighbor whom we are commanded to love comprises the whole human race. However, this precept does not bid us to love the neighbor as much as we love ourselves. It commands us to love him in the same way as we love ourselves, as a fellow human being who possesses the the same nature and needs; to love him as a person who has intrinsic worth, as a person who is our equal, because, like us, he possesses an immortal soul. This is true of every human being, be his skin white, black, brown, yellow, or any combination or mixture of these colors.

The Christian precept of brotherly love is not satisfied by mere well wishing, nor benevolent emotion, nor sentimental yearning. It requires action, action which assists the neighbor who is in need. Now the need of a job or of a better job is as great in the case of a Negro or a Mexican as it is in the case of a White American. By the precept of brotherly love the White American is morally obliged to assist Negroes or Mexicans or any other minority group to get employment whenever he can do so without unreasonable or disproportionate inconvenience. That is, this obligation arises whenever there is a reasonable proportion between the need of the employee and the inconvenience, if any, that would be experienced by employer or fellow employees. Of course, no one is obliged to give up his own job to any other man, nor to provide him with employment at great personal sacrifice. Nothing of this sort is involved in the demand that the White employer or the White employee refrain from practices of discrimination; for the employer merely consents to employ competent Negroes or Mexicans, while the employee merely works with them in the same shop or establishment. The inconvenience, or hardship, which this course would impose upon the employer is so slight as to be negligible. The same man who sometimes refuses to hire Negroes in his store or factory willingly employs them in his kitchen and dining room. His discriminatory practices are entirely illogical. They are due to prejudice, arising from irrational customs and traditions. In some cases, the refusal of White employees to work beside Negroes derives from the same irrational and unchristian prejudices. In so far as their attitude arises from fear that Negroes will take their jobs, it is exaggerated or reflects a desire to maintain a selfish and unjust monopoly. In a word, neither employers nor employees are justified in practicing discrimination on the ground of disproportional or unreasonable inconvenience. Consequently, they violate the precept of charity or brotherly love. Their conduct is definitely immoral as if they committed theft or murder.

So much for the precept of charity. The economic discrimination of which I have been speaking is likewise contrary to the precept of justice. When God created the earth and commanded man to get a living therefrom by the "sweat of his brow", he did not exclude any race or group from either the benefits or the burdens of this arrangement. Hence every human being has a natural right of access to the bounty of nature and the opportunity of getting a decent livelihood. This right is a necessary means to life and reasonable self development. And it inheres equally in all the children of men. When, as is the case today, political and economic society is so organized that some men can enjoy this right only through contracts for the sale of their labor, then they have a right to obtain these contracts on reasonable terms. The employer who refuses such contracts to any group, when he could do so without unreasonable inconvenience to himself, definitely violates this right. The employee who refuses to work beside a member of any group, or excludes him from a labor union, likewise violates the right of his fellow men of access to the bounty of the earth on reasonable terms. As I have stated above, neither the employer nor the employee who discriminates against Negroes or Mexicans would suffer unreasonable or disproportionate inconvenience by refraining from such discrimination. When either of them is guilty of such conduct he violates not only charity but justice.

The foregoing argument may strike some persons as technical and metaphysical. Is is that, but all moral arguments must ultimately rest upon such a foundation. While I do not belittle arguments which are drawn from the traditions associated with our Bill of Rights or from human sentiment or human sympathy, I maintain that the most solid and scientific reasoning is that based upon the moral law.

The saddest feature of the situation is that the opposition to the pending bill derives, not from reason and knowledge, but from irrational custom, evil tradition, and palpable ignorance. It is asserted that the Negro "must be kept in his place", namely, in menial occupations and in a condition of servile dependence. This theory is based on the evil tradition which began in the days when the Negro was a human chattel. It has no warrant in either Divine Revelation or the law of nature. The assertion that association with Negroes in work places would be distasteful and intolerable is refuted by the peaceful contacts which exist between the two races in other relations of life: and by testimony before the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee to the effect that Negroes and Whites do get along amicably together in many industrial establishments. Those who honestly maintain that the thing cannot be done are simply ignorant of the facts. They do not know what has been accomplished and they imagine difficulties that do not exist. Those who have had the experience of working with Negroes, find that their previous fears and imaginings were without factual foundation.

The problem of Whites working side by side with Negroes is no more difficult than that involved in the association of the two races in the school room. Some ten years ago, I directed the members of my class in Social Ethics at the National Catholic School of Social Service to put down on paper their opinions concerning the proposal to admit Negro students to that institution. All the students of N.C.S.S.S. are college graduates. A small minority of those who wrote papers were unfavorable to the proposal, on the gounds that it was distasteful and would not work. A short time later Negro girls were admitted to the classes of N.C.S.S.S., without any opposition or excitement on the part of the White students. If I were to assign a similar task to the students today, I doubt that even one of them would condemn the existing arrangement. For several years now, I have had three or more Negroes in my own class. I have seen White and Negro girls sitting side by side in the class room and associating in periods of recreation. There has been no friction, no tension, nor any avoidance nor attitude of superiority manifested by either group. Some of the Negro students are not Catholics. Yet the members of both races treat all their fellow students, without distinction of color, according to the principles of Christianity, right reason and genuine Americanism. There is no reason whatsoever why the same attitude and spirit should not prevail among members of the two races in the realm of industry.

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
112 East 19 Street
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NOTE TO EDITORS: Because of the world-wide significance of this speech, you may want to reprint all or part of it as an article, under Mr. Randolph's by-line.

Key-note address by A. Philip Randolph, President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, at the National Convention of the Workers Defense League.
Presbyterian Labor Temple, December 8, 1944

MINORITIES AND THE WORLD TODAY

By A. Philip Randolph

There are four great questions that cry out for an answer all over the world today. They are:

1. How to win the war.
2. How to win the peace.
3. How to win full employment.
4. How to win freedom.

Fortunately, we are moving steadily toward victory by the United Nations over the Axis powers. This victory is imperative to the social health of the world. Just as gangsters and criminals must be cleared from the highways of local communities in the interest of the safety of law-abiding citizens, it is necessary that the national gangsters such as Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito also be swept out of our world community in the interest of safety to the non-aggressor nations.

WARNING AGAINST ILLUSIONS

But we should have no illusions about military victory. It does not follow that the extermination of Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito will mean the abolition of Nazism, fascism and militarism, nor is it sensible to assume that the victory of the united nations over the Axis powers means the end of world oppression and exploitation. If that were true, then it would be sound to ask the question -- why didn't these conditions exist, namely freedom and justice, before the rise of Hitler and Mussolini and Hirohito to power? The fact is fascism and Nazism are only different from imperialism in the rise of the former through the streamlined technique of scape goating. Either labor is used as a scape goat; or the so-called revolutionary radicals; or the Jews; or the Negroes through the doctrinal shibboleth of the master race. But the persecution of minorities did not begin with the rise of fascism. The notorious Dreyfus case of France, the Maylaws of Germany under Bismark, the exclusion acts of America against Orientals, the lynching of Leo Frank, a Jew in the south, and the terrorism of Klu Kluxism against Negroes, as well as an open shop, anti-labor policy, which has been the normal industrial climate of America, attest to the fact that the persecution of minorities and labor will not end with the downfall of Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito. No, the war will not abolish racial, religious and national hatreds. It most likely will intensify and sharpen them.

But this does not suggest or indicate in the least that the victory against Nazi Germany and Japan will not achieve a desirable end. However, the liberal and labor forces of America and the world should be sufficiently objective to understand that the end of the war will merely provide an opportunity for constructive social forces to create a better world.

As for winning the peace, several conferences have already been held to lay the foundation of a durable and just peace. The Dumbarton Oaks conference undoubtedly points in the right direction. An over-all world organization with a world court and police power are essential to the achievement and maintenance of peace, but how durable and just such a peace will be which is achieved and maintained by the existing United Nations is a question of serious moment. It is unrealistic to contend that Hitler or Mussolini or Hirohito created this world war. Their action undoubtedly have served as the fuse which was applied to the world magazine of imperialism, but had there not been any magazine to which the fuse could have been applied, there could not have been an explosion. Well might the question be asked, who created World War I? It wasn't Hitler, or Mussolini or Hirohito. Of course, no one wants a lunatic to be dropping matches around a powder keg. But if there was no key of powder the stray matches would not be dangerous. This war grew out of a world war system which existed before Hitler or Mussolini or Hirohito came into power and the world war system is a product of world-wide economic exploitation and the increasing desperation of world monopoly capitalism, expressed in financial imperialism. Hitler revolted against the peace

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of Versailles. The peace of Versailles was a product of World War I, and World War I grew out of international capitalism under which competition and rivalry on the part of the great world power nations sought to extend their dominion over strategic trade routes, economic spheres of influence and the weaker peoples of the world.

Will a world organization dominated by the United Nations that have not changed to any extent their position on the question of white supremacy and the maintenance of great colonial empires achieve a durable and just peace?

DUMBARTON OAKS REFUSES RACIAL EQUALITY

Symptomatic of the interest of the United Nations in a just peace was the refusal of the Dumbarton Oaks conference to adopt a resolution on racial equality which was raised by the Chinese delegation. The Versailles conference also rejected such a resolution presented by Japan, largely because of the opposition of the U.S.A. and Great Britain. According to the organization of the new world security organization, the oppressed peoples of color, the natives of the colonial world, will have no opportunity to present grievances to it. It is recognized as an organization of nations, not races or groups. Thus, the cause of the darker races cannot be presented to this new world organization. Since that is true, the confidence and faith the peoples of color placed in this institution is nil.

Moreover, how successful can such a world organization be with its efforts to achieve a just and durable peace when the old causes of the world war system have not been removed. Can a city government eliminate crime by a police system alone and its courts, while poverty, slums and disease continue to exist? Accordingly, courts and police forces are set up to protect society from criminals, but not to eliminate causes of crime. The basic prophylaxis of crime is the abolition of poverty and the abolition of poverty goes to the root of our national economy -- under which the labor of one may be appropriated by another.

BRITAIN AND THE DARKER PEOPLES

By the very same token, the proposed world organization and its courts and police force are intended to maintain the peace between the same nations who are interested in retaining their loot. This organization is not designed to abolish the cause of crimes committed against society by those great power nations. No one has touched this question yet. Great Britain has not indicated that it will even surrender Hong Kong. Premier Winston Churchill has stated in the veriest brass hat frankness that Great Britain will "hold her own," and that "I have not become the first minister of the King to preside over the liquidation of the British empire." What does this mean? That Great Britain is fighting for the preservation of all of the parts of its empire that have been lost and also to consolidate its imperial position in the world. It has no intention of giving freedom to India or any other section of the darker or oppressed people.

FRENCH IMPERIALISM

The provisional government of France under DeGaulle, while just rising from the ashes of defeat, has not indicated that it will give up its colonial empire of 70 millions of darker people. And Soviet Russia is extending its imperial domain.

Thus after this war the world will no doubt live in a state of truce based upon fear of each of the great powers that unless advantage appears to be clearly on its side, a changed world may result in its losing its imperial position in the world.

A WORLD WAR OF COLOR

Japan certainly will not be chastened by defeat, for the hope for control and domination of the East by Nippon will never die. And history would seem to indicate that the pendulum will some day swing from the decadent capitalist white western world to a rising and growing eastern world of color, and to that end, if a war does not come in the next generation between the existing powers that profess to be pledged to keep the peace, unless the darker races are free, independent and equal, a world war of color is certain to come. With the mastery of technology, the arts of war, together with the preponderance in population of the peoples of color, it is not difficult to foresee the direction in which history moves. Only a casual survey of the state of mind of the world of color will reveal a deep suspicion, distrust and hatred for the white world. This psychological attitude grows out of ages of oppression, exploitation, humiliation and insult visited upon the peoples of color by the white imperialists. In fact, the poignant thrusts of insults and humiliation by the master race patterns of superiority cut deeper fissures

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in the life and souls of the darker races than does economic exploitation, though the latter doubtless is the mother of the former.

FULL EMPLOYMENT

But when the war is won and totalitarian tyranny is crushed, the peace of the world will not last unless there is some measure of economic security for the common man. Thus, the question of full employment is our most serious domestic challenge.

Full employment has become a magic word in America. Most labor unions and most liberals are talking about it. What does it mean? Briefly it means sixty million jobs for the workers in the post war period in America. It means a high level of production of wealth ranging around one hundred and fifty billion dollars or more per year.

How can this exist? Only by a high level of mass consumption. But mass consumption is dependent upon mass purchasing power, and mass purchasing power stems from high wage rates and income for the industrial worker and farmer.

WAR BROUGHT JOBS FOR ALL

Today there is full employment. Will we have it tomorrow? Why do we have it today? It is due to the fact that the government is the market. It is the main purchaser of goods produced, and the production today is chiefly for war.

.........It is a fact that most of the techniques of the business interests had to be abandoned to mobilize industry to win the war. Planlessness had to be replaced by some measure of planning. The irresponsible profit seeking of private business had to be curbed by central controls, such as the OPA, the War Manpower Commission, etc. Investments had to be directed and supplies allocated in accordance with the needs of the war. The magnitude of our economic achievements during this war was possible only after central planning and control and public investments replaced business as usual, and so-called free enterprise.

But all of these controls had to be developed to advance the war, and they were resisted by the business interests. The one thing business supported wholeheartedly was the Little Steel Formula's wage freeze. Is there any reason to believe that business will change its attitude and policy in the post-war period?

Now, in order to develop purchasing power, the workers have got to maintain the existing wage levels. This can only be done through organization and struggle. But have the workers the power to maintain the present wage levels? This is a grave question. The AFL and the CIO could not prevent the enactment of the Smith-Connally Bill, which was a direct thrust at the heart of organized labor. Organized labor could not prevent the enactment of the measure requiring financial reports of unions to the Government. The AFL and CIO combined could not put over the Kilgore-Murray Bill.

But it may be granted that the picture has changed. Look at the victory of labor in the recent election, exclaim our optimists. Well, what does the election of President Roosevelt mean from the point of view of labor? Organized labor is kidding itself if it assumes that it elected President Roosevelt. The war elected him. One is naive indeed to assume that President Roosevelt would have been elected if the war had been over.

But it is the belief, by virtue of the election of the President and the New Deal, that full employment will be developed. How correct is this belief? The New Deal did not develop full employment before the war. When the attack on Pearl Harbor was made by the Japanese, some ten or twelve million workers were unemployed. The depression that President Roosevelt inherited when he rose to power from the Hoover administration, was never solved by the New Deal economic policies.

Why?

PLANNED SCARCITY

These policies were geared to planned scarcity. Wheat and pigs were destroyed while the people were hungry. Efforts were made to raise prices while wages were low and workers had no jobs. This was a strange bit of economic philosophy and strategy to meet a grave economic crisis such as a depression. But this strategy grew out of the existing capitalist system which the New Deal does not seek to change. But it is the capitalist system that is the cause of the depression.

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The New Deal has demonstrated experimentally what was theoretically known before, that the profit economy becomes increasingly unstable as it grows older, and can be continued only at the cost of a lower level of income and social well-being for the majority of the population. This is due to the fact that in the course of extracting the profits upon which the capitalist order depends for its expansion, the profit seeking economy progressively destroys the purchasing power upon which profits depend. In its nature, the profit system is unable to distribute sufficient claims to goods and services to the bulk of the population to keep the productivity plant operating to capacity. This situation is sometimes described in the phrase that says the capitalistic system has solved the problem of production but not the problem of distribution. But if distribution is not solved, neither is production. They are inseparable parts of one process.

In human relationships, this means that one section of the population appropriates a part of the production which others have produced without giving any equivalent in exchange. Technology which is moving at a rapid tempo is rendering more glaring the fact that the productivity of the workers is increasing faster than their share of the production. What is true of the case of the industrial worker is true of the farm laborer.

NEW DEAL CAN'T GET FULL EMPLOYMENT WITHOUT WAR

Thus, it would appear, and in fact it is evident, that neither the New Deal, nor the Old Deal -- nor the Square Deal, can solve unemployment or achieve full employment without war.

One important thing the worker and the general public of America have learned from the war is that, first, if the material and human resources of our country are fully and properly utilized, they are capable of producing a national income adequate to secure a standard of living commensurate with decency, comfort, health and culture. Second, in order to utilize our resources fully and properly, we must have planning and control of our national economy in accordance with the people's needs. Third, to achieve this end, we must project into the post-war period a collective national objective as compelling and as stimulating as our objective is in this war, and similarly related to international as well as national issues.

SOCIAL INSURANCE DOESN'T END POVERTY

Let me observe in this connection that schemes of social insurance or social security are not and cannot be an adequate national objective. They are necessary in every social system for the protection of those who through age, ill health, or other cause must be dependent on governmental care. They are a step toward the desirable end of recognizing social responsibility to all the citizens in it. Thus social insurances must be welcomed, by all who are concerned with the common well-being. But to consider that social insurance is any remedy for poverty is an illusion. Furthermore, the success of social insurance depends upon continued prosperity, the very goal which is threatened by our capitalistic economy.

Our post war national objective must reach far beyond the more negative freedom from want which may mean mere subsistence for the mass of our people. It must aim at creating a dynamic progressive society.

AMERICAN COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION NEEDED

Our future society must provide opportunity for all the people to live and work cooperatively in an environment of democratic equality and fellowship; to participate fully and freely in the development of this society; to express their individual personalities and initiative in accordance with their talents and aspirations; to live in houses and communities endowed with the best that modern science and modern art can contribute; to have enough of the right kinds of food, according to the standards established by modern nutrition; to receive education organized for young and old in accordance with the most advanced conceptions of democratic citizenship; and to enjoy leisure free from fear in an environment of beauty, pleasure and culture. This I submit can only be obtained in a society where the means of production and distribution are owned and controlled and democratically managed by the people through their government.

American labor is faced with the challenge of beginning to prepare to achieve such a society. I commend unto the workers of hand and brain, the farmers, small shopkeepers and liberals, the task of building an American Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, a political agency comparable to the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, for the purpose of achieving full employment, peace and plenty.

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But there are other problems in addition to war, peace and full employment. There is the problem of freedom. If we win the war, achieve the peace and secure a measure of full employment, it does not follow that the people will be free. The totalitarian countries, Nazi Germany; Fascist Italy, militarist Japan and Communist Russia achieved full employment. But are the people free in these countries? Certainly not. There is no freedom of speech, press, assembly or worship in any of these totalitarian states.

POST-WAR CONSCRIPTION WOULD END FREEDOM, KEEP JIM-CROW

There is a grave danger that the people, weary of war and depression, may swap freedom for security. This is possible even here. It is most significant that even the AFL and the CIO Conventions did not roundly condemn the reactionary and fascist program of post-war military conscription.

There are some Negroes who believe that military conscription may provide some military honors and jobs for Negroes. But our Government is a jim-crow military system. How can such a perpetuating hateful and such an undemocratic pattern help the Negro whose worst enemy is jim-crow? This attitude stuns me. But, to be sure, I can understand it.

But the minorities, and especially the Negroes, and all darker races everywhere, yearn and hunger for freedom.

They do more than yearn and hunger for freedom. They are fighting for it. Yes, they will die for it.

THE GREAT ISSUE OF OUR TIMES

Today, the question of color and race is the great historical social issue of these times. It is so because of many reasons. First, two-thirds of the people of the world are colored. Second, the darker races have been raised to a higher level of moral, intellectual and spiritual maturity. Third, the propaganda of the Master Race Theory, propounded by Nietzche, Benhardi, Bismarck, Arthur de Gobeneau, Houston Chamberlain, Madison Grant, Thomas Dixon and others, has had world-wide currency. Fourth, the peoples of color are in motion.

Peoples of color are waging a battle of movement against, injustice, humiliation and insult. This is true in India, North Africa, and South of the Sahara Desert, the West Indies where riots have raged for bread and rights, and, of course, in the United States of America. Yes, here too!

Colored Americans have had to fight for the right to fight and die for America. When Uncle Sam put his uniform on the Negro boys and girls, they were promptly put into second-class U. S. A. Army colored. This treatment has cut the Negro soldier and the entire race to the quick. Talking to Negro soldiers and sailors in different parts of the country, leads me to feel that there is not one Negro in the armed services who does not hate the Army and distrust the Government. What is true of the Negroes in the Army is largely true of the Negroes out of the Army.

THIS IS NOT A WAR FOR FREEDOM

I know of not a single Negro anywhere who believes that this war is being fought for freedom or democracy or human rights of any kind. Negroes believe that the results of the war, if not its aim, will be the maintenance and glorification of white supremacy.

Think of it, German Nazi prisoners are permitted to eat in railroad terminal restaurants in the United States of America that refuse Negro soldiers who are citizens and are dying in the foxholes of the South Pacific and on the Seven Seas and other battlefronts of the war. All of you, I hope, have heard of the Lynn Case. This is a case which involves the Goverment violating its own Selective Service Act. But the courts have turned their back on Lynn.

U.S. GOVT SPREADS JIMCROW ABROAD

Our Government which professes one thing but practices another, is officially spreading the pattern of jim-crow not only in all parts of America, which is bad enough, but also throughout the world. The formula is: wherever the stars and stripes wave, also exist this hateful and evil thing jim-crow. And strangely enough, Uncle Sam and John Bull and the Soviet Union are going to teach the German people the simple lessions of democracy!

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Uncle Sam is going to cross three thousand miles of ocean and is going to Berlin to overthrow the Nazi rulers and stop the German people from persecuting the Jews, Catholics, Protestants and labor. He is going to have them understand that democracy means that every German must have the right to vote, to be voted for, to secure an education, to exercise it, to work, to be free and pursue happiness. What irony! I can hear some of these Germans muttering their wrath, and lack of faith in it all, and the New German leaders wondering why President Roosevelt does not see to it that a little democracy is practiced at home. Well might the Nazi Germans, the militarist Japanese and fascist Italians ask: What about the vote for Negroes in the South? Why do you disfranchise ten million poor white and Negro people in your democratic, christian country? Why talk to us about law and order when you mob and lynch human beings merely because they are not white?

Why do you have two Armies to fight this war if you believe in democracy?

Yes, Uncle Sam can go three thousand miles to Europe to carry democracy and make Hitler and Hirohito be good boys but cannot cross the Potomac and make Rankin and Bilbo and their ilk practice democracy. What right has the U. S. A. to preach the moral virtues to Germany and Japan and Italy, when Georgia and Mississippi make American democracy a mockery, the laughing stock of the world?

A SEVEN-POINT PROGRAM

Negroes, therefore set forth the following program:

1. Abolition of jim-crow in the armed services.
2. Enforcement of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution.
3. Enactment of LaFollette-Dawson Bill in the House and Capper-Wagner-Chavez Bill in the Senate for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee.
4. A Federal Education law to insure equality of educational opportunity for Negro youth in the South.
5. A National Commission on Race to plan to prevent race riots in post war period.
6. Negro representation at the peace table.
7. Freedom for Africa

Today Haile Selassie is justly worried lest Great Britain make Ethiopia a British Protectorate. Great Britain, still perfidious Albion, while having agreed to remain in two Ethiopian centers for two years, is now indicating no disposition to evacuate. Instead of remaining to protect Ethiopia, Great Britain is staying there to exploit the ancient, peace-loving people. From the point of the Negro, there is no less objection to the dominationof Ethiopia by Great Britain which is historically notorious for its duplicity, chicanery and double-dealing than to bombastic Mussolini.

NEGROES SEEK SOCIAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC EQUALITY

Negroes will redouble their war against jim-crow everywhere in the schools, Army, trade unions, the Government, the worst offender of all, the church, YM and YWCA's. Negroes seek equality, economic, political, social, and ethnic. The fight against anti-Negroism, anti-laborism, anti-Semitism, and anti-catholicism is the fight against fascism, naziism. It's the fight for democracy, freedom and the good life.

Forward to the building of an American Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, a political party in America dedicated to the workers and the common man -- peace and production for use and not profit, through a planned democratic economy.

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EDITORS: Please send clippings of this article to the Workers Defense League, Room 905, 112 East 19 Street, New York 3, N. Y.

NC-FEPC

EDITORIAL COMMENT ON FEPC

1944

The CIO News (March 6): "...In defending the FEPC and all other sincere attempts to end unfair discrimination, the CIO will expose and fight bitterly all those who propagate Hitleristic ideas of racial intolerance, division and discrimination."

Washington, D.C., **The Washington Post** (March 7): "...Working in an area of deeply entrenched prejudices, FEPC sought patiently to open job opportunities for Negroes. Our manpower shortage and the need for all-out production strengthened the clear logic of its efforts. It did not solve the problem of employment discrimination in the United States; but at least it satisfied Negroes that a solution was being sought.

"The FEPC is simply trying to bring about a fuller mobilization of the Nation's manpower for war and a fuller realization of the principle of human equality on which the Nation is founded.

"It would be genuinely tragic if race prejudice caused the liquidation of this agency. To American Negroes whose loyalty to the United States and devotion to democracy has remained steadfast in the face of bitter deprivations, the FEPC is a vital symbol. To renounce it would be to slam a door upon the legitimate hopes which our own American litany has engendered and encouraged."

Philadelphia, Pa., **Inquirer** (March 7): "...To deprive anyone of his livlihood or to bar him from job opportunities because of his race, his religious belief, his color or his national origin is not only unfair; it is un-American."

Washington, D.C., **The Evening Star** (March 10): "...For there should be such an agency, created by act of Congress and charged with the mission of working toward the removal of race prejudice, especially those prejudices which bar the Negro from economic opportunity and advancement..."

Pittsburgh, Pa., **Post-Gazette** (March 20): "...Taking due note of the whole spirit of our democratic laws, it is hard to see how any member of Congress can argue that fair employment practices are either unconstitutional or un-American...To say that our Government can draft Negroes to fight with white men for their common safety and security but cannot insist that Negroes as well as white men be used in maintaining maximum production on the home front is splitting hairs too thin for logic.

"The Fair Employment Practices Committee may not have accomplished as much in promoting fair practices or in increasing war production as was hoped when it was established by Executive Order. It was given little authority and has met with many obstacles. But $585,000 a year is not too much to spend on this effort to put some of our democracy into employment practice."

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald (May 26): "...As for the FEPC, this newspaper has never considered that agency the terrible menace some have represented it as being. There have been and are, unquestionably, problems of discrimination against minorities in this country. This discrimination obviously can make the nation's acute wartime manpower problem more difficult. That the federal government should strive to mitigate such problems is an entirely understandable, if not imperative, undertaking. Not always has the FEPC acted wisely. But the general purpose underlying it is sound."

St. Louis, Mo., St. Louis Post-Dispatch (May 27): "...FEPC has been the instrument of the Federal Government in seeking to eliminate unfair employment practices on the part of any contractors doing Government business.

"...It is a problem of nationwide, not South-wide, interest and concern, because such practices encourage abuse of minorities everywhere.

"...The only political issue involved is whether a great democracy will blink at or try to stamp out discrimination, a crime for which we have indicted Nazi Germany."

St. Paul, Minn., Dispatch (May 27): "In saving the fair employment practices committee's appropriation, the House of Representatives has done the right thing but by shamefully small margin of only four votes...What the white supremacy people don't see is that if every Negro had a fair chance to make his way in the world for himself and to educate his children so that they could do the same even better in their turn, the so-called Negro problem would be about nine-tenths solved with no harm to anyone except those who wish to exploit him as cheap labor."

Chicago, Ill., Sun (May 28): "...America owes a debt to its conscience to keep FEPC alive."

Wilmington, Del., News (May 29): "...if the Senate approaches the question (continuance of FEPC) from the standpoint of the nation's need to use the skills of all its citizens to best advantage it can decide it in only one way."

Washington, D.C., The Evening Star (May 31): "...On the record, and in good conscience, this is plainly a program which should be continued.

"...Nothing constructive could be accomplished, but serious harm would be done, by permitting the agency to die for lack of funds while legislation to give it whatever powers Congress thinks it should have is under consideration."

Detroit, Mich., Free Press (May 31): "The FEPC deals with only one phase of the problem of securing economic equality for 13,000,000 Negroes, but in that field it has done excellent work."

Des Moines, Iowa, Register (June 1): "Frankly, we are scandalized that so many Republicans in the House of Representatives voted with the "white supremacy" boys of the South to kill the appropriation for the battered Fair Employment Practices Committee...The FEPC's only power is that of persuasion. Its only demands are that common human justice and sense be applied in hiring war industry and federal workers--namely, that there be no discrimination for reasons of race, creed, color, or national origin as between loyal American citizens...

"We are glad to note that the Iowa congressmen present all voted for the FEPC appropriation."

Overseas News Agency (June 3): "While the FEPC does not deal with some of the main predisposing causes of racial strife, such as overcrowded housing, insufficient transportation facilities, fatigue due to long hours and pressure on war jobs, and discrimination against colored men in uniform, yet it operates on those tensions at the point where they become most heated: the quest and competition for jobs.

"The work of the FEPC has directly contributed to lessening strikes and consequent loss of time in war industries..."

Boston, Mass., Christian Science Monitor (June 5): "...The Committee can stand on its own merits. Its officials have proceeded cautiously and conscientiously in a highly charged atmosphere, and have encountered remarkably little trouble. Usually it is only necessary for a Committee examiner to remind an employer or labor organization of its responsibilities under the President's order. The bulk of 744 cases satisfactorily adjusted in the past half year were handled in this manner. Only five cases have reached the stage of public hearing under the present Committee.

"An adequate appropriation for the FEPC should be passed."

Springfield, Mass., Springfield Daily News (June 5): "...As a result of the committee's work, real progress has been made in bringing economic democracy to millions of Americans...Its work will have a permanent effect on the future economic rights of Americans. And its work must be carried on."

New York, N.Y., Post (June 7): "...The record of FEPC is extremely creditable...Therefore, citizen pressure should be exerted at once, on the Senate Appropriations Committee, with regard to saving the FEPC for the future."

Chicago, Ill., Chicago Sun (June 11): "...Emergency operation of the FEPC for war purposes is so clearly justified that for the Senate to deny it funds would be a serious setback. The agency has proceeded sanely and carefully. It has handled the majority of its cases without fireworks or publicity and has helped ease tensions in a difficult field... The appropriation and authorization are commanded by the needs of war and by the principles of democracy."

St. Louis, Mo., Post-Dispatch (June 11) (urging passage of the appropriation): "...This is the best way of making the public aware of the need, as recognized by a bill now in the House committee, for extending FEPC into the postwar period."

Washington, D.C., The Washington Post (June 13): "...FEPC's orderly, understanding approach to labor problems of this nature will be needed more than ever when we encounter the problems of demobilization and reconversion. For in this period discrimination can create chaos. If whole classes of men are denied an opportunity to earn a living because of the color of their skin, they will become desperate and dangerous."

Pittsburgh, Pa., Post-Gazette (June 21): "...the best possible approach to our racial problems is on the economic level, where the FEPC has sought with a measurable degree of success to give members of our minority groups an equal opportunity to earn a living by serving their country in time of war."

Kansas City, Mo., Times (June 22): "The principle on which the FEPC has operated is sound. As its name implies the function of the committee is to see to it as nearly as may be humanly possible that unfair discrimination in wartime employment is not directed against workers because of race, color or religion. That is both a fair and democratic principle."

Detroit, Mich., Detroit Free Press (June 22): "The Senate's 39 to 21 refusal to strike from an appropriation measure a $500,000 fund for the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee helps to ensure continued life for an important agency...The FEPC was set up to do what it could to reduce the discrimination in industrial employment and to promote better racial understanding. No one of intelligence expected it to usher in Utopia overnight."

Philadelphia, Pa., Record (June 22): "It is vastly encouraging that the Southern bloc in the U. S. Senate was soundly whipped in its effort to destroy the Fair Employment Practice Committee...FEPC, established...by Presidential order, has accomplished a great deal in promoting equal opportunity..."

Miami, Fla., Miami Herald (June 26): "...For Senator George to charge that approval of the FEPC fund would be 'a long step toward converting our economic system into a communistic or national socialistic system" is...only a measure of the Georgian's capacity for reckless statement. FEPC may have its faults, but what Senator George alleges so fiercely is not one of them."

Washington, D.C., Post (June 26): "The FEPC can be counted on...to hew quietly yet persistently, as it has in the past, at formal discriminations which all believers in democracy must regret."

Boston, Mass., Herald (June 26): "The significance of the survival of the Fair Employment Practice Committee in its first Congressional test is that a precedent has been established for a permanent agency to tackle this thorny problem of fairer treatment of Negroes by employers."

Johnstown, Pa., Democrat (July 1): "A nation founded on democratic consent and now at war for democracy ought to have no difficulty in providing for 'the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.'... (Yet) Discrimination in employment against Negroes, against Jews and other religious minorities, and against some foreign-born groups persists... Wisdom and justice both cry out against discrimination. Fair play helps everyone and unfairness, in the long run, hurts everyone."

Washington, D. C., Post (July 7): "... The agency is doing a difficult job with skill and patience."

St. Paul, Minn., Dispatch (July 25): "Maintenance of fair practices in industrial employment ought to be one of those unarguable things, like goodness and love of family."

Salisbury, N.C., Post (August 5): "...No question of social mingling of the races is involved. The question is solely one of equal opportunity. We may hope that both employers and white workers will realize this simple truth, and that they will also realize that if opportunity can be denied to any group, for reasons of color, religion, or national origin, no minority group's rights are safe. The principle of equal opportunity is not divisible. It ceases to exist if all do not have it."

Kansas City, Mo., Times (Sept. 1): "Despite mistakes that no doubt have been made, it served a justified purpose in wartime and its work would be even more necessary in the post-war adjustment era. From the experience gained it ought to be the better prepared to deal with the many problems that will arise in that period."

Durham, N.C., Herald (Sept. 11): "In a democracy every one has a right to choose his friends and associates. If he likes to feel superior to those he doesn't associate with, that feeling, right or wrong, is his inalienable privilege. This is all there is to the question of 'social equality' which is always dragged in when the subject of equal opportunity for all racial groups is brought up.

"Equal opportunity has nothing whatever to do with 'social equality'--whatever those words mean. Equal opportunity means just what it says--a chance for every one according to his character and abilities, plus equal pay for equal work. This, and no more, is what the Fair Employment Practices Committee has stood for and does stand for. Yet the FEPC barely squeezed through the House last Spring when the War Agencies Bill came up and it had 21 votes against it in the Senate to 38 in favor.

"Now a strong fight is ahead if a permanent FEPC is not to be blocked. The need for it is desperate. Hearings in the House and Senate committee rooms show that the Negro is still being discriminated against. He still doesn't get the same pay the white man gets for the same work. He is still the first to go when there are cutbacks. And the Philadelphia transit strike showed that the blame isn't entirely management's. It goes deep into the ranks of union men and women who ought to know better.

"There are no new arguments against discrimination. There are just the old ones. It is unfair. It is undemocratic. It is un-American. Or, if such an appeal falls on deaf ears, we may add that it breaks down wage levels by creating a sub-marginal class. It creates racial strife in which the white man suffers just as much as the Negro--maybe more. It hurts us among our friends abroad. Wise, civilized and patriotic Americans will take their stand against it."

New York, N.Y., Evening Post (Sept. 2): "But the day of reckoning when we shall need a permanent FEPC cannot be put off. The disgraceful race strike which tied up Philadelphia showed that. It was an omen of the future, especially of the postwar days when the pressure for jobs will aggravate race tensions."

Washington, D.C., Post (Sept. 2): "...When reconversion gets under way there is bound to be a profound upheaval in employment. If the hiring and firing of workers takes place on a discriminatory basis, gross injustice and hardship is certain to be visited upon minority elements in our population, Negroes in particular. 'The right to work,' the Reverend Francis W. McPeek told the Senate Committee on Labor and Education, 'is the least common denominator of democracy. To the extent that this elementary right is denied to men on grounds of race, religion or national origin, democracy is debased and stultified.'"

Asheville, N.C., Citizen (Sept. 5): "... Hitherto, the FEPC has shown little disposition to practice patience and to place its faith in education. For this reason, its agreements with the CIO union is all the more gratifying. Working together, the union and the FEPC can do much to remedy conditions of discrimination within the particular industry for whose employees the union can speak. We are confident that once the union members are willing to see all unfair employment practices eliminated, the employers in that industry will withold no cooperation."

Des Moines, Iowa, Tribune (Sept. 16): "At present, the federal Fair Employment Practice Committee is charged with preventing job discrimination. This is set up as a wartime agency, however, and can give no one the sense of longterm security in this field which is essential if open conflicts are to be avoided. The FEPC should be made permanent. This would pay as well in the long run."

Miswaukee, Wis., Journal (Sept. 16): "... It is essential that labor unions recognize the common interest of white and Negro workers and that Negroes not be discriminated against because of their color. Some unions are making a good beginning...There is nothing easy about this problem. It's a tough one, prejudice being what it is. But it won't cure itself. Unions and employers and the workers themselves must all help to solve it. And the committee on fair employment practices should be made permanent, as is proposed in Congress."

Chicago, Ill., Sun (Sept. 23): "Racial discrimination, like social security, fair labor standards and minimum wages, is a national problem. It must be dealt with nationally. Shall America confess that fair employment practices are possible only in time of labor scarcity? Shall we give up the ground so far gained when the war ends? Congress can answer 'NO' by establishing the FEPC on a permanent basis."

Bismarck, N.D., Tribune (Oct. 16): "No war agency is more American in the finest sense and more absolutely expressive of the ideals for which we are fighting in this war than the Fair Employment Practice Committee."

Eau Claire, Wis., Leader (Oct. 24): "...This agency, in the words of the presidential proclamation which created it, is intended to 'encourage full participation in the war effort of the United States regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders.' That is the practical reason for its existence... But practicality isn't everything... They ought to have fair play because everyone ought to, because they are a part, and a valuable part, of the nation--because, in short, they belong."

Great Falls, Mont., Tribune (Nov. 14): "...It wouldn't be American in the grand old meaning of the word to give fair play to minority groups during a war merely in order to get work out of them. It would be a mean kind of exploitation... Let's have fair play during the war. Let's continue it after the war. It is one of the brightest stars in the banner of victory."

New York, N.Y., Post (Nov. 18): "The siren that announces the end of the war may, in the same note, shrill the warning of a race conflict unless--

"Unless Congress sets up a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee to see to it that no worker is discriminated against because of race, color, or creed."

Kansas City, Mo., Star (Dec. 8): "Through tactful administration a permanent FEPC could remove many causes of strife and many injustices."

Dayton, Ohio, Herald (Dec. 18): "The FEPC as an emergency group has had some ticklish situations to study and untangle in the interest of the war effort. As a permanent instrument of government its responsibilities would be no less onerous, perhaps even more so. Yet it will be better for our democracy if the problems of discrimination are faced courageously and yet tactfully by leaders carefully chosen for this special task instead of being swept under the rug of national indifference and complacency."

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald (Dec. 9):(Summarizing its stand on federal prohibition of discrimination in employment): "...It will be generally agreed that voluntary progress against the results of discrimination is better than that brought about by compulsion. But it is also true that even under a democracy, we must protect and enforce certain freedoms and rights by compulsory measure (s)."

1945

Washington, D.C., Post (Jan. 5): "... There is no doubt that prejudice has inhibited the effectiveness of our manpower mobilization by keeping qualified workers out of essential jobs on account of race, creed or color. If it is allowed to continue into the period of demobilization it will seriously aggravate the difficulties of conversion from a war to a peace time economy... We are in full agreement, therefore, with Mr. LaFollette's belief that Congress should act to do away with discrimination in employment. It can best do so by giving statutory authority and permanent status to the Fair Employment Practice Committee which has been operating up to the present time by simple executive order."

Durham, N.C., Herald (Jan 11): "The President's Fair Employment Practice Committee set up for the war period only--is the first official attempt to guarantee any measure of job equality. Because this agency will cease to exist when the war ends, it seems vitally essential to set up a permanent and broader FEPC immediately."

Terre Haute, Ind., Star (Jan. 18): "... Either one is for democracy at any price, or one does not really believe in it at all! If one believes in it then one must fight for it. One way of fighting for it is to extend economic democracy. One way to extend economic democracy is to see that a permanent F.E.P.C. is set up without delay."

Paterson, N.J., Call (Jan 20): "No one who believes in democracy would dare to interfere with the right of any citizen to vote, merely because of his race, creed, color or national origin. But political rights can have little meaning if they are not backed up by economic rights. The right to a job must therefore be guaranteed by society on the same basis as the right to vote."

Kansas City, Mo., Times (Feb. 1): "Controversial as the question is, there are sound reasons for a permanent FEPC. This agency has made progress in breaking down discrimination in wartime employment on grounds of race, creed, and color. It has not attained perfection, but from its own experience a better record could be made in the postwar period, when competition for jobs will be much stronger than it is today."

Washington, D.C., Post (Feb. 11): "... There is nothing more fundamental to a democratic society than equality of economic opportunity. If it cannot be absolutely guaranteed by law, it can certainly be significantly fostered. And insistence upon the observance of this equality through vigorous governmental enforcement, is at once an impetus to and an essential concomittant of education...It is time for the Government of the United States to go unequivocally on record in support of the doctrine that all Americans have an equal right to jobs."

Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel (Feb. 11): "...At first blush this may seem to some readers one of those reforms that might be postponed until the war is won. But we think the ideal of equal economic opportunity is something more than an objective for a remote peace. It represents something even more than the kind of country which American fighting men--of varying race, color, and creed--want to come home to. It bespeaks the kind of country we need here and now to produce with maximum efficiency for war."

Rochester, N.Y., Democrat and Chronicle (Feb. 12): "Our judgment is that if it is the practice of most employers to discriminate on grounds of race or religion, there are few instances in which this practice ought not to be stopped, by law, if necessary."

New York, N.Y., Herald Tribune (Feb. 16): "We agree that it is impossible to regulate purely social aspects of human relationships by law. But unjust restrictions on the opportunity to earn a living are a different matter. We believe that the barring of Negroes and other minorities from any consideration whatsoever for jobs can be outlawed. The present wide public support for action stems from a recognition that members of a minority cannot be denied the basic mean for self-betterment. The paradox of a nation which finds Negroes sufficiently capable to be inducted for military service but which still refuses to test their capabilities in wide areas of industry is plain for all to see..."

Chicago, Ill, Sun (Feb. 27): "The work of the President's wartime Fair Employment Practice Committee has directed attention to the evils of racial or religious discrimination in economic opportunity. This type of prejudice, more widespread than was generally understood, strikes minorities the deadliest kind of blow; it deprives individual members of a chance to rise according to individual merit."

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE Speeches

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MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 14, 1945

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street, Room 301
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Your letter of June 8 to Dr. Mays has been received in his absence from the city. I am enclosing your manuscript and a copy which I had made for you.

We certainly enjoyed having you here at Morehouse and enjoyed the address.

Very truly yours,

Joyce E. Jenkins
Secretary to Dr. Mays

ADDRESS
By
A. Philip Randolph

Fellow Graduates:

You start out on the broad highway of the world at a time when a great world system is in its death throes, and the birth of a new social order is in labor. The existing international crisis, deepened by this global war, may hasten the coming of a new world. You are the witness to the break up of a great civilization. It is the civilization of capitalism. It played its role. It has served its end. But all life is stubborn. It revolts against death.

Everywhere a desperate capitalism, faced with the threat of a new social order, revolts against its own values and achievements, against its main contribution. Democracy and progress, equality and opportunity, abundance and increasing development of the productive forces of society--all of these traditional ideals of capitalism, expounded by Adam Smith, John Stuart Mills and the Encyclopedists, are being cast aside for white and black, brown and yellow peoples as they become dangerous to the existing property relations. And this sinister reaction becomes a revolt against the future in fascist repression of all progressive forces and the revival and intensification of the terrible tendensies of anti-semitism, anti-Negroism, anti-laborism, anti-Catholicism and anti-liberalism.

Fascism, an evil phenomenon, world-wide in scope and menace, the last desperate resort of monopoly capitalism to maintain its rule, openly seeks inspiration in the medieval ideals out of the destruction of which modern civilization arose. In Italy and Germany Fascism erected economic and cultural decline and decay into a system. Fascist ideas, tendencies, movements and leaders with a flair for arousing popular passions by deft manipulation of slogans and shibboleths are appearing in England, the U.S.A. and in all parts of the capitalist world.

For there is no immunity to the plague of Fascism. It arises out of the needs of capitalism in decay. The need to organize disintegration into a program and to beat back the rising tide of the democratic forces. Nationalism and imperialism are inflamed. The crisis and capitalist desperation drive relentlessly to new and more destructive wars. A new barbarism threatens to engulf the world. This new barbarism is not a potential problem of the future. It is an immediate danger which calls upon us today for action. The new barbarism--fascism, would consume our blood and bones, our hopes and ideals, in the onsweep of its destructive fury. The forces of life must rally against an approaching death. You, fellow students, represent the forces of life and light.

This trend to another Dark Ages, with its cruel and ruthless terrorism of men of color, race, religion and labor is not however, an inevitable morpholigical doom that must be met with the meretriciously magnificent resignation of Spenglerism. Man is the agent of the social forces. He can change their course and direction. This is the task of the enlightened, the courageous and honest souls of the world.

IN QUEST FOR NEW FORTIERS OF FREEDOM

The war against the Axis powers is about to be won. Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito have about reached their end. What does this mean? Does it mean the end of wars? Hardly, these international criminal gangsters did not cause this war and their passing will not mark the end of wars. The roots of wars go deeper than personalities. They lie in war systems. And war systems have their being in world financial materialism. If this is not understood, we will hug the illusion that Dumbarton Oaks and the San Francisco conferences can and will build a just and durable peace. Moreover, we will assume that the end of Hitler is the end of Hitlerism.

PEACE

But there can be no just and durable peace until the causes of war systems are removed. While some international mechanism such as the plan of Dumbarton Oaks for a world security council is a step in the right direction, a scheme to rule the world by a concert of big powers can not inspire any hope, especially since the big powers, the only potentially dangerous aggressors are to have the absolute right to Veto any decision involving action against a breach of the peace, whether that action be directed against one of them or against a small power.

Besides, world imperialism, the international manifestation of monopoly capitalism, involves sharp competition and rivalry for economic spheres of influence, trade routes, and political suzerainty by the great power nations that breed wars. Nor can leagues of nations or world security councils achieve a permanent peace which excludes seven hundred millions or more of peoples of color from the councils of peace. Mandates and trusteeships are mere smoke screens for the continuances of the hated and hateful system of colonialism.

Can the world look to San Francisco to chart the ways of a just peace when Marshall Jan Christian Smuts, head of the government of South Africa, Arch imperialist and genius of the oppression of black natives who are denied citizenship rights in the government of their own land, is intrusted with the high honor and task of writing the preamble to the charter of this international security organization?

FULL EMPLOYMENT

But assuming that the Big Powers can postpone the next war a quarter of a century or more, there will be no peace within nations unless some measure of full employment or economic security can be vouchsafed for the workers of hand and brain. In the circles of labor, government and business, there is wide-spread discussion of how and when it may be possible to create 60 million jobs, the goal of full employment.

Today, we have full employment because the government is the chief market since it purchases yearly about 100 billion dollars worth of goods and services for the war, and the national annual income ranges around one-hundred-fifty billions. But what will happen when the war ends and the Government ceases to buy ships and tanks and air planes and various ammunitions of war? Where then will the market be? Can the people, who must constitute the market, buy one-hundred-fifty billion dollars worth of goods and services a year? Not unless the existing wage rates and salaries and other forms of income can be maintained.

This is quite unlikely unless the unity of labor insures the necessary bargaining power, the prospects of which are not the most reassuring with the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. moving farther apart on both the home and world fronts.

NEW DEAL AND FULL EMPLOYMENT

Labor voted for the reelection of the late President Roosevelt, than whom, as a statesman during his times, there was none greater, on the assumption and belief that he would supply sixty million jobs. The people had forgotten that when Nipon bombed Pearl Harbor, twelve million workers were unemployed in America and that the New Deal Philosophy of planned scarcity requiring the killing of pigs and the plowing under of wheat and cotton had failed to liquidate the depression. Yes, profits and plenty in a peace economy are not compatible.

Verily, it is highly doubtful that full employment is possible within the frame work of private interprise for profit, save that production is for a war economy. Ironically, no capitalist state has ever achieved plenty without production for war destruction. Production for construction in peace is only possible in a planned economy of a dynamic, democratic cooperative socialist society.

RACE AND COLOR

What do these problems mean to the Negro? Let me discuss two issues with you: One is; that the question of race and color is the central historical social problem of these times. Two: that the conflict of race and color is growing and sharpening throughout the world.

As for the first: There are reasons why race and color have become the transcendent problem of the world today. They fall into the following categories:

One: Two-thirds of the population of the world are colored.

Two: The people of color have risen to a higher level of intellectual, moral and spiritual maturity.

Three: The Master race theory, propounded by Nietzche, Bernhardi, Treitche, Bismark, Arthur de Gobenean, Houston Chamberlain, Madison Grant, Thomas Dixon and others, has become a political propaganda weapon of the German Nazis, Italian Fascists, and Japanese Militarists, as well as the American Racists.

With respect to our second issue: what of the intensification and spread of racial tensions and threats?

A casual glimpse over the world will reveal that the darker races are in motion which is perhaps the outstanding phenomenon of this hour. Note the ringing challenge of India for freedom and independence.

Africa, of which there is little in the news, is seething with unrest. Over a hundred million natives south of the Sahara desert are restive under the yoke of the Anglo-French empire systems. In Johannesbough, South Africa, but a few months ago, the Banti Press was burned down by the enraged whites because it had condemned the policies of Marshall Smuts and demanded participation in the government for the landless and voteless blacks.

In Trinadad, Jamaica, the Bahamas and other sections of the West Indies, the fires of revolt against British imperialist rule, are burning. And there is a wild-eyed discontent abroad in the Arab world. The disinherited peoples of color everywhere are on the march.

As for the United Ststes, there has never been in the history of the Negro people such wide spread feeling of discontent, bitterness and resentment, and it stems from flagrant discrimination and segregation in the armed forces.

I have gone into all parts of the country during this war and talked to hundreds of Negro sailors and soldiers, and I have not found one who didn't openly condemn the army, navy and government for the treatment he receives. And who can censure him. On our railroads and buses, German Nazi prisoners ride as first class passengers while Negro boys in Uncle Sam's uniform are jim-crowed. In the United States of America, the soldiers of Hitler enter theatres, eat in restaurants, go to hotels that exclude Negro soldiers, and insult them, too. Well, might the question be asked: What are the Negro boys, in the foxholes of the South West Pacific, on the far flung battle fields and seven seas of the world fighting and dieing for? Verily, they go down to their graves for a democracy and freedom they have never known.

Yes, the Negro people are in motion. They are moving against incrusted dogmas, hoary patterns, the fictions, myths, mores and stereotypes of racial superiority and inferiority. Thus, color and racial wars, violence and bloodshed, conflicts and clashes are inescapable, if the Negro and other people of color remain in motion and these barriers to their progress stiffen their resistance. One of two things must happen if America and the world are to be saved from an holocaust of devastating racial strife. Either these barriers against racial equality must be torn down or the Negro people and other members of the darker races must retreat, go backward, abandon this struggle for freedom and equality.

All be it, it does not appear that the walls of hate and prejudice will fall without a battle. For history records no example of a group surrendering power voluntarily. Freedom must be won. It is never given. Justice must be exacted. It is never granted.

WHAT THEN IS TO BE DONE?

What is to be done depends upon what one needs and wants. Now the primary needs of the Negro are:

1. Economic security
2. Full and first class and equal citizenship status
3. Education and culture.

How can these objectives be attained?

First, the Negro people need a plan. They need a plan built to meet their short and long range problems. This plan should be scientific. It should grow out of and be executed through the wisdom and understanding of the collective leadership of the Negro, in relation to, and in co-operation with, those liberal political, social, labor and religious forces of America and the world that give promise and hope - on the local, state, national and international levels. Our plan must be sufficiently flexible as to provide for amendments, changes and improvements in the light of developing experiences, but it should be resolutely and forthrightly executed. This plan should cover a range of 25 years, broken down into 5-year periods, to determine forms and degrees of progress.

A well-coordinated, comprehensive scientific plan would eliminate waste motion, endless cross purposes, costly duplication and fragmentary and nondescript, purposeless action based upon nothing but good intentions.

A cursory examination of the history of the Negro will disclose the fact that our progress has been largely genetic with a very little telic direction. Like Topsy, the fight of the Negro for his rights just "growed." I think it can be said that no consistent, organized, systematic, methodical and scientific attack upon the Negro problem has ever been made. And hence it is utterly fantastic for Negroes to claim that they have made more progress since emancipation than any other people in the world in the same period of time. This historical myth has been a dangerous opiate to the race.

Of course, we have made progress but not the broad basic progress we should have made. This is due chiefly to the fact that we have never had a plan, a coordinated plan that could tap and marshal the maximum resources of the Negro. We have never known what we wanted or what we needed. We have been devastatingly individualistic except in the fraternal and religious worlds.

For instance, it is a matter of common knowledge that the Negro though representing from 10 to 15 million of the population has practically nothing to do with the operation and direction of the economic, political, educational and industrial machines of America.

Who will gainsay the fact that after the policies and programs have been thought out and mapped out for the direction and government of the country, by the forces of industry, labor, government and finance that then the Negro is told what to do or where to go? He has practically nothing to do with the formulation or execution of policy. It is distressing but true that our most respected, honored and brilliant representatives in Washington, during the reign of the liberal New Deal, who are sometimes referred to as the Black Cabinet, were mere window dressing.

We have the vote in the North but it is not organized and directed according to any well-defined plan in the interest of the Negro people as a whole.

CATAGORIES OF PLAN

What then should be the catagories of a 25 years Master Plan.

At the top of our plan should be economic action. In this catagory should be listed:

- Trade union organization
- Consumers and producers' cooperatives
- Credit Unions
- Private interprise

Since practically 99 9/10 percent of the Negroes are workers of hand and brain, the Negroes' most basic and primary organization should be labor, so that he may control it and sell it at the highest price in the form of wages. Negroes possess more labor than any other commodity. It should and can become his biggest business, but only if it is highly organized and honestly controlled.

And since all Negroes are consumers, cooperatives can conserve and expand their economic resources and purchasing power. Cooperatives and credit unions can be established from humble beginnings, assuming of course that the educational preparation in the Rochdale principles is adequate.

The economic areas of trade union organization and cooperatives and credit unions are a challenge to the New Negro Statesmanship. It's a challenge to you who are about to commence your career or the next step toward a career.

But remember, success cannot be wrung from these fields overnight. They require the spirit of the pioneer. The building of labor unions and cooperatives are the hardest and most difficult tasks one can attack. It's a field of struggle and sacrifice.. Here the studiest virtues are necessary.

SECOND POLITICAL ACTION

Within the field of political action in a 25 year plan ought to be listed the building of a powerful national non-partisan, independent political movement wholly financed by Negroes as a pressure force upon both old parties, but not excluding the participation of Negroes in either the Republican, Democratic, Socialist and Communist parties. Politicians, as a rule, possess no ideals or principles. They respond only to pressure power. They will retreat, if not run before the rising, righteous wrath of the people.

High upon the program of political action should be the objective of complete abolition of the white Primaries, Poll tax and discrimination in voting registration in the South. Thus, we deplore President Truman's appointment of Tom Clark of Texas as United States Attorney General. He is a recognized enemy of Negro civil and political freedom.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The goal of first class citizenship status is a sine qua non to any people. Its realization requires the elimination of all distinctions in the law based upon race or color, religion, national origin or ancestry. This would provide equality before the law for the Negro. And equality before the law does not exist for the Negro in any Southern State today. All over the South, the law enforcement agencies are bane and barrier to the Negro.

ABOLITION OF JIM-CROW

And with the acquisition of civil rights must go the abolition of jim-crow-segregation. Segregation is the greatest single menace of the Negro in the South. With it, there can be no compromise. It is at the bottom of economic, political and social oppression, and exploitation of the Negro and poor whites. It poisons the main stream of public life.

It's a limitation upon equality, democracy and freedom. No system of education in the South can do its basic job, namely, the building of men and women, until jim-crow is dead. Until the infamous policy of jim-crow is broken down the souls of the Negro people will be pierced with insult and their hearts griped with fear. Education under the sinister shadow of jim-crow cannot free the Negro because he is in bondage to fear. Jim-crow fosters ingenders and inculcates fear in the very fibre of the Negro. If the Negro accepts segregation, he cannot fight for equality and if he does not fight for equality, he will never be fully free, for equality is a condition to freedom and freedom is a condition to equality.

ELIMINATION OF ILLITERACY

Third, in our 25 year plan, illiteracy must be completely wiped out and adult education expanded with the establishment of public forms of small groups for a general and serious discussion of questions of vital interest to the people. The church, labor union, cooperative, credit union, public forum or school should serve as the clearing house for information about government services. Thousands of Negroes suffer everywhere, but especially in the South because, being illiterate, they don't even know were to go for services the government supplies to citizens.

ACQUISITION AND MECHANIZATION OF FARMLAND

Fourth, a basic phase of our 25 year plan should be the acquisition and mechanization of farmland. The Negro is being steadily transformed from the status of a farm owner to a farm tenant and from a farm tenant to a farm laborer. The rapid mecanization of farming requires the outlay of large amounts of capital which the average farmer, Negro or White, does not possess. Thus the development of cooperatives are indispensable to enable the Negro to purchase and efficiently develop farm land. No economy of an oppressed people, great masses of whom are rural, is sound unless land is one of its important factors. Without producti~~on~~ve land property, except where there are strong trade unions and cooperatives fortified with political power, workers, under the economy of modern industrialism, tend to become slum, dole dependent proletarians. It seems to me that I see dangerous tendencies among the Negroes in this direction. It is not inevitable. It can be stopped. Yet, be it recognized that a slogan back to the farms for the Negro people as a solution of their problem, in this period of machine power and control, is as naive as it is unscientific and impossible. We must not allow ourselves to be caught in the dialectical logical dilemma of either or, but we must employ pragmatic correlation of several procedures.

MASTERY OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY

Undoubtedly, one of the greatest disideratаa of the Negro people today is the Mastery of Modern technology. Booker T. Washington, the Sage of Tuskegee, called it industrial education. Around this question raged a violent controversy for a decode or more, with the scholarly Dr. Du Bois and Dr. Washington as the respective protagonists. Today, as one views this conflict on racial methodology in calm retrospection, it assumes the proportions of a tempest in a teapot. Industrial and higher education are not mutually exclusive approaches to the problem of the Negro. Rather do they complement and supplement each other. There must be a synthesis of the two approaches.

Negro youth must seek to scale the highest reaches of science, art, philosophy, literature and religion. The life of a people would be colorless, drab and largely uncreative without the refining influences of the higher forms of education and culture.

But assuming the possession of the higher forms of learning, if the Negro people do not secure modern industrial training, in highly specialized forms, they cannot march in the vanguard of the rapid movement of American and world industrialization in the post-war era. Negroes will be destined to become the industrial untouchables of the country, the flotsam and jetsam of the working world, if they fail to acquire the science and technology of these times, Technification is the order of the day.

The basic fallacy and foible with Negro education is not that either the industrial or higher education form is stressed the more, but that both, with their obvious limitations because of inadequate financial sibsidy from the state and private sources, are adumbrated through the medium of jim-crow, below the Mason and Dixon Line. It is highly doubtful that Harvard and Yale in the South, etched against the grey and forbidding horizon of jim-crow, could fulfill the intellectual moral and spiritual needs of the Negro, and the true mission of education, namely the building of free men. In very truth, education by demonstration in our segregated life which obtains when a Negro boy and girl go to school, ride a bus, walk through the city or board a train can hardly be over-come or erased by the most highly subsidized school system, with adequate curricula and the ablest and most consecrated men and women of learning in the schoolrooms. This seems to be borne out by the fact that education has not removed fear from the hearts of the Negro in the South. But if jim-crow has bred fear among Negroes, educated and uneducated, it has also made cowards out of Southern White men, high and low. The oppressors are disturbed, cognizant of their wrongs and sins, lest the oppressed awaken to a sense of their rights and power. This is why the South is the Nation's Number One Problem. Fear is a drag and break upon progress. But what is fear? Fear is the child of ignorance. The South is economically illiterate and the victim of fear fixations. When the economic intelligence quotient of the South rises and becomes conscious of the fact that it's production levels and prosperity index will rise in direct ratio to the increase in the purchasing power of one-third of its population, the political demagogues will no longer be able to keep alive the fear complex among the people and the Negro, and white people will climb up out of the ditch of economic, political and social backwardness, ignorance and superstition together and the South will cease to be the Nation's Number One Problem.

TO THE GRADUATES

My dear young friends, what can you do to speed the day? Naturally, the Main thought in your mind today is success. And by success most of you mean, making money, and the winning of social esteem. Both may be desirable but not indispensable to success. There are modes of making money that are unworthy of young men and women who have had the advantages of education you have had. Social esteem may sometime be too high a price to pay if it require abandonment of certain basic convictions and ideals. Jesus Christ had nowhere to lay His head, and he received the popular acclaim. He was crucified. The men of genius, talent and ability of the world, have been humble, self-effacing, poor and the objects of the most violent opposition.

It was Ruskin who remarked: "Education is the leading of human souls to what is best, and making what is best out of them;" and these two objects are always attainable together, and by the same means. The training which makes men happiest in themselves also makes them most serviceable to others.

Yes, to succeed, is to struggle, to sacrifice, to suffer for your beliefs. The reward may not always be material. Science, for example, has only too often been crassly materialistic in its approach to life, denying the reality of everything that cannot be weighed and measured. In other words, it has not been illumined by a spiritual purpose. It is undeniably true that the scientific method has greatly transformed man's mode of living and enabled him to study the physical universe in all its vastness. No one can doubt that scientific discoveries have improved man's physical environment. Never-the-less, the changes so wrought are not fundamental and do not constitute a guarantee that he will not relapse into barbarism. Note the classic example of the German under Hitler.

Man is more than a machine, more than a blind result of merciless chance. He is a spiritual being. No one can deny that man is influenced by his external condition, but we must also add that he can transcend it and rise above the limitations that enslave his thinking. There can be no better future for humanity if we do not believe in such spiritual creativity.

May I stress with you that the purpose of education is to prepare the individual for the society in which he must live and to give him the power to change that society. It has a double purpose, with emphasis on the second part of the definition. You must not over-emphasize the value of the first part. Indeed, if it were accepted as sufficient in itself, it would mean educating for a stabilized society. You who go forth with the torch of learning must hand on to posterity the cultural heritage from the past and preserve the spiritual and moral values of both the past and present. It is the function of education to preserve for the new society which you must help build, all of the values essential to it and boldly to prune or cut out those decayed vestiges which, though sanctioned by tradition, would stultify the new order. Thus, education should be the inspiration to social change.

The abolition of jim-crow is a challenge to you. You can and must alter your environment. You must set out to alter it systematically. You must not be shackled by the existing behavior patterns that bolster up the status quo of social injustice. Create a mental climate of service to the masses. Establish organic contact with the people in the shacks and the hovels. There resides the power. In the spirit of the pre-Bolshevik revolutionary period the Russian intellegensia held aloof the slogan "On to the Masses." They, the masses, may be poor in property but they are rich in spirit, and what profiteth a man if he gain the world and lose his soul? It is the greatest safe-guard against idle dilettantism, silly, super-sophisticationism, corrosive cynicism and destructive defeatism.

Now the outer world of opportunity beckons to you. I bid you go forth and claim it. Remember that there are no reserved seats at the banquet table of Nature. You will only get what you can take and keep what you can hold. Don't place all of your troubles at the feet of race prejudice as an excuse for failure. Salvation must come from withim. Stand up an d fight for the affirmations of the eternal moral values of justice and freedom and equality. Be not afraid. Education places upon you the resoponsibility of courageous and creative leadership. Leadership of the highest integrity, social and moral purposes. Rather that you die than that you betray your fellow man.

Better that your progress be slow than that honor be sacrificed to expediency. Poverty with integrity is more to be preferred than riches with dishonor. Carry with you into trade unions, professions, business, church, fraternities, sororities, schools, homes, the life of service, of sacrifice and consecration for a free world and a free race.

Be responsible. Be honest. Never run away from a fight. Be competent. Be the best. There is not any plus ultra to your intellectual capacity. You are superior if you will it so. Don't cry because the cross of race is heavy.

Bear it. There are no limitations upon your moral perfectibility. Don't shun the necessity for struggle and sacrifice. They will sustain and keep you. They have their compensations. They will give you strength and peace and solace of soul and the faith to fight on for a brave new world.

Verily, you must lose your life if you would save it, and may God grant that you will never faulter.

NC-FEPC
Grf

A CALL FOR EARLY CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON PERMANENT FEPC LEGISLATION

A Political Analysis and a Plan for Action

National Council for a Permanent FEPC
November 23, 1945

Industry is reconverting to the pre-war pattern of discrimination in employment. With the closing of all but three of the regional offices of the wartime FEPC and the proposed returning of the USES offices to the states for jurisdiction, discharged war workers and veterans are again feeling the bite in this most fundamental phase of existence: jobs. Already War Manpower Commission figures show that 70% of the job applicants in a West Coast State are non-white -- that 50% of the job orders are discriminatory.

Believing that the people of this country want Congress to face the issue of fair employment practive by an actual vote on the Permanent FEPC bill, the National Council for a Permanent FEPC advocates immediate concentration on action in the Senate of the United States, where there are no parliamentary blocks to getting S. 101 to the floor.

Since the Spring of 1945, Permanent FEPC legislation has been stalled on the Calendars of both House and Senate. The program of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC has been to press for action in both Houses and to let the response in House or Senate determine the order of floor action. Since it now appears that the chances for floor action and passage are better in the Senate, the National Council -- while intensifying the petition campaign in the House -- now appeals to the country to press for immediate action in the Senate.*

Reasons for Senate Action Now

1. The strategy of "Senate first" is being used by Administration leaders responsible for steering controversial legislation on the President's "must" list through Congress. The following bills were pushed in the Senate first: Full

Employment, Minimun Wage, 20% pay increase for Federal employees, Public Housing and the Health bill.

2. Traditional treatment of legislation affecting minority groups -- such as Anti-Lynch and Anti-Poll Tax -- has been to pass it in the House only to have it killed in the Senate. Passage in the Senate would put the issue squarely up to the House which comes up for re-election in toto in 1945. Only one-third of the Senate comes up for re-election next year.

3. In the House the bill has reached a stalemate. It is blocked in the Rules Committee and the discharge petition is moving slowly. Unless the Republican Party leadership, as a matter of Party policy, calls upon its members to sign, some political observers believe that the remaining signatures will not go on until close to the 1946 election. It might then be too late for Senate action in the 79th Congress. Although the National Council has put seven organizers into the field to stimulate activity in the areas where Congressmen have not signed, it takes time to develop grassroots strength.

The National Council has re-explored the possibility of the Calendar Wednesday device for bringing the bill to the floor of the House. The result, based on the advice of congressional experts and an exhaustive study of the Rules, reinforces the conclusion reached last Spring that such a move is still unlikely to succeed, in light of the present political situation, and may even impede the petition campaign. Several parliamentary and political experts have checked and concurred in this analysis, copies of which may be secured from this office on request.

4. Strength in the Senate is greater. This fact was first demonstrated during the fight for the FEPC appropriation in June 1945. Twice the House eliminated FEPC from the War Agencies Appropriations Act. Twice the Senate sent the Act back with FEPC reinstated, and the House had to go along because the Senate proved stronger in the tug-of-war that had developed.

5. The 1945 FEPC appropriation fight indicated real cloture strength on this

issue in the Senate. During the Bilbo-Eastland filibuster a well-organized Republican-led cloture move produced 32 signatures on the cloture petition requiring but 16 signatures. Sentiment for the cloture vote, scheduled for Monday, was strong enough to induce the Southerners (including Bilbo) to capitulate to the compromise on the Saturday before the vote.

6. There is no Rules Committee to be hurdled in the Senate. The bill is on the Calendar and ready for action. It can be brought to the floor at any time.

7. Passage in the Senate is not certain -- nothing political ever is. However, it will provide a test of FEPC strength at the most crucial point: The Senate.

8. Failure to pass FEPC in the Senate will not affect the parliamentary situation in the House. Success could break the House deadlock.

* * * *

YOU CAN MAKE PRECEDENT-SMASHING HISTORY

Since the time of the Civil War, no legislation aimed directly at discrimination against minorities has cleared the Senate. This brake on human progress can be released if you will --

First: Be certain through a concerted and continual letter-writing and telegram campaign that your own Senators are full committed in writing to cloture and to the bill. Be sure that the stand of your Senators is reported to this office.

Second: Write and wire Administration and Republican leadership urging action in the Senate, calling attention to the campaign commitments made by both parties during the last campaign. Those to be reached are President Harry S. Truman at the White House, Senator Alben Barkley at the Senate Office Building, and Senator Wallace White at the Senate Office Building.

Third: Get organizations of which you are a member to write officially to the President, to Senators Barkley and White, and to Senators in those states where such organizations have membership, urging Senate action at once.

* With regard to your campaign for signatures on the House petition, a revised list of Representatives who have not yet signed, according to National Council polls, will be released in a few days.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE speeches

1946

ADDRESS AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN RALLY

February 28, 1946

by A. Philip Randolph

Let me definitely state here, that FEPC is not dead. The failure of Cloture Rule to receive the 2/3 vote required for its application to stop the filibuster, does not spell defeat. The vote revealed that 48 senators, only eight less than the required 2/3, were for the FEPC Bill, and that when S. 101 reaches the floor, it will pass. Hence, the fight for permanent fair employment practice legislation is morally stronger now than it was before the poll-tax Southern senators conducted their fascist filibuster, seventeen days, striking down majority rule.

The National Council for a Permanent FEPC in an Emergency Strategy Conference in Washington, D. C., on Washington's birthday, February 22nd, went on record to wage relentless warfare against those senators who refused to vote for Cloture Rule, and also those Congressmen who have refused to sign the Discharge Petition in the House. We shall rigidly apply the rule of rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies. We shall consider any senator or congressman not with us who refuses to fight and vote for FEPC. The Council opened its first political campaign against Senator Albert W. Hawkes, Republican of New Jersey, in a monster mass meeting for FEPC in the Lincoln High School in Jersey City on Sunday, February 24th. A nation-wide campaign of education has already gotten under way to inform the people of the grave danger that the filibuster represents to American democracy. We have set about to enlighten the people of the fact that the fight has now gone beyond the FEPC, and that we are facing two great challenging moral issues; one, the right of the majority of the people to express their will through their representatives in the Congress; and two, the God-given right of every human being to work, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

The first was dramatically highlighted in the Senate when a handful of Southern Senators, whose seats in the Senate may be seriously questioned on the grounds of infringing Constitutional validity, conducted a spectacle which consisted in throwing a monkey wrench into the machinery of legislation, by a talk-fest which prevented senators from voting on the bill for a Permanent FEPC.

According to the rules of the Senate, a group of Senators may talk for days and months if they are physically able, to prevent that body from expressing its judgment on proposed legislation. In fact, 130 million people in the United States of America are utterly helpless to get a bill enacted into law, if a small group of willful Southern senators decide to block it. In fact, even a rule to amend the rules of the Senate to abolish the filibuster, in the interest of the democratic legislative process, can be filibustered indefinitely. Thus, it should be clear to every American who is concerned about the preservation of American political Constitutional system, that a filibuster is a definite expression of totalitarian stateism. Even if a senator or congressman was not in favor of fair employment practice legislation, he must be concerned about the danger of government by minority rule. But, the filibuster can be beaten. It will be beaten.

Hence, if the fight for FEPC has not won its goal up-to-date, it at least sounded the warning to the American people of this grave dancer of fascist Southernism, eating at the heart of American democracy.

There must be no doubt that these very same politicians from Dixie in the Senate, who hate, oppose and fight FEPC, also hate, oppose and fight all progressive legislation, including the Minimum Wage Bill, full employment legislation, a federal United States Employment Service, and sound federal educational legislation, under the spurious Ku-Klux cry of states' rights.

The second great moral issue, is the God-given right of every human being to work. Without this right, under our modern industrial system, a worker cannot eat, and if he cannot eat, he cannot live. Thus, the Judeo-Christian ethic of the dignity of the human personality is impossible of application and reality, when men and women are denied employment opportunities, not because of their lack of merit, ability, talent and genius, but because they were born black, brown, yellow or red and worship God as Jews, Catholics, or came from foreign lands or other continents.

The justification for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee as a federal law, lies in the practice and achievements of the President's Committee on FEPC, which was set up under Executive Order 8802, issued by the late and great President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Yes, unless the

the United States and the other Western democracies in their relationships to the peoples of color and dominated minorities, their world leadership is doomed. The long, dark centuries of exploitation and oppression of the hapless black, brown and yellow world, and also religious minorities, must and will come to an end, because the yearnings and drive for a free and better life and future by the dominated peoples, will crash through the barriers of color, creed or country. This is the lesson of the struggles of the natives of Indonesia, Iran, China, Africa, India, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and the Negroes of the United States and the West Indies, against the white world of economic and political royalism. The whole world of color is in flames, and on the march to a new day of freedom, justice and equality. Our own country must justify its claim to the right of the moral leadership of the democratic forces of the world in the United Nations Council, by its treatment of its own citizens of color. Fortunately, there is one person in the American delegation whose vision is clear and whose heart is sound on human justice, regardless of color, creed or country. This delegate is Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who is one of the staunchest champions of FEPC.

It is sheer hypocrisy to hurl our anathemas at Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Roumania, and other countries in Europe, for their sins against democracy, when our own house of democracy is not in order, because of the existence of the poll-tax, white primaries, the failure to enforce the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, and the disgraceful exhibition of Naziism in the filibuster against Fair Employment Practice legislation in the Senate for 17 days.

American democracy must meet this challenge of discrimination against minorities before the bar of world opinion, especially in the highest chamber of the Congress, the Senate, for never have the liberties of so many been threatened by so few, as when the notorious filibuster against FEPC gave strength, force, and vitality to minority rule, and the defeat of the will of the people.

But, the fight for FEPC has just begun. The bill in the Senate is back on the calendar. The National Council, with the various cooperative organizations, including religious, labor, civic, fraternal, educational, Jewish, Catholic, Negro, Japanese-American, Mexican, and Filipino, shall fight for the reconsideration and passage of the FEPC bills in this, the 79th Congress.

As one of the Co-Chairmen of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, I want to express our appreciation for the splendid cooperation we have received from the Negro press, the Catholic and Jewish and Protestant religious leaders, the A.F. of L. and the C. I. O., various national Negro organizations, and some fine editorial support in some daily papers. We want to express our gratitude to the senators who have given their support in the fight, such as Senators Chavez of New Mexico, Wayne Morse of Oregon, James M. Mead of New York, Albert A. Smith of New Jersey, Myers and Duffey of Pennsylvania and Congresswoman Mary T. Norton of New Jersey, and many other Congressmen. We wish especially to express our appreciation for the great support, moral and financial from David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, William Collins, Organizer of the A. F. of L. and James Quinn, Secretary-Treasurer of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York.

The failure of FEPC to be enacted is due to the lack of President Truman's Administration to place its full force back of the Bill. Its defeat was largely due to the unholy alliance of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans. Eight Republicans refused to vote for Cloture Rule, and Cloture Rule lost by only eight votes. But, there were many Democrats who could have voted for Cloture Rule and pass the bill, but refused to do so. Hence, the defeat of FEPC is the result of a bi-partisan refusal of Democrats and Republicans to fight for it as strongly as the Dixie Poll-Taxers fought against it.

But, we are not dismayed. Our determination is greater than ever before. We shall awaken the American conscience and stir it to righteous indignation against discrimination in employment because of creed, color or country.

The National Council for a Permanent FEPC, in its recent conference in Washington, went on record to give serious consideration to a march on Washington of Negroes, Jews, Mexicans, Catholics and Japanese-Americans, trade unionists, A.F. of L. and CIO, women and children, to protest in a silent, non-violent demonstration, with appropriate banners, down the highways in Washington, the spirit of racism, expressed in the disgraceful filibuster against not only the Negroes, Catholics, Mexicans, Jews and Japanese-Americans, and the foreign born, but against the American people. Such a march will help cleanse the soul of America. It will give the dominated minorities new hope and faith in the strength, not of material power, but of the spirit.

In our silent, non-violent march on Washington, may we utter no word of hate against our enemies and oppressors. Let the Bilboes rant and rave. We shall pity them. We would not destroy them if we could. This is not the way to achieve truth, justice and freedom and peace and Brotherhood. Let the judgment of history rest upon their conscience and compensate their sins. We believe in the dignity of the human personality.

Even if the hoodlums of Ku-Kluxism attack us with violence, let us not strike back. This is not the way to a cooperative racial, religious and national brotherhood of fellowship.

If there is no federal agency to which minorities can refer their economic complaints, such as FEPC, following this war, like the last, there may come racial tensions, clashes and race riots. When men's stomachs are empty and their hearts are empty, too, their heads cannot be appealed to. They may become emotional atomic bombs of destruction and hate, but men whose stomachs are empty have hearts that are full of hope, conscious that they will receive at least a fair break at jobs that exist, however few, regardless of color, creed or country, can be reasoned with. This is why FEPC is so imperative. It is a symbol of hope to minorities and a spear-head against the rising tide of racism, anti-semitism, anti-Catholicism and fascism in the U.S.A.

Let us march forward, unafraid, heads erect and souls uncurbed, Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Mexicans, Japanese-Americans, Filipinos and the foreign born, for FEPC, and may God grant that we shall never faulter.

Ans Gov. [illegible]

Anxious to know if we can schedule you in Philly for May 10 —

SUMMARY OF THE CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN PROGRESSIVES
HELD AT INTERNATIONAL HOUSE, 1414 E. 59th St., Chicago, April 6-7, 1946

The conference was called to order Saturday morning by A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the convening committee. Randolph described the advance preparations made for the conference, indluding regional meetings and interchange of ideas by many progressive leaders, the assistance of existing left-wing political groups, etc. He expressed the hope that the conference would live up to the purpose for which it was called, taking concrete action to meet the widespread demand for independent political action.

He then introduced Lewis Corey, who had been instructed by the New York and Madison conferences, and their continuing committee, to bring in an economic analysis and to assist in the formulation of a statement of principles.

Corey predicted an almost unprecedented period of prosperity for the next four to seven years, based on the following factors: (1) pent-up consumer demand, in the form of wartime savings, which will last for at least three years until replacement of radios, cars, washing machines, household gadgets, etc., has been completed, after which there will be a tapering off to normal production levels; (2) heavy exports, particularly of food, for the next two years, by which time European and Asiatic countries will have climbed up from starvation levels to subsistence levels and will have gotten domestic production under way again; (3) capital replacements and new industries; installation of new machinery and plant remodelings which has lagged for ten years will be heavy, since it is badly needed and corporate savings and reserves for it are at a high level; new plants will also be built to produce plastics, synthetics, etc., the productive techniques for which have been perfected during the war; (4) the tremendous need for housing will continue for many years, but the extent to which it can bolster up the economy will depend on whether it reaches lower-income groups (houses below $8,000), which so far it is doing only to a very limited extent; but the demand is heavy and an extension of government aid is likely, since at least 1½ million units a year for the next ten years are needed.

Corey emphasized that this prosperity will be only relative, since there will probably be around 3 million unemployed, but there will not be the postwar economic breakdown and mass unemployment which many economists predicted. However, he said, it is important to remember that all these factors are temporary and transitory, with the possible exception of housing (assuming an extension of government financing), and that they make an eventual economic collapse inevitable under capitalism.

The nature of monopoly capitalism, especially over-saving, makes these periodic breakdowns inescapable. Capitalism has never been able to maintain a high level of production and relative prosperity for a period of longer than seven consecutive years (except under the artificial stimulus of war). We can, therefore, only look forward to a breathing spell of from four to seven years.

Corey then analyzed current political trends. He said the New Deal was in ruins, that it had been a personal movement which died when its leader died. He also emphasized the reactionary character of the present congress and of most of the state legislatures, pointing out that all progressive legislation for more than a year has been so thoroughly emasculated as to be worthless, and that the threat of anti-labor legislation, as well as other reactionary measures, is imminent.

The giving away of billions of dollars worth of publicly-owned war plants to private corporate interests was cited a typical of what is happening, and Corey said the liberals are just as much to blame for this, the biggest robbery in history, as the conservatives, since they haven't made a peep of protest.

The one value of the New Deal, Corey felt, was that by putting a poultice on the capitalist system and keeping it functioning, after a fashion, democracy was given a breathing spell and another chance. Total breakdown in the 1930s would have been bad because neither the socialists nor the progressives at that time were in any position to take over and refashion the system in the way that needed doing.

Now, Corey said, we have one more breathing spell of a few years, but another breakdown is almost certain to lead to fascism unless progressives are ready to take over and make basic changes in the economic system. A peoples' political movement must be built during this breathing spell if fascism is to be avoided and democratic abundance realized. This new party cannot merely be neo-New Deal, because the New Deal did not offer any solution. Its remedy was compensatory spending, the failure of which to get at basid causes was evidenced by the fact that there were still nearly 10 million unemployed in 1939 when the U.S. decided to become the "arsenal of democracy" and started into war production.

Capitalism is dying, Corey declared. In most countries it is hardly recognizable any more. It is making its last stand in the U.S., but here, too, the handwriting on the wall is plain to see. The only choice now is not capitalism or collectivism, but what kind of collectivism. The only choice today, Corey said, is "Where do we go?" Capitalism could not be maintained even if we wanted to keep it. But we do have a choice in the matter of what sort of economic and social order is going to replace it and that is where we must make our influence felt through a new political party.

Corey said the program of such a party ought to follow these lines:

(1) Monopolies cannot be controlled; they must be broken. That means socialization of the 80% of our industrial system which is now virtually monopolized. In order to be democratically-controlled these industries must be operated as public corporations on the TVA principle, except that they must be more democratic through direct representation on the boards of directors of workers, the consuming public and the managers and technicians.

(2) Free public enterprise must be maintained for family farm operators and for small businessmen whose incomes are only comparable to wages or salaries and who are performing a genuine public service.

This domestic economic program, Corey siad, will result in a "mixed socialist economy". Socialization must be applied to monopolies because it is the only solution thethe disastrous cycles which are inherent in capitalism, and because democratic socialism is the only way to prevent an ever-increasing concentration of government power (political bureaucracy) over our economic life. Direct popular control over the economy will require much less policing by government than the effort (certain to be unsuccessful) to "control" monopoly capitalism. Furthermore, this answers the question of how we get there, since it can be applied step-by- step in the transitional period and will meet the interests of all the people.

The success of international cooperation, Corey said, depends on the nature of the governments and domestic economies of the member nations. Therefore what happens in American domestic politics inevitably shapes the nation's role in international affairs, and because of its powerful postion, actually shapes the entire world. At this point a long telegram from Louis Fischer was read, in which the same point was emphasized, that the domestic character of a nation inevitable shapes its foreign policy, and that until progressive forces dominate our government it cannot be expected to play a progressive role internationally.

Control of atomic energy is the greatest single problem, Corey said, and its socialization on an international scale is the only practical answer. Even the state department has recognized this in its proposal for an international authority for the ownership and production of uranium and the other raw materials of atomic energy. Scientists, politicians -- all, in fact, except military men and industrialists -- are agreed that atomic energy is fraught with too great a potentiality for destruction to be left in private hands. To those who object, Corey said, the question can only be asked, "Which do you prefer, socialism or anihilation?"

It is also important to strengthen and democratize the UNO, to work for multi-lateral disarmament and to achieve the relinquishment of national sovereignty by all nations in those spheres of activity which have an effect on world peace. Corey again stressed that only a democratic socialist government can play this role in international affairs by pointing out the fact that of the Big Three, Britain alone has made such constructive proposals, offering to give up its national sovereignty in favor of the UNO, placing territorial disputes in the hands of a world tribunal, giving freedom to mandated territories, making a constructive effort to free colonial peoples, etc. Corey went into detail on the foreign policy of the British Labor government, pointing out that while it is moving slowly and carefully, the direction is consistent and progressive.

Corey's prediction of four to seven years of high production was questioned by a couple of the conferees. He gave further reasons for believing that his analysis would prove correct. Schwartz (U. of Wisconsin) said he did not think sufficient weight had been given to the danger of inflation, which, ~~on~~ once it gets under way, might cut the period of prosperity down to only two or three years. Corey admitted that danger, but felt the relatively good job of reconversion which had been done would tend to keep production apace with purchasing power. Several other economists spoke, all substantiating the general analysis, but admitting that the precise time of the next economic breakdown could not be accurately predicted, since it would also depend on several intangible factors and on such unpredictable things as the extent of government spending, etc.

At this point the Saturday morning session was adjourned.

Randolph opened the afternoon session with a statement on the "applied science" in which the conference seemed more interested than program, since it was in virtual unanimity on the latter.

Randolph assessed all existing political vehicles and declared they were inadequate to achieve such a program. The Republicans, he said, represented the largest concentrations of wealth in the nation. The Democrats depend for power on an alliance of reactionary Southern interests and big city political machines. The Communists represent a totalitarian philosophy entirely foreign to our aspirations for an extension and broadening of our existing democracy. The Socialists have a sound program, but a history of political failure which cannot be overcome at this late date. The Liberal party does not offer a pattern, because of its dubious alliances with the capitalist parties. There is a liberal group within each of the old parties, Randolph added, but neither group has any hope of capturing its party, and each group is composed mostly of men who are merely pro-labor or pro-farmer on specific legislative issues, rather than being committed to the sort of program we can agree on.

In light of this, and the demands of the times, Randolph said, there is no alternative but to go about the job of building a new political party. The fact that many of our people do not yet realize that their aspirations cannot be realized through existing political parties should not keep us from undertaking the job of educating them. The reactionary, anti-labor, racist forces are in the ascendencey now, Randolph said, and there is no time to be lost. Furthermore, the Communists will soon be calling for a labor party and unless we are in the field with a sound program and a democratic organization the existing sentiment for independent political action will be subverted and the possibility of a peoples' party destroyed for many years to come.

Randolph called for the setting up of some sort of national committee to educate for a new party along these lines: (1) education for abundance, using wartime production as the proof that abundance and security is at hand if we plan it that way; (2) education as to the basic nature of the capitalist system, and the impossibility of achieving abundance as long as we keep it; (3) a research department, to compile facts, figures and data which can be used in such an educational program; (4) education as to the kind of "mixed socialist economy" we want, the nature of planning, democratic safeguards, the community of interest among the common people, etc.

Following this presentation, discussion was opened on political strategy to achieve the kind of program which had been discussed in the morning session.

William Allen (NEW LEADER, Washington bureau) said he had discussed the matter with a number of progressive congressmen. Most of them feel that the new organization should begin in the counties and congressional districts, and that there should be time allowed so as to use or take over all or part of existing political machinery which these congressmen now have at their disposal. In many cases they have a political following which bears no relation to the particular political label they carry, but it will take some time to bring this progressive support into a new political alignment. In the meantime, they would be in favor of a national coordinating committee which would also be doing an educational job in behalf of the idea of a new party.

Ben Davidson (Liberal party) said his party was organized in the hope and expectation that there would be a nation-wide liberal party. He defended the Liberal party policy of mixed slates (nominating some old party candidates), declaring that local or state parties must act on the basis of existing conditions. He pointed out that the Liberal party elected two city councilmen last fall and very nearly elected two more. It has 75 A.D. clubs functioning, trade union affiliations representing over 100,000 members and a potential voting support of between 600,000 and 700,000 in New York state. The thinking within the party, he said, is directed more and more toward a role completely independent of the old parties, but this cannot be achieved for some time yet. He said he felt a new party at this time was premature but that a national educational center working toward that end was needed. He favored a moderate, transitional program rather than a full-fledged socialist position at this time.

Powers Hapgood (CIO, Indiana) said he was in full accord with the analysis presented by Corey but that he thought a third party was not practical at this time. As a trade unionist, he said, he had learned that unity is the first essential, and as long as PAC is official CIO policy he will support it loyally. He pointed out that PAC is a powerful organization and would be hard to buck. Labor has not yet learned to vote as a bloc, he said, and until it does, a new party cannot be successful. Besides, the labor movement is still so full of factionalism, that if it ventures into independent political action there are likely to be splits, with three or four new parties developing, instead of just one. He said our situation is not comparable to Britain, because we are facing the immediate threat of "legislative fascism", a condition which did not exist when the BLP was organized. This is such a serious threat, he said, that labor cannot afford to see even a single liberal congressman defeated, which might happen if a third party entered the field.

Uphoff (Farmers Union, Wisconsin) said he didn't think we should support labor right or wrong, and that labor was sometimes wrong. He pointed out that the Communists control many labor unions and that he never felt obligated to support them, and that PAC has frequently endorsed reactionary candidates, which he would never support.

Elfenbein (N.J.) criticized any effort to soft-pedal the socialist nature of our program. Unless we are willing to support an adequate program, and to stand by our principles in spite of opposition from whatever source, there is no use trying to organize a new party, he said.

Corey, answering Hapgood, said he agreed that defensive action against reactionary legislation was necessary, but that in addition to that we must do the educational job for a new party. A defensive position alone failed to stop fascism in Europe, he said, and it will fail here. People have to be educated. They are not yet sick of the old parties, as Uphoff had implied, because if they were we'd already have a third party or a strong Socialist party.

Coolidge (Harvard) said he didn't think we should minimize the good things the New Deal has accomplished. We had been 30 years behind in social legislation and the New Deal brought us up even with most European countries. But he agreed it was insufficient. He said he had belonged to the Socialist party for many years, but had left it for three reasons; (1) the incessant factionalism; (2) its inability to gain political successes: (3) the bad effect which the rise of Communism had on the public mind. He reported that the only active liberal forces he knew of in the Boston area were a local Citizens' committee and NCPAC. He said there was little articulate sentiment for a new party, but he thought that was to be expected in Massachusetts.

Burton (Chicago March-on-Washington movement) said he thought there was a great deal of sentiment for more progressive political action than anything represented by PAC or the Independent Voters of Illinois, for example, and that it was time we started building an instrument through which to express this sentiment.

Mary Martinson (MCF) said that we need to think first about grass roots education and organization. MCF had learned, she said, that it is a waste of time to enter electoral campaigns until this has been done first. Even then, local campaigns should be worked in first, before people will have the experience and organization needed to wage the bigger campaigns. The immediate job, she said, is thorough organization of the wards and precincts. She reported that the majority report of the UAW resolutions committee was in favor of independent political action (supported by eight committeemen); the minority report also favored it in different terms and was a Communist-sponsored resolution (supported by six committeemen). There was no resolution in opposition to the new party idea. These resolutions did not reach the convention floor and have been referred to the new executive board, where the chances are good that the majority resolution will be adopted.

Pauline Myers (representing Negro churches) said that the things Negroes have to put up with right now provide the dynamic for a new party, and that Negroes will not have to wait for a depression before they will need such a movement. She believed that a political movement which will include in its program an end to discrimination, etc., would rally colored voters in great numbers. She was in favor of immediate action because, she said, the Communists are exploiting the growing militancy of Negroes and are drawing many of them into their own organizations.

McClanahan (Co-op League, USA) said a majority of co-op people favor political action, but not partisan action, at least not in the name of their co-op associations. He observed that he has been in field work throughout the nation for nine years now and he believes the common people are ready to move (out of the old parties and into independent political action). The trouble has been that they have had no place to move to. He felt we should be careful in our approach not to antagonize people with red-herring words like "socialism"; felt we could interpret our program quite adequately without using words, phrases and symbols which run into old prejudices. He also warned that while political action is very important, direct economic action must also be used. If labor during the next ten years would build co-ops as effectively as farmers have during the past ten, a large part of the economy would be transformed, he added.

Homer Jack (Chicago)(?) proposed a compromise course which he felt would satisfy everybody. We should support PAC for the present, confining ourselves to educational work through a national committee. We should also set up local committees to carry on various kinds of non-electoral activity, such as support of specific legislation, etc.

Gemmer (Prohibition party) said he thought the matter of terminology in our educational work was very important. A lot of people will agree with our program, but if we use discredited words they will be turned away by them before they find out what the program really is.

Lipsig (VLA, New York) emphasized that the Communists are going to try to turn PAC into a new party and that if they get into the field before the democratic forces they will destroy the basis for such a party. He also pointed up PACs inadequacy by mentioning some of the "progressives" listed by the NEW REPUBLIC on the basis of voting records. Some of them are notorious. He said the difference between shining progressives and black reactionaries could be as small as 4½ points in the voting record.

A delegate from Minneapolis reiterated the danger of permitting the Communists to capitalize on third party sentiment by getting into the field ahead of us.

Clayton (National Farm Labor Union, Texas) said that whereas other speakers talked of the low-income group he spoke for the no-income group, the millions of black and white tenants and squatters in the South known as the plough group. He said this great mass of people would support a peoples' movement if they could be reached. He appealed for the aid of the trade unions in getting them organized.

McCartney (Ohio) said he thought there was more progressive sentiment among students and young people generally than for many years, but that they were unorganized. He suggested that the student LID or some such group should be reorganized.

Mike Mann (CIOM, Chicago) said he was absolutely opposed to a new party because PAC was official CIO policy and it would practically be treason to do anything that might jeopardize PAC.

Hammond (MCF) said this was a very selfish and short-sighted outlook by labor; that we must dedicate ourselves to building a broad peoples' movement, not just something to promote the special and immediate interests of labor or any other group. He said this conference was an encouraging start, since it included people from 16 states and many different organizations. PAC, and similar organizations, are not the answer, Hammond declared, because they come out with a ready-made program in support of their own interests and expect people to support it. What we must do is to appeal to all the people and to give them the opportunity to build their own movement, with a full voice in its policy and administration.

Randolph then summarized the discussion. He said that acceptance of Corey's analysis left no alternative but to begin the building of a new party. Among the characteristics it must have, he said, were: that it be absolutely independent, a clean break from the old parties and not just another New Deal based on the fallacy of compensatory spending; it must be thoroughly democratic, both in structure and program, and its whole outlook must be one of taking the limited democracy we have now and extending it into every phase of our social and economic order; that it must not hedge on the necessity for socializing monopolies and the commanding heights of our economy; and that it must be a genuine, popular, peoples' movement like the CCF and the BLP.

Randolph proposed that we create some kind of national coordinating committee which would also sponsor a nationwide educational program. He said such an educational program must be carried on within the CIO, AFL and many other such organizations, since it is obvious that their present legislative programs are inadequate and mostly defensive. Above all, he said, the new movement must set forth a bold program, a human program, a set of principles from which it will not retreat. Only a daring program, he said, can capture the imagination and loyalty of the American people.

Motion was made that the chairman select a temporary committee to draft a course of action and to report back to the Saturday evening session. Seconded and carried. Committee consisted of Davidson, McLaurin, Fleischman, Feinberg, Hapgood, Gemmer and Corey. The committee later added McClanahan and Mary Martinson.

The afternoon session was then adjourned.

Feinberg reported for the committee at the evening session, with Hammond presiding.

(1) That a national committee be set up to be called the National Educational Committee for Independent Political action. Many other names were suggested by the conferees. A run-off vote eliminated all but the following five; the original recommendation, National Committee for Political Education, National Committee of American Progressives, National Educational Committee for

a New Peoples' party, and National Committee for a New Party. Another run-off eliminated all but the committee's choice and the National Committee for a New Party, each of the latter two getting 21 votes. The final vote was 36 for NCNP and 33 for NECIPA. Later in the evening, on reconsideration, the word Educational was added, making the name finally chosen --- the National Educational Committee for a New Party.

(2) That the committee act as a clearing house and coordinator for new party ideas and forces; that it establish and stimulate contact with unions, farm organizations, local groups, etc., arrange regional and local conferences, etc. Adopted.

(3) That the committee establish a monthly paper, issue and distribute pamphlets and leaflets, issue statements, etc. Adopted.

(4)That the committee make a national survey of political conditions and the possibilities for independent political action. Adopted.

(5) That a committee of three be appointed to draft a statement of policy for discussion the following day, to be then edited by the national committee and submitted to conferees and other interested persons and groups for further revisions and additions, and to be put in final shape by the national committee for submission to the next national conference. Adopted. Committee consisted of Bell, Corey and Fountain.

(6) That another national conference be held in December, 1946. Adopted.

(7) That the national committee be elected to serve until that time. Adopted.

(8) That $25,000 be raised for the committee's work up until that time. Adopted.

Krueger (SP, Chicago) stated that the decision to meet again in December could only be construed as evidence that the committee plans no electoral activity in 1946, and that progressive individuals and groups with political commitments this year are threfore able to cooperate in the work of the committee without jeopardizing such commitments.

The session was closed by remarks from Claessens (SDF) who said that while objective conditions may have much to do with political success that the loyalty and devotion of the members of the movement are equally important.

At the Sunday morning session the temporary committee brought in a list of 40 nominations for places on the national committee. Many more were nominated from the floor. Those accepting were declared elected (a total of 41) and the committee was authorized to add new members as it saw fit.

The committee on a statement of principles then reported. Committee's report is not included here.

Davidson was then given the floor to explain the need for funds to carry the committee's work until regular sources of income can be established. In a very few minutes approximately $1300 was raised, a number of those present giving $100, $50 or $25 each.

Discussion on the statement of principles was then opened.

Shaw (Church of the People, Seattle) said that with the advant of atomic energy we could not even consider the possibility of another war. He advocated that every nation should give up the right to declare war and should surrender its national sovereighty.

Laidler (LID, New York) thought the reference to socializing monopolies was not specific enough. He suggested stating that we will socialize all monopolies, semi-monopolies, natural resources and public utilities.

Brown (USA-CIO, Reading) said we sould state specifically that labor's right to organize, bargain collectively and strike will be fully protected in all public enterprises.

Pauline Myers urged that we include such specific demands as suffrage for residents of the District of Columbia and full civil rights (Washington should be made an "open city", she said) elimination of Jim Crow practices from the armed forces, etc.

Homer Jack opposed mentioning these specifics and said the conference should stick to a statement of general principles. He was opposed to any reference to Russia by name and did not think Soviet foreign policy should be criticized

Another delegate suggested elaboration of three points; (1) more emphasis on trade union rights in a socialized society; (2) a more positive statement against militarism of all kinds; (3) more emphasis on planning at all levels of government.

It was also suggested that the statement in support of freedom for colonial peoples, should mention Africa.

One conferee suggested that we want a minimum program, just those points all can agree on, rather than an omnibus program of everything wanted by everybody, since in such a program most people will be able to find at least one thing they don't agree with. Therefore he thought opposition to military conscription should not be mentioned, since he personally was in favor of it.

Another speaker, however, felt we should have a full set of principles behind which we will stand in spite of opposition. He said there are certain human principles on which practically all progressives agree.

The danger of a complete breakdown of price control, and a resulting runaway inflation, was pointed out by one speaker. He believed an immediate campaign in support of price control should be organized.

Pearl Willen (Liberal Party) said the foreign policy statement would be strengthened by a simple statement that our goal is to turn UNO into an international representative assembly, as proposed by Atlee, and by eliminating direct and critical references to the Soviet Union.

Uphoff said he couldn't understand how anybody at this conference could be in favor of military conscription. He pointed out that it is one thing in which labor, farm, church and other groups are almost unanimously joined in opposition. He said the statement failed to make any mention of education and that should be included.

Taylor (SP, Indiana) said the proposal for family farms was okay, but wasn't feasible where large corporation farms had already been created.

These, he said, should be turned over to farmers who wanted to work such large acreages cooperatively.

The conference was closed by Randolph, who said all the suggestions would be before the committee when it edits the statement of principles and that the statement will be resubmitted to all those attending the conference.

The new national committee met after the adjournment of the conference. Among other things it authorized a brief statement to the press and decided to meet again May 4 in Detroit.

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ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE speeches

1947

Station WWDC
Washington, D. C.

Sunday, May 25, 1947
11:15 P.M. to 11:45 P.M.

Speech

AMERICANS ALL

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

STRATEGY TO SECURE THE ENACTMENT OF FEPC BILLS

Every problem or movement must be approached and treated in terms of basic pure science and basic applied science. The former is concerned with the know-what and know-why; the latter with the know-how and what-for. The first deals with facts, causes and principles. The latter with method, strategy, object or purpose.

My point is that method and strategy must flow from and grow out of the nature of the problem we seek to solve.

What then is the problem?

The problem is discrimination, because of race, color, religion or national origin.

The historical causal forces and background, are economic, political and psychological.

Economic: Discrimination in the South, is a business. It pays dividends to a few demagogues. To a small minority, it has a vested economic value. It keeps the white and black workers divided, therby weakening the labor movement in the South, which is the cause of a low wage structure. Indeed, discrimination against Negroes, Jews and Catholics, grows out of a feudal-capitalistic, backward and uneconomic economy.

Politics: Politicians are made majors, governors, senators and cabinet officers by this economy. They represent support, and defend this economy in the city, state and federal governments. The elaborate socio-economic, political arrangements, such as the Poll Tax, White Primaries and discriminatory registration devices, are designed to protect and maintain this economy. This is why a so-called liberal like Senator Pepper ran out on the Cloture Rule debate and vote.

Psychological: This fascist economy has violent emotional over-tones that stem from the master race theory. The mob and the lynch rope constitute the Gestapo of this system of socio-economic, political-racial-religious Southernism.

AMERICAN STATE SYSTEM

The American, like all other state systems, is unmoral. It does not make concessions upon a basis of right or wrong. The American government, in the process of balancing social forces that demand concessions, inevitably responds to, and tends to move in the direction of the forces that constitute the greatest challenge to its stability and power.

Finally, discrimination is increasing. Negro veterans are suffering. The pot of racial and religious hatred is boiling. The lid may blow off.

Deductions:

Strategy or know-how, must be developed in two forms, short range and long range. They are not mutually exclusive, but emphasis should be placed upon the short range now. Strategy should be geared to secure enactment of the FEPC Bills, before this Congress adjourns. Strategy should be developed to constitute a threat to congressmen and senators who are opposed or luke-warm on FEPC.

Why were congressmen and senators luke-warm?

They were luke-warm, indifferent, apathetic, unconcerned or absolutely opposed to FEPC because they did not believe the people, the great masses of the people, were back of the FEPC fight--that they wanted the bills passed. They saw no evidence of support of the people.

President Truman doesn't believe the people want FEPC. Hannegan, National Democratic Chairman, doesn't believe it. Minority-Democratic Leader Alben Barkley doesn't believe it. Joe Martin, Majority-Republican Leader in the House, and Senator Taft, Majority-Republican Leader of the

Senate, do not believe it. The Southern Poll-Tax senators do not believe it.

MILITANT DRAMATIC ACTION NEEDED

The congressmen and senators and the President have been luke-warm, indifferent or opposed, because the minorities who are supposed to want the FEPC, have been luke-warm and indifferent, if not opposed. They have not yet demonstrated that they want FEPC bad enough to really fight and sacrifice for it. The fight for FEPC cannot be won unless those who say they want it, who believe it is right, and realize its great democratic implications and moral and spiritual significance, are willing to dangerously fight for it.

Thus, the one single maneuver which can rally the masses back of this FEPC fight and dramatize the issue, is to put great masses of people into motion. The people must be made to feel a direct responsibility for the fight for FEPC, its victory or defeat. They cannot and will not get this sense of responsibility except a medium be devised which will provide for mass participation of the people in the fight. They won't write. They won't speak. They will march. And a March may loosen up their speech. It may give them the will to write, because it will give them a sense of belonging to a great democratic crusade against hate, bigotry and intolerance, for jobs and justice.

Our fight for FEPC is one segment of the long battle line of the peoples of color and the dominated peoples of the world for status and freedom. And the world of color and dependent peoples are on the march. They are in motion-physical motion. They are living dangerously for their rights. We cannot hope to win FEPC at any cheaper price. A little, polite fight with a few nice people won't get it. The people have no faith in super-cautious, timid, hesitant efforts. While logic is good and necessary, it is not enough. No legislation is ever passed because it is logical and ethical alone. There must be power back of it. Large masses of people in action represent power. A march on Washington will not only register on Congress, but will give the people faith, courage and hope. It will give spiritual and moral strength to the liberal causes of America and the world. It will show the people and Congress that we are not bewildered and confused. It will put our movement on a militant offensive. It will give faith and hope to the people struggling for freedom in India, Palestine, Indonesia, Africa and the West Indies, and wherever there are dominated people.

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE **September 22, 1947**

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

FIELD WORK

Our primary and most urgent need is to expand our field program. We have been in touch with a large number of individuals and organizations around the country by correspondence but this is not sufficient to energise our local groups to the extent required. Mr. Manly has visited a number of cities on the East Coast and I have been working in Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Columbus and Cincinnati. It takes personal contact with relative frequency to really get an action program going. We have the nuclei of very active groups all over the country but it will take personal contact to move them and constant guidance in their local programs. Two of the former members of the Council's field staff, both highly recommended by Mr. Randolph are available for employment for a minimum of six months: Mr. Charles Toney of Davenport, Iowa would handle the Mid-West States with emphasis on certain cities. Mrs. Anna Belle Douglas would handle the Southern States with emphasis on certain cities. Their former salary was seventy-five dollars a week. I believe they would accept $325 a month although $350 would be a better figure. The established per diem is eight dollars per day in the field. I have an analysis of how this would affect our current budget. I also have an ideal breakdown of the country for field work in the event our finances permit further additions.

I have here a list of primary duties of field workers which can also be considered as the basis of a program for local councils. The basic job of our councils involves the following: raising funds; educating the general public; applying pressure. There are a number of ways this can be done but they will have to be left to the wisdom and discretion of our field representatives and local leaders, with recommendations, of course, from us.

I recommend the immediate offer of employment to Mrs. Douglas and Mr. Toney.

FUNDS

Our income in July and August was derived mainly from several large contributions. We have here our current balance and immediate prospects. I have recently circulated all of the CIO internationals that have not yet contributed. I am in the process of circulating all of the AF of L internationals. I had planned to organize a series of trade union luncheons in several key cities, but decided to wait until we saw the results of the New York luncheon. I have recently approached Marshall Field and the Julius Rosenwald Fund. Our New York campaign committee of business men should be re-activated. We have a letter from Oren Root expressing interest and an apparent willingness to serve. It would be well also if we could follow through on Mr. Church's and Mr. Aronson's proposal for personal contacts by Mr. Randolph. Mr. Wilkins agreed to solicit a program of fund raising from the Negro Press. November would be a good time for this. We should also consider Mr. McLaurin's Proposal for a large souvenir program. I suggest a broad mail solicitation around the latter part of November before Christmas spending becomes too heavy. We are organizing a luncheon of Negro business men in Chicago for fund solicitation and have high hopes for a good response. If this is successful we will have one in Detroit and other cities. Our Washington, D. C., local council has a plan of fund raising already drawn up and will move on it very soon. The album plan that Mr. Kearse outlined to Mr. Manly might be canvassed further. I am planning to write all of our cooperating national organizations that have not recently sent funds. Our local councils are continually being urged to send in money. They must be energized first, however.

LITERATURE

We are seriously handicapped by the lack of literature. We must have some explanatory material immediately. I believe the revision of the FEPC leaflet which I have made will be a stop-gap.

We need a good statement of the economic effects of job discrimination with other arguments that will appeal primarily to business men and conservatives generally. We need small pamphlets making special appeals to church people, trade union members and racial groups. I have some ideas on these.

Mr. Sifton has some excellent ideas for other material and, I believe, because of the urgency of our need, should be permitted to work primarily on preparing and seeing through the press our basic educational material for the next few weeks. This will, no doubt, require making periodic visits to New York as we cannot do our printing in Washington.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

I believe we should have a meeting of our Board of Directors on December 15 in Washington. This is about the best date in view of the Christmas holidays and the opening of Congress.

NATIONAL FEPC CONFERENCE

I believe we should set this conference tentatively for the third week in January or later. It is important that some movement of the bill takes place before the conference. We should try to time the conference after the bill is voted out of committee and before it is called up on the floor.

EVIDENCE OF DISCRIMINATION

It is obvious that we must be able to substantiate our claims of widespread discrimination in employment. I am negotiating with the American Council on Race Relations, which is now primarily a research agency, to undertake a systematic country-wide survey for us.

STAFF

I recommend the immediate employment of an additional stenographer.

NEWS LETTER

Nearly 1800 copies of our August 14 newsletter was sent out to a selected list. We are constantly endeavoring to build up and improve our mailing list.

CONGRESSIONAL REPRINTS

We finally received 10,000 copies of the Fulton reprint that includes the text of the bill, a summary of its provisions and a comparison with the Norton bill. This is a very unattractive job and I am dubious of its value. We also received the Chavez reprint which contains a revision of the Norton questions and answers. This is a much better job and, I am sure, will be useful.

LOCAL COUNCIL ACTIVITY

1. Minnesota Council

Covers state. Executive secretary recently appointed (Miss Grace Langley). Planning intensive out-state program.

2. Illinois Council

Covers most of state. Recent high level of activity for state bill. $1000 in debt. Will move this month. Close contact established.

3. Michigan Council

Covers major centers of state. Recent high level of activity for state bill. Will move this month. Has executive secretary who works primarily in Detroit. Asks for help in out-state work.

4. Ohio Council

Covers most of state. Headquarters in Columbus. Has executive secretary. Will activate. Cleveland works on own. Has executive secretary. To meet this month. Cincinnati to meet this month. Good leadership but difficult community.

5. Pennsylvania Council

Factional split throughout state but had high level of activity during state fight. Mainly hoping to get working groups going soon in Philadelphia with

C.E.J.O. as nucleus.

6. Denver Colorado Council

Being reorganized. Some personality difficulty but seems ironed out.

7. Los Angeles Council

Reorganized in late spring. Active leadership. Planning mass meeting for Chairman Randolph in October.

8. Washington, D. C., Council

Reorganized with definite plan of action. Recognize major task as fund raising. Membership being broadened.

9. San Francisco Bay Area Councils

Mainly Council on Civic Unity, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and remnants of State FEPC Committee. Good leadership in Harry Kingman and C. E. Dellums.

10. Boston - Worcester, Mass. Councils

Visits by Manly.

11. Albany, Buffalo Councils

Visits by Randolph and McLaurin. Await personal follow-up by field representatives.

12. Portland, Salt Lake City, Nashville, Chattanooga

Visits by Randolph. Await follow up work of field representatives.

13. Kansas City, Memphis

Visits by Randolph.

14. New Jersey State Advisory Committee

Contact by Manly.

NEXT NEWSLETTER

On local council activity and personalities and the field appointments, if approved.

Budget

Balance - September 16

Amalgamated	10,727.22
Hamilton	520.45
Total	11,247.67

Certain Prospects

I.L.G.W.U.	5,000.
Nat'l Baptist Convention	250.
Kappa Alpha Psi	200.
Total	5,450

Monthly operating

Payroll	1,754.
Rent	111.
Tel & Tel	200.
Mimeo & Stamps	200.
Travel	400.
Total	2,665

Each additional field worker

Salary	325.	
Per diem (25 days @ $8.00 per)	200.	
Travel	200.	
Expenses	50.	
Total for one		775.
Total for two		1550.

Major Contributions Received in July and August

CIO	$5,000
American Jewish Committee	$5,000
United Steel Workers	$2,500
American Jewish Congress	$1,000
Nelson A. Rockefeller	$1,000
Los Angeles Council	$1,000

Duties of Field Representatives

1. To represent the National Council and assist in carrying out its program within certain regions.

2. To form, strengthen and guide local councils wherever they can be effective. This will be done under certain general principles, as follows -

   a) Local councils should reflect our cooperating national organizations as much as possible.

   b) The neucleus can generally be found among the following: The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the NAACP, the Jewish Community Council, the local Church Federations, the Catholic Interracial Council and CIO and AFof L officials whose names will be supplied.

   c) Special appeals or techniques may be used with different groups given the circumstances in the local communities.

3. To win support for the bill from as many groups and individuals as possible. This through appearing before meetings, personal conferences, etc.

4. Develop a general educational program through unions, churches, lodges, local organizations, etc. Have literature distributed as widely as possible.

5. Visit and cultivate newspaper reporters and editors. Send press material on local activity. Seek and suggest favorable editorials.

6. Endeavor to obtain statements, written if possible, from key local leaders and resolutions from different groups. Circulate widely.

7. Organize city-wide or regional conferences and demonstrations where feasible and profitable.

8. Raise funds for the National Council through appeals to local organizations, unions, churches, personal contacts with individual prospects, etc. Other techniques will be suggested from time to time.

9. Form small but representative delegations to call on Congressmen and Senators while they are at home. Acquaint them with provisions of bill and be in position to answer the usual objections.

10. Contact political leaders of both parties. Seek their endorsement and help with Congressmen.

11. Observe evidences of employment discrimination and send in to National Council. Also publicize locally.

12. Begin organizing delegations for National conference in Washington next January and alerted groups for Washington visit when bill hits the floor.

Field Work

Region 1 - New England

New York
Rhode Island
Mass.
Maine
Vermont
New Hampshire
Conn.

Region 2 - Middle Atlantic

Penn.
Delaware
Maryland
Virginia
New Jersey
D.C.

Region 3 - South

North Carolina
South Carolina
Alabama
Florida
Oklahoma
Mississippi
Georgia
Louisiana
Texas
Arkansas
Tennessee

Region 4 East Central

Michigan
Ohio
Indiana
Kentucky
West Virginia

Region 5 - West Central

Illinois
Iowa
Minnesota
Wisconsin
Nebraska
Colorado
Kansas
Missouri

Region 6 - West Coast

California
Washington
Oregon

Region 7 - Rocky Mountain States

Idaho
South Dakota
Arizona
Wyoming
Nevada
Montana
Utah
North Dakota
New Mexico

List of Important Cities

New York

New York
Albany
Buffalo

Virginia

Richmond
Norfolk

New Jersey

Jersey City
Trenton
Newark
Atlantic City
Camden

Delaware

Wilmington

California

San Francisco
Los Angeles

Missouri

St. Louis
Kansas City

Wisconsin

Milwaukee

Nebraska

Omaha

Texas

Houston
Dallas
Fort Worth

Louisiana

New Orleans

Conn.

Hartford
Bridgeport

Ohio

Cincinnati
Columbus
Cleveland
Toledo

Kentucky

Louisville

Illinois

Chicago
Peoria
East St. Louis

District of Columbia

Washington

Georgia

Atlanta
Savannah

North Carolina

Durham

Arkansas

Little Rock

Utah

Salt Lake City

Oregon

Portland

Maryland

Baltimore

Mass.

Boston
Worcester

Michigan

Detroit
Flint
Grand Rapids

Penn.

Pittsburgh
Philadelphia

Florida

Jacksonville
Miami

Iowa

Des moines

Minnesota

St. Paul
Minneapolis

Colorado

Denver

Washington

Seattle

Alabama

Birmingham
Montgomery

Cities for Immediate Attention

Mr. Toney:

St Louis, Kansas City, Milwaukee
Indianapolis, Gary, Cincinnati
Louisville, Columbus

Mrs. Douglass:

Atlanta, New Orleans, Houston
Dallas, Fort Worth, Durham
Jacksonville, Birmingham, Montgomery

Mr. Manly :

Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Baltimore
Newark, Trenton, Jersey City,
Camden, Atlantic City, Wilmington,
Hartford, Boston, Buffalo, Albany
Richmond, Norfolk

Mr. Henderson:

Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago

Mr. Randolph:

San Francisco, Los Angeles

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE

Speeches

1948

RADIO ADDRESS OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, CO-CHAIRMAN

OF THE

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMITTEE

Chicago, Illinois
Friday - Feb. 13, 1948 - 9:15 p.m.

I am glad to be able to report to the listeners to this program progress in the fight to have the Congress of the United States enact legislation the purpose of which is to prevent discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color or national origin. It is an unfortunate fact today that in America where equality of opportunity has been a cardinal tenet of our democratic faith, its observance, so far as our racial, religious and national minorities are concerned, has been more in the breach than in the affirmative. Thousands, yes millions, of Negroes, Jews, Catholics and individuals of various national extractions, regardless of their training or ability are prevented from obtaining suitable employment because of the prejudice against them. In many cases they are excluded from entire industries and business concerns, in others they are forced into cheap or menial labor though they may be actually or potentially qualified for the higher skills. For Negroes, for example, this situation is widespread and general and has existed for a long period of time. Look about you in the great city of Chicago. Your own observation will reveal the discrepancies. The business offices, certain ones of the department stores, many of the plants and factories here bar them from jobs completely or restrict them to the lower paid and unskilled categories. This local situation can be duplicated practically all over the country. This is a serious matter. For it is a basic economic one. How can these groups make their fullest contribution to the culture of this land? How can they earn a decent living and secure an income that will enable them to enjoy even a minimum of the benefits that our free society affords. Discrimination in employment goes deeper and is far more corrupting than all of the other discrimination that minorities suffer.

After long and careful consideration of this matter and as a result of the successful achievements of the war-time Fair Employment Practice Committee created by the late President Roosevelt, a movement was organized to secure the enactment by Congress of fair employment legislation. In the present, 80th, Congress there has been introduced a fair employment practices bill which, if enacted into law, will go a long way toward removing employment discrimination. It is Senate Bill 984 sponsored by Senator Irving M. Ives of New York, a Republican; Senator Francis J. Myers of Pennsylvania, a Democrat; Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, a Republican; Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico, a Democrat; Senator Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts, a Republican; Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, a Republican; Senator Sheridan Downey of California, a Democrat, and Senator James E. Murray of Montana, a Democrat. In the House of Representatives companion bills have been introduced. The bill is clearly not a partisan measure and has the support of Congressmen and Senators of both major parties.

The FEPC bill was drawn by these sponsors in cooperation with a group of distinguished attorneys and is patterned to a great extent after the New York Law Against Discrimination in Employment passed in 1945 by the New York General Assembly. Senator Ives at that time was Republican majority leader in the New York State Senate and led the fight for its passage. His experience there has held him in good stead for the present fight in the Congress.

The bill forbids discrimination in hiring, firing or conditions of employment on grounds of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry by an employer of 50 or more engaged in interstate commerce and also forbids labor unions having 50 or more members in the employ of any concern subject to the act to discriminate against any individual or to segregate or limit its membership in any way which adversely affects his employment opportunities. The bill exempts state or municipal agencies as well as non-profit religious, charitable, fraternal, social and educational associations, other than labor organizations. It does forbid discrimination in employment in the Federal

Government which, historically has been one of the worst offenders. Surely private employers cannot be expected to act in a manner more just and reasonable than the Federal Government itself.

Under the bill a Commission is created to investigate charges and attempt to eliminate discrimination by conference, conciliation and persuasion. If these steps fail the Commission can issue cease and desist orders. The procedures of the Commission are surrounded by safeguards for the accused and under these controls there is no possibility of arbitrary or capricious actions. The Commission will have the power to create State or regional advisory or conciliation councils and undoubtedly these councils will help to make more effective the Commission's work.

The FEPC bill makes the right to employment a civil right of all of the people of the United States and thus, a great new freedom is added to our already existing Constitutional safeguards and a great step taken to correct a basic injustice in our American social order.

Last Friday, February 5, the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee headed by Senator Robert A. Taft, voted out Senate Bill 984 and recommended to the Senate as a whole that it pass. The vote was seven to five. The Senators on the Committee who voted in our favor were: Senator George D. Aiken, Senator Irving M. Ives, Senator William E. Jenner, Senator Wayne Morse, Senator James E. Murray, Senator H. Alexander Smith and Senator Elbert D. Thomas. They have shown by their votes that they are true believers in equality of opportunity for all our American citizens and are willing to go beyond lip service to this great ideal.

In due time, the bill will be called up for a vote on the Senate Floor and we are confident that a majority of the members of the Senate will vote in its favor. But there are two major dangers—one, that hostile or indifferent members of the Republican majority will delay consideration too long for effective action in this session and—, two that Southern Democrats will try to frustrate the will of the majority by a filibuster.

Now the Republican Party, in its platform, made a clear statement of its intention to pass the FEPC bill. I quote: "We pledge the enactment by Federal legislation of a permanent fair employment practices commission." The Chairman of the resolution committee which drew up this platform was none other than Senator Robert A. Taft, who, as you know, is a candidate for the Republican nomination for the presidency. Now if the Republicans fail to call up this bill for a vote in a reasonable time, and if they fail to give it their full support they will not only have turned their backs on a great social issue affecting the entire economy of the United States and all of its people, but the Republicans will have defaulted on an unequivocal promise made by the Republican National Convention and will have shown to the affected minorities their intention to do no more than make ignoble gestures in an effort to win votes.

The Southern Democrats have declared their readiness to block the passage of this bill at any cost. Realizing they cannot command a majority of the Senate against it they will repeat their disgraceful tactics of the last Congress against the FEPC bill and attempt to filibuster it to death. Under the rules of the Senate, a member may hold the floor and talk as long as he wishes (or can) on any measure. It has been the custom of the filibusterers to yield the floor only to another filibusterer and hence prevent the bill from ever coming to a vote and tieing up the work of the Senate. They talk and talk and harangue and harangue until the Senate leaders agree to abandon efforts to secure a vote. This, as I have aforesaid, in spite of the fact that a clear majority of the Senate would vote for the bill if they could. The filibuster is undoubtedly an undemocratic weapon and violates every reasonable conception of parliamentary practice. The Southerners who engage in it cause a mockery to be made of the Senate and certainly make ridiculous our proud characterization of the Senate as the greatest deliberative body in the world.

There are two ways of breaking the filibuster—one, is to keep the Senate in continuous session until the filibusteres have worn themselves out. This would be up to the leadership of the Republican majority. We call upon them to do so. The other is to secure a vote of closure, that is, to limit debate to a fixed time. This would automatically break the filibuster. But under existing rules a vote of two-thirds of those present is required. This is possible but difficult to obtain. Nevertheless we call upon every fair-minded Senator in both parties to vote for closure so the FEPC bill can be acted on on its merits.

The Democratic Party, like the Republican, is on record in favor of this legislation. President Roosevelt called for its passage and President Truman has on many occasions strongly urged the Congress to enact it into law. Only recently, the Committee on Civil Rights, appointed by President Truman issued a report after a careful investigation of the entire problem and recommended a fair employment law. After study of this report President Truman on last Monday again urged Congress to pass the bill saying, and I quote -

> "We in the United States believe that all men are entitled to equality of opportunity. Racial, religious and other invidious forms of discrimination deprive the individual of an equal chance to develop and utilize his talents and to enjoy the rewards of his efforts.
>
> Once more I repeat my request that the Congress enact fair employment practice legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment based on race, color, religion or national origin. The legislation should creat a Fair Employment Practice Commission with authority to prevent discrimination by employers and labor unions, trade and professional associations and Government agencies and employment bureaus."

He supported this recommendation by requesting an appropriation of one million dollars for the operation of the Commission if the bill is passed. This support from the highest office in the land is indeed gratifying and we commend the President on his forthrightness. But we ask him to go one step further and use the full extent of his influence to forestall a filibuster by the members of his party from the South and to secure a maximum number of Democratic votes for this bill. We believe this can be done and we urge him to do it.

There is tremendous support for the fair employment practices bill throughout the country and in all sections and strata of the American people. The favorable opinion

PAGE MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL

TESTIMONY OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, NATIONAL TREASURER OF THE COMMITTEE AGAINST JIMCROW IN MILITARY SERVICE AND TRAINING AND PRESIDENT OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, AFL, PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BEFORE THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE WEDNESDAY, MARCH 31, 1948, 10 A.M., WASHINGTON, D.C.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Mr. Chairman:

Mr. Grant Reynolds, national chairman of the Committee Against Jimcrow in Military Service and Training, has prepared for you in his testimony today a summary of wartime injustices to Negro soldiers -- injustices by the military authorities and injustices by bigoted segments of the police and civilian population. The fund of material on this issue is endless, and yet, three years after the end of the war, as another crisis approaches, large numbers of white Americans are blissfully unaware of the extent of physical and psychological aggression against and oppression of the Negro soldier.

Without taking time for a thorough probe into these relevant data -- a probe which could enlighten the nation -- Congress may now heed Mr Truman's call for Universal Military Training and Selective Service, and in the weeks ahead enact a jimcrow conscription law and appropriate billions for the greatest segregation system of all time. In a campaign year, when both major parties are playing cynical politics with the issue of civil rights, Negroes are about to lose the fight against jimcrowism on a national level. Our hard-won local gains in education, fair employment, hospitalization, housing are in danger of being nullified --being swept aside, Mr. Chairman, after decades of work -- by a federally enforced pattern of segregation. I am not beguiled by the Army's use of the word "temporary." Whatever may pass in the way of conscription legislation will become permanent, since the world trend is toward militarism. The Army knows this well. In such an eventuality, how could any permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission dare to criticize job discrimination in private industry if the federal government itself were simultaneously discriminating against Negro youth in military installations all over the world?

M O R E

There can be no doubt of my facts. Quite bluntly, Chairman Walter G. Andrews of the House Armed Services Committee told a delegation from this organization that the War Department plans segregated white and Negro battalions if Congress passes a draft law. ~~The~~ Newark Evening News of March 26, 1948, confirmed this in a Washington dispatch based on official memoranda sent from Secretary Forrestal's office to the House Armed Services Committee. Nine days ago when we called this to the attention of the Commander-in-Chief in a White House conference, he indicated that he was aware of these plans for jimcrow battalions. This despite his Civil Rights message to Congress.

We have released all of this damaging information to the daily press, to leaders of both parties in Congress, and to supposedly liberal organizations. But with a relative handful of exceptions, we have found our white "friends" silent, indifferent, even hostile. Justice Roberts, who provided you last week with vigorous testimony in behalf of the President's draft recommendations, is a trustee of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, a prominent Negro institution. Yet for nearly four months, Mr. Roberts has not shown us the courtesy to reply to letters asking his support for anti-segregation and civil rights safeguards in any draft law. Three days after the Newark Sunday News embarrassed Congressman Harry L. Towe in his home district by exposing his similar failure to acknowledge our correspondence, Mr. Towe, author of the UMT bill in the House, suddenly found time to answer letter letters which had been on his desk since December.

This situation -- this conspiracy of silence, shall I say? -- has naturally commanded wide publicity in the Negro press. I submit for the record a composite of newspaper clippings. In my travels around the country I have sounded out Negro public opinion and confirmed for myself the popular resentment as reflected by the Negro press. I can assure members of the Senate that Negroes do put civil rights above the high cost of living and above every other major issue of the day, as recently reported by the Fortune Opinion Poll, I believe. Even more

M O R E

significant is the bitter, angry mood of the Negro in his present determination to win those civil rights in a country that subjects him daily to so many insults and indignities.

With this background, gentlemen, I reported last week to President Truman that Negroes are in no mood to shoulder a gun for democracy abroad so long as they are denied democracy here at home. In particular, they resent the idea of fighting or being drafted into another jimcrow Army. I passed this information on to Mr. Truman not as a threat, but rather as a frank, factual survey of Negro opinion.

Today I should like to make clear to the Senate Armed Services Committee and through you, to Congress and the American people that passage now of a jimcrow draft may only result in a mass civil disobedience movement along the lines of the magnificent struggles of the people of India against British imperialism. I must emphasize that the current agitation for civil rights is no longer a mere expression of hope on the part of Negroes. On the one hand, it is a positive, resolute outreaching for full manhood. On the other hand, it is an equally determined will to stop acquiescing in anthing less. Negroes demand full, unqualified first-class citizenship.

In resorting to the principles and direct-action techniques of Gandhi, whose death was publicly mourned by many members of Congress and President Truman, Negroes will be serving a higher law than any passed by a national legislature in an era when racism spells our doom. They will be serving a law higher than any decree of the Supreme Court which in the famous Winfred Lynn case evaded ruling on the flagrantly illegal segregation practiced under the wartime Selective Service Act. In refusing to accept compulsory military segregation, Negro youth will be serving their fellow men throughout the world.

I feel qualified to make this claim because of a recent survey of American psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists. The survey revealed an over-

MORE

whelming belief among these experts that enforced segregation on racial or religious lines has serious and detrimental psychological effects both on the segregated groups and on those enforcing segregation. Experts from the South, I should like to point out gentlemen, were as positive as those from other sections of the country as to the harmful effects of segregation. The views of these social scientists were based on scientific research and their own professional experience.

So long as the Armed Services propose to enforce such universally harmful segregation not only here at home but also overseas, Negro youth have a moral obligation not to lend themselves as world-wide carriers of an evil and hellish doctrine. Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall clearly indicated in the New Jersey National Guard situation that the Armed Services do have every intention of prolonging their anthropologically hoary and untenable policies.

For 25 years now the myth has been carefully cultivated that Soviet Russia has ended all discrimination and intolerance, while here at home the American Communists have skillfully posed as champions of minority groups. To the rank-and-file Negro in World War II, Hitler's racism posed a sufficient threat for him to submit to the jimcrow Army abuses. But this factor of minority group persecution in Russia is not present, as a popular issue, in the power struggle between Stalin and the United States. I can only repeat that this time Negroes will not take a jimcrow draft lying down. The conscience of the world will be shaken as by nothing else when thousands and thousands of us second-class Americans choose imprisonment in preference to permanent military slavery.

While I cannot with absolute certainty claim results at this hour, I personally will advise Negroes to refuse to fight as slaves for a democracy they cannot possess and cannot enjoy. Let me add that I am speaking only for myself, not even for the Committee Against Jimcrow in Military Service and Training, since I am not sure that all its members would follow my position. But Negro

MORE

leaders in close touch with GI grievances would feel derelict in their duty if they did not support such a justified civil disobedience movement -- especially those of us whose age would protect us from being drafted. Any other course would be a betrayal of those who place their trust in us. I personally pledge myself to openly counsel, aid and abet youth, both white and Negro, to quarantine any jimcrow conscription system, whether it bear the label of UMT or Selective Service.

I shall tell youth of all races not to be tricked by any euphonious election-year registration for a draft. This evasion, which the newspapers increasingly discuss as a convenient way out for Congress, would merely presage a synthetic "crisis" immediately after November 2nd when all talk of equality and civil rights would be branded unpatriotic while the induction machinery would move into high gear. On previous occasions I have seen the "national emergency" psychology mow down legitimate Negro demands.

From coast to coast in my travels I shall call upon all Negro veterans to join this civil disobedience movement and to recruit their younger brothers in an organized refusal to register and be drafted. Many veterans, bitter over Army jimcrow, have indicated that they will act spontaneously in this fashion, regardless of any organized movement. "Never again," they say with finality.

I shall appeal to the thousands of white youth in schools and colleges who are today vigorously shedding the prejudices of their parents andprofessors. I shall urge them to demonstrate their solidarity with Negro youth by ignoring the entire registration and induction machinery. And finally I shall appeal to Negro parents to lend their moral support to their sons --to stand behind them as they march with heads high to federal prisons as a telling demonstration to the world that Negroes have reached the limit of human endurance -- that, in the words of the spiritual, we'll be buried in our graves before we will be slaves.

MORE

May I, in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, point out that political maneuvers have made this drastic program our last resort. Your party, the party of Lincoln, solemnly pledged in its 1944 platform a full-fledged Congressional investigation of injustices to Negro soldiers. Instead of that long overdue probe, the Senate Armed Services Committee on this very day is finally hearing testimony from two or three Negro veterans for a period of 20 minutes each. The House Armed Services Committee and Chairman Andrews went one step further and arrogantly refused to hear any at all! Since we cannot obtain an adequate Congressional forum for our grievances, we have no other recourse but to tell our story to the peoples of the world by organized direct action. I don't believe that even a wartime censorship wall could be high enough to conceal news of a civil disobedience program. If we cannot win your support for your own Party commitments, if we cannot ring a bell in you by appealing to human decency, we shall command your respect and the respect of the world by our united refusal to cooperte with tyrannical injustice.

Since the military, with their Southern biases, intend to take over America and institute total encampment of the populace along jimcrow lines, Negroes will resist with the power of non-violence, with the weapons of moral principles, with the good-will weapons of the spirit, yes with the weapons that brought freedom to India. I feel morally obligated to disturb and keep disturbed the conscience of jimcrow America. In resisting the insult of jimcrowism to the sould of black America, we are helping to save the soul of America. And let me add that I am opposed to Russian totalitarian communism and all its works. I consider it a menace to freedom. I stand by democracy as expressing the Judean-Christian ethic. But democracy and Christianity must be boldly and courageously applied for all men regardless of race, color, creed or country.

We shall wage a relentless warfare against jimcrow without hate or revenge for the moral and spiritual progress and safety of our country, world peace and

MORE

freedom.

Finally let me say that Negroes are just sick and tired of being pushed around and we just don't propose to take it, and we do not care what happens.

NEWSPAPER COMPOSITE ATTACHED.

APR
Speech

FIGHT FOR FEPC MAY BREAK DOWN ONE PARTY SYSTEM OF THE SOUTH

Speech before FEPC Dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria, March 6, 1948
by A. Philip Randolph

Because of the deepening cleavage among the people of the South on the civil rights issue, and especially Bills for a Fair Employment Practice Law, the one political party system expressed in the Democratic Primary, may be heading for a fall, stated A. Philip Randolph, Co-Chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC at a dinner in honor of the National Board of Directors of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, Saturday evening, March 6th.

Mr. Randolph continued that the violent threats of Southern governors to secede from the Democratic Party and work out various political devices to prevent the nomination and reelection of President Truman, do not reflect the total sentiment of the people of the South on this vital and crucial question of civil rights. New voices are being heard in the South indicated in the Southern Regional Council whose Chairman is Paul D. Williams of Richmond, Va.; Georgia's Educational Service whose Executive Director is Frank McAllister of Atlanta, Ga. Many AFL and CIO organizations and leaders in the South, together with student groups on various campuses, such as Oklahoma University, where white students have registered their demand for the entrance into the law school of Miss Ada L. Sipuel Fisher now the subject of considerable legal controversey, following the Supreme Court's decision that the University of Oklahoma's Law School give her immediate admittance or deny law training to white students.

It is also significant to note that despite the so-called Southern vote against President Truman, a recent Gallup poll showed that President Truman got 74% of the votes, Stassen, 19%, Wallace 2%, Dewey 19% and Taft 16%, indicating that the Southern governors denunciations of civil rights is a part of their normal political business to maintain their place in politics and government in Dixie. In 1939, America Speaks, polled Southern opinion on the idea of two strong parties and 57% of all eligible voters with opinions said they thought the South would be better off with two effective parties. In 1943, the percentage rose to 59% and in 1944 to 64%. Now a dual political system in the South would provide an opportunity for Negro voters as well as labor to play an important role in eliminating the old political feudalism which prevails there and introduce vital and labor legislation and develop a strong and constructive and progressive political sentiment throughout that area. Competition for office in the city, county, state and federal government between two parties, with the Negro and poor white man provide the foundation for the democratization and liberalization of the South.

If the fight for FEPC and other civil rights measures such as the Anti-Lynching and Anti-Poll Tax, break up the one party system, it will serve not only the South but democracy throughout the country. I believe that this outcry of Southern governors and other politicians against President Truman's Civil Rights report and his message to Congress reflects the condition of social pain, travail and labor through which the old order of the South is passing prior to its disintegration and disappearance. Out of pain, struggle, chaos and confusion new life is born. Verily, a new political era is in the making below the Potomac, today. No political maneuver of Southern governors, senators and congressmen can stem the rising tide of a second arty in the South with concomitant civil rights for the Negro and labor.

While the unreconstructed rebel senators will stage a bitter filibuster against Bill S 984 for Fair Employment Practice Commission and the Anti-Poll Tax and Anti-Lynch Bills, they are not the biggest problem confronting us. Of far more significance than the little band of Southern politicians in the Senate is the Republican Party and its leaders on FEPC, Anti-Lynch and Anti-Poll Tax legislation. A count in the Senate reveals that there are 51 Republican senators and a sufficient number of Northern democrats to invoke cloture rule which can limit debate and crack the filibuster. What will the Republican senators do with these civil rights measures? This question poses the most important problem before us. Republicans have their opportunity to do something fundamental not only by granting certain basic civil rights to the Negro and other minorities which is a part of the problem of making democracy work in America, but also to give force, reality and integrity to the foreign policy of the United States of America throughout the world.

This will do more toward arresting the expansion of Russian totalitarian Communism than any kind of negative fight against Communist methods and tactics which may be devised. As a matter of fact one of the most important elements of a sound Marshall Plan, is the elimination in America of all traces, vestiges and remnants of discrimination because of color, creed, national origin, race or ancestry. A supplementary Domestic Civil Rights Plan is necessary to the official government Marshall Plan which the United States is desperately pressing at this hour to prevent Stalin from establishing dominions over all of Europe, Asia and Africa, if not Central and South America.

The most powerful political propaganda weapon Russian Communism now holds in its hands is discrimination against Negroes and other minorities in employment, in education, in housing, in government and in sufferage in the U.S.A. America is sorely embarrassed in World councils whenever she attempts to raise the banner of democracy because of the fact that Molotov and Gromyko, Vishinsky and other Soviet leaders wash the faces of American diplomats with the fact that our country preaches democracy abroad but fails to practice it at home.

Therefore, I call upon liberals, labor and all minorities to demand of the Republican leaders of the Senate and House and of President Truman and the Democrati Party that they enact into law all of these civil rights measures presented in the report of the President, including FEPC, Anti-Lynch and Anti-Poll Tax Bills and a federal education aid bill, together with the complete elimination of discrimination and segregation in all of the armed forces of this country, providing for full integration of Negro youth into all units and categories of the army, navy, air and marine forces.

The National Council is doing its bit to stir the conscience of this nation to the realization that its greatest enemy lies within and not from without. Salvation must come from within. If the U.S.A. like Rome, falls, it will not be due to Communist Russia but to international and spiritual decay. I am glad to report that the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, the organization which is carrying the ball to secure the enactment of Bills S 984 and HR 2824 has the support and cooperation of the Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic churches, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and all of the important national Negro organizations in the country such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Elks, Postal Alliance, Negro churches, etc. Never before in the history of America so far as I can recall has any movement received such formidable cooperation in its struggle to achieve the enactment of its program.

Negroes and other minorities together with liberals and labor should not accept from the Republican and Democratic Party any half measures on civil rights. We do not want FEPC alone. We do not want an Anti-Lynch Bill alone. We do not want an Anti-Poll Tax Bill alone. We want all three of these measures enacted as a belated gesture on the part of the United States of America in an attempt to do penance for the long historical record of oppression, persecution and outrage Negroes and other minorities in this nation have suffered.

In conclusion, I want to predict unless Americans put their house in order, in a wholesale, comprehensive and unequivocal manner, by way of eliminating all forms of distinctions in the law and practice on account of race, color, religi and national origin; unless the United States make the Negro a full-fledged, first-class citizen in industry, education, transportation, residential relations, government and politics; unless America wipes its slate clean of all forms of bias and hate, this country will never stop the onward march of Communism throughout the world as well as within our own gates. Our country needs a new militant and uncompromising faith in democratic traditions, principles, ideals and values. The great industrial and financial power of America backed by the atomic bomb will not suffice in the struggle with world Communism. Americans and other peoples must have as deep a conviction, devotion and loyalty with respect to their democratic institutions as the Communists have with regard to there institutions, and no American can truly believe that this country is a worthy symbol of a democratic faith so long as it consigns sections of its population to ghettos, jim-crow schools, jim-crow cars, jim-crow jobs, jim-crow churches, jim-crow labor unions, jim-crow army and a jim-crow life.

I believe in the Marshall Plan. I think it is essential as a factor of creating the basis of a strong American economy, world peace and the liberal democratic nations of Europe. But I am afraid for America, which **stakes its** future solely upon power, material power, dollars, atomic bombs, a strong army, navy and air force. America needs more, much more. It needs the rebirth of the spirit. Either the United States becomes a truly democratic nation where all men of every faith, every race, every national origin, every ancestry, may find opportunity, free and unabridged equality of opportunity, with the right of acceptance to all of the agencies and forces of this country which may make for a good, more abundant life, with peace and hope, without embarrassment or insult to their souls, or it will perish.

I want to see an America whose democratic mind and spirit are so big and fine that it will not back down on the demand for a homeland for the Jews in Palestine. It will not make a cheap, hypocritical gesture of democracy by passing one civil rights bill and hide behind the claim that the South, with its fascist veto upon democracy, won't permit a full civil rights program to be enacted into law.

If the United States of America can send its armies to Tokyo, Berlin and Korea, and send it dollars and diplomats to Bulgaria, Roumania, Albania, any wonder the people of the world, especially those of Europe and the darker races, have no faith in the pompous and ponderous declarations about our democratic principles in Europe, when we cannot make them function below the Mason-Dixon Line in our own country. In this world-wide war between the Western democracies and Russian Communism, the issues are freedom, justice, equality and human rights for all. American and world democratic capitalism are face to face for the first time in its history with a new foe--world Communism which cannot be overcome by lip service to the principles of christianity, brotherhood, democracy and humanity. The deeds of Communism must be met with the deeds of democracy. The American Congress does not yet know this. American business is not yet aware of it. American labor is still unconscious of it. The American people must be aroused and awaken to the realization that the only hope and future of America is a democratic America, not a limited democratic America; democratic for whites only, or for gentiles only, or for Protestants only, or for business only. America must be democratic for the Jew, Catholic, Negro, Japanese-American, and Mexican workers, the sharecroppers and labor.

Speech

Address by A. Philip Randolph
October 28, 1948
Philadelphia, Pa.

WHY I SHALL VOTE FOR NORMAN THOMAS

A citizen faced with the problem of casting his vote in the coming presidential election should make up his mind to vote for either Truman, Dewey, Wallace, Norman Thomas or J. Strom Thurmond upon a basis of three considerations:

1. record of candidate on the issues which the citizen thinks are vital
2. program of the candidate
3. control of the candidate

Analyzing the records of the candidates on the Democratic, Republican, Progressive, Socialist and Dixiecrat tickets, the following facts meet the citizen:

With respect to President Truman on civil rights, his record involves the issuance of the famous Civil Rights Report and the submission of a ten point program to the Congress for legislative action. While this was commendable, he has failed to fight for the translation of the Report into basic legislation.

The civil rights platform adopted by the Democratic Convention, as a result of the memorable leadership of Mayor Humphreys of Minneapolis, Minn., and other delegates of the America for Democratic Action, although not repudiated by President Truman, was far too drastic for his temper and liking, since it is a well-known fact that he counselled a colorless plank on civil rights comparable to the one adopted by the 1944 Democratic Convention.

However, under the pressure of the civil disobedience campaign he issued two Executive Orders; one, against jimcrow in the armed services which also provided for a committee to carry out the purpose of the Order; and, two, an Executive Order for an FEPC in government with the purpose of eliminating discrimination based upon color, religion, nationality and ancestry. These Executive Orders are praiseworthy and valuable.

On labor, President Truman made the grave blunder in 1948 of calling upon the Congress to adopt legislation to break strikes in the crucial industries by putting workers in uniform. However, when the infamous, slave labor measure known as the Taft-Hartley Law was passed by both houses and presented to him, he vetoed it.

In relation to housing, President Truman has done more noble talking than acting. He has roundly condemned the action of the 80th Congress for its failure to do anything to relieve the housing shortage in the interest of GI's and other citizens. But what about the 79th Congress which was criminally negligent in seeking an effective solution to the problem of housing in this country?

One notable credit which President Truman may claim, is the appointment of Negroes to some of the distinctively important places in American government.

As far as his dealing with high prices and the problem of inflation, the President recommends price control, although he is responsible, together with the Republicans, for the emmasculation of the OPA which upon the occasion of its dismantling, he styled as a phase of a police state.

The basic question of monopoly and the problem of achieving a greater measure of equality and the distribution of wealth in America among the population, both President Truman and the Democratic Party have taken no position, although so long as our fundamental natural resources and big monopolies are exploited for the profit of a few people in the country, democracy is in peril.

In terms of the foreign policy of President Truman and the Democratic Party, there is a lack of definite outline and program which would have merit and value, and there is such vacillation and indecision on vital questions such as Palestine and Germany that people at home and abroad are at sea as to where the U.S.A. stands.

So far as control of the President and the Democratic Party is concerned, it is in the hands of politicans without vision or idealism, and who think in terms of polities, patrongage and power.

Although it is claimed that Governor Dewey of New York has better chances of election over President Truman, it is doubtful that the people will fair any better under him than they have under President Truman. His civil rights program consists of the New York State FEPC which was wrung from his grudging hands under pressure, and his education bill for FEPC was enacted without his leadership or special sympathy. But he will no doubt use these measures as evidence of his civil rights records. On the whole, there is nothing in the political career of Governor Dewey which will set him down as a warm champion of civil rights.

In fairness to the Governor, however, it must be admitted that he has been outstanding in giving Negroes high and responsible positions. He does not however exceed President Truman in this respect.

So far as labor is concerned, while he has not sponsored any anti-labor legislation during his regime in Albany, he has, as the titular head of the Republican Party, gone on record as giving the Taft-Hartley Law his blessing, a position which naturally earns the suspicion and distrust of organized labor.

In the field of housing, Governor Dewey's record is no better or worse than President Truman.

For the correction of high prices and inflation he has the typical big business remedy, namely, free enterprise, normal and natural competition in a free market. The only thing wrong with this remedy is that it is not a remedy in the first place because it is based on assumptions that are highly questionable, namely, the existence of a free market and natural competition.

In the domain of foreign policy, Governor Dewey does not dissent from the position of President Truman but only claims that he will do the job better.

On domestic issues involving monopoly and the more equal distribution of goods and services among the people of the nation, Governor Dewey reflects the philosophy of the National Manufacturer's Association which stands for monopoly without government interference.

In terms of control of Governor Dewey and the Republican Party it is a matter of common knowledge that the Republican Party is the political voice of big business in America although it may be said in deference to Governor Dewey that he will perhaps be more independent of big business control than Hoover, Harding or Coolidge, whatever that means.

Perhaps, the most sensational campaign which has been made today for the presidency must be credited to Henry A. Wallace. At least, he has huge crowds that pay cash to hear him.

On civil rights, Henry A. Wallace may be truly styled as a "Johnny come lately" for although his challenge to jimcrow in the deep South is commendable, when the fight was being waged for Odell Waller, Negro farm boy, accused and framed of the slaying of his farm employer; and when Marion Anderson was rebuffed when she sought to sing in Constitution Hall; and during the struggle of Negroes, liberals and labor to unseat jimcrow in the nation's capitol and various departments of the federal government, although Mr. Wallace was at one time Vice-President, at another time Secretary of Agriculture and finally Secretary of Commerce, he was as silent as the sphinx, neither giving aid or comfort to the struggle against jimcrow in the interest of civil rights for all people regardless of race, creed, color or national origin. I can authoritatively speak on this question since I lead the committee in the interest of Odell Waller in Washington to seek the support of President Roosevelt, Henry A. Wallace and other leaders of the government.

The housing program of Henry A. Wallace is sounder than that of President Truman and Governor Dewey. He promises to deal effectively with the elimination of the housing shortage and sets up a plan which has merit.

On labor his pronouncements are far more fundamental than either the position of President Truman or Dewey.

But in the field of foreign policy he is extremely vulnerable from the point of view of our national security and the struggle of democracy against Communism. His opposition to the Marshall Plan is as indefensible as it is unsound.

This brings me to the question of control of Mr. Wallace and the Progressive Party, for the position of Mr. Wallace on the Marshall Plan stems from the control over him and the Progressive Party. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Progressive Party was organized by the Communists and the Communists have resolutely prevented any measures from being included in the platform of the Progressive Party that are objectionable to the Kremlin. Whenever Wallace decides to oppose the plans of the Kremlin, the brethren of the Cominform will start a whispering campaign w ich will result in his complete elimination and repudiation, as they have with others for the slightest deviation from the Moscow line. Wallace is the wrongest good man in the presidential campaign.

J. Strom Thurmond, former governor of South Carolina and candidate for the presidency on the Dixiecrat ticket has the clearest program of Truman, Dewey or Wallace. He simply wants to set back the clock of civil rights to the days before the civil war, and t at is that.

Norman Thomas, candidate on the Socialist ticket for presidency is by long odds, in moral and intellectual stature, head and shoulders above Truman, Dewey, Wallace or Thurmond. I will vote for Norman Thomas because he has been a consistent champion of civil rights though never possessing public office to put his ideals into pratice. No cause for freedom, justice or democracy for the oppressed minorities has failed to receive his support and cooperation. If there is a struggle on the picket line against open shop autocracy, he is there. If sharecroppers are victimized by ruthless exponents on the farms of the South or the far West, he is there. If Japanese-Americans are denied their human rights, Norman Thomas gives them aid. If the fight for the poll tax, the abolition of lynching and the establishment of an FEPC is on, Thomas is with it.

His program and the program of the Socialist Party strikes at the roots of social injustice and maladjustment by seeking the socialization of natural resources, natural monopolies and the introduction of the policy of production for use and service instead of profit. While Thomas cannot be elected president, I would rather vote for him on the Socialist ticket, whose principles and ideals I believe in than to vote for Truman, Dewey, Wallace or Thurmond whose program and party I don't believe in although either Truman or Dewey has the possibility of victory.

I am for Norman Thomas because a strong socialist vote may serve as the basis for the organization of a national third party based upon sound socialist principles which will make for peace, plenty and freedom.

Convention

[1948]

RADIO TALK

On Sunday afternoon, September 12th, in the Cass Tech Auditorium in Detroit, Michigan, Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, will deliver the principal address for a public labor education meeting, under the auspices of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This meeting will mark the opening of the Sixth Biennial Convention and 23rd Anniversary Celebration of the Brotherhood.

Today, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, an International Union, covering the United States and Canada, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, embraces ~~the~~ a membership of more than fifteen thousand (15,000) porters, attendants, bus boys, non clerical storeroom employees and maids, employed by The Pullman Company and some forty (40) or more Railway Carriers in the U.S.A., and ~~the~~ Canadian. ~~Pacific Railroad, and the Northern Alberta Railway in the Dominion of Canada~~.

Pioneering in the field of trade union organization among Negroes, the Brotherhood has blazed the way for other groups of Negro workers not only by example and inspiration, but also through direct organization and financial help.

Having raised the pay of the porters from a minimum of $67.50 a month in 1925, the date of birth of the Brotherhood, to $219.10 a month, ~~for the Pullman porters~~, the Brotherhood began the organization of ~~the~~ train porters, chair car attendants, and colored locomotive firemen. The train porters were being attacked by the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen on every hand with a view to displacing them with white brakemen on the grounds that the Negro train porters were violating the jurisdiction of the brakemen although they had served on railroads of this country as train porters for over fifty (50) years.

Mamie Sp
560 E Phil
Detroit 2

To prevent the elimination of Negro train porters, at an expense of thousands of dollars, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters championed the cause of these ~~train porters~~ WAGE EARNERS in the courts throughout the country. The winning of cases for train porters on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad and the Santa Fe may determine whether this class of Negro Railway Employes shall continue hold the jobs they now have. If these cases are lost it will mean the complete elimination of the Negro Train Porters in the Railway Industry of this country.

In addition to the fight to save the jobs of Negro train porters, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is waging a valiant battle in the interest of colored locomotive firemen. Although colored locomotive firemen have been in the engine cabs on the southern railroads for more than half ~~of~~ a century, today the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, with their vast resources and formidable batteries of lawyers, is seeking to eliminate Negro firemen from the engine cabs on the railroads of this nation. Cases are pending in the Federal District Courts in Washington, D. C., and southern areas involving the right of the colored locomotive firemen to continue to perform the work of firemen on the steam locomotives, and whether they can exercise seniority rights on Diesel engines.

Without the large membership of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which has developed considerable financial resources, the fight for the preservation of the jobs of the colored locomotive firemen and train porters could not be carried on.

But the Brotherhood has not only fought for the rights of porters and colored locomotive firemen, it has initiated and lead an epoch-making struggle to make the principle of fair employment practice a reality and force in the labor unions and industries and government of ~~this~~ ~~country~~ our nation. It was the Brotherhood, with its leaders which organized the March on Washington Movement in ~~1940 and~~ 1941, which was largely responsible for the issuance of ~~the~~ Executive Order 8802, under which the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice was established by the late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. While the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice did not accomplish all of the ~~answers~~ demands ~~set forth~~ desired by way of the elimination of discrimination in industry, the Government and trade unions, it made effective progress in developing a pattern of fair employment relations, without regard to race, color, creed or country, in American industry, trade unions and Government. This was a new idea in American life. Organized labor had established, through long struggle, the principle of the right~~s~~ of the workers to a job without regard to union affiliation, and the fight for fair employment practice legislation was designed to set up the idea that a worker was entitled to a job without regard to his affiliation with ~~groups of~~ a particular race, color, creed or nationality.

When the war ended, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters took up and largely financed the beginning of the fight by the National Council for a Permanent F.E.P.C., for ~~a~~ Federal Legislation abolishing discrimination in employment relations.

While the 80th Congress failed to enact F.E.P.C. Legislation, the fight will be renewed by the National Council for a Permanent F.E.P.C., and the 81st Congress, with the support of our organization.

In the Convention here in Detroit, which will last through September 17th, legislation will be ~~decided~~ debated and ~~enacted~~ adopted, dealing with questions of war and peace, the Marshall Plan, United Nations, inflation, employment, wages, the Taft-Hartley Act, housing, civil rights, and many other topics of vital interest to the cause of peace and freedom, political, economic, social and ethnic equality.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

speeches

1949

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE

A McC [illegible]

January 29, 1949

To the Editor of the New York Times:

Because of wide-spread interest in the question of developing the so-called backward regions of the world, raised by President Truman and discussed in your editorial columns, Friday, January 28th, I want to request that you carry this letter.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND AFRICAN NATIVES

The proposal of President Truman in his Inaugural Address to invest American know-how technology, science and industrialism to improve the world's undeveloped areas, without, perhaps, fully comprehending the nature of the assumptions upon which it rests, has bold and massive implications.

Since the possibility of future well-nigh unbridled exploitation of Asia by the Western power nations has been sharply curtailed by the rising tide of nationalism, witness Burma, India, Indonesia and Ceylon, the vast continent of Africa with its unlimited potential source of resources to Europe and America, will no doubt become the object of the tender solicitude of the European and American empire systems.

That Africa and the Africans need the application of American technical know-how for the industrialization of the country in the form of the building of railroads, developing mineral resources, fostering irrigation possibilities and genetic plans for plantation cultivation, relief from poverty, ignorance, disease, hunger, the increase of experts in medicine, sanitation, nutrition, soil erosion and hydroelectricity, is obvious and imperative.

Africa needs cotton, wheat and petroleum. But this is not all it needs. It needs in addition to the development of its material resources, the establishment of schools from the kindergarten to the college and university, all over the continent. It needs libraries and recreational agencies. It needs home development programs comparable to housing projects in the United States on a cost basis commensurate with the income of native workers.

But far more important than the development of an industrial revolution in the undeveloped countries of the world, today, far more important even than the establishment of schools in Africa is the need for the application of the Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations Assembly throughout the far-flung reaches of this country because like other areas of the colonial world, Africa is aflame with the passion for freedom, justice, equality and independence.

Verily, political freedom and economic security must go hand in hand. The imposing and spectacular schemes of President Truman and Great Britain to give an extension of life to modern capitalism by building a new empire upon a black pillar of flesh in Africa, will cause the natives to react cynically because of the long and tragic history of the relation of Christian democratic nations to them.

"Beware of Greeks bearing gifts, lest they bear a Trojan horse" is a natural exclamation of men of color to the offer of salvation through exploitation, rationalised with the pious incantations of righteousness by the Great White Race.

With the experience of the dependent colonies with the doctrine of white supremacy, certain criteria of values have been set up by the peoples of Africa, that enable them to discern when they and their land are being used as a latifundium to be worked for the benefit of absentee proprietors, the return on which may provide new income resources for the maintenance of a leisure class in deluxe comfort and conspicuous consumption, and when an approach is in the spirit of reason and justice.

In all of the discussions of this question of developing the colonial world of color, practically all of the emphasis is placed on the investment in material factors, such as Southern Rhodesian chromite, Northern Rhodesian cooper, the extraction of manganese in the Gold Coast, and cyanite an aluminum silicate of Kenya. Wide traffic in cocoa oil, ground nuts and rubber is invisioned, with no concern manifested about the human element, the people themselves who live on the land and through whose labor this new empire is to be built and maintained.

However, in addition to the Africans' struggle to attain, according to William James, the "bitch goddess success" in material goods and well-being, according to THE DAILY COMET, a newpaper published in Nigeria, which is the mouth-piece of the National Council of Nigerians and Cameroons, Africa is now going through the birth pains of a new era and setting its compass firmly toward freedom and independence.

As an example of the spirit of the new Africa, THE DAILY COMET on December 9, 1948, has this to say about the Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, "The World Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the Social Committee of the U.N.O., makes very interesting reading, but the problem is not so much to reach an agreement on what constitutes the rights of man, as how to insure the declarations based on such an agreement do not remain merely scraps of paper decorating the archives of the U.N.O. without hope of application by member states."

Thus, it is apparent that in the context of the Africans' struggle for life, and liberty, they have no misgivings about the proclamations of Western democratic nations on the ideals and principles of human rights. They have the conviction, and rightly so, that the great white-power nations of the West are more concerned about the perpetuation of the market economy for profit and power than about the progress, peace and plenty of the natives.

It is quite natural that the leaders of the democracies are engrossed in the question of stability and power in their governments, and in ways and means to combat the expansion of totalitarian communism. It has merit and justification. But, they need to know that a great awakening is sweeping Africa and the colored world. To this end, it is timely and proper that Negroes in the United States and the West Indies assume the obligation to warn the leaders of the Western Christian countries that their great plans for the development of Africa are devoid of high moral purposes and can only result in native insurrections and bloodshed unless major stress is placed upon the freedom of the African peoples as against converting them into well-kept "hewers of wood and drawers of water", for the consolidation of the manifest destiny of the United States and Great Britain.

In the hearts of Africans burn the spark to be as free as the mountain winds and as hopeful as a spring morning for a better tomorrow. Out of Pandora's Box will come an Iliad of darkness and tragedy to both the colored and white world unless the aspirations of Africans for dignity and equality are without disdain and insult, understood and met.

Raymond Leslie Buell in his, *Native Problem in Africa*, published in 1928, writes of the Gold Coast:

"Because of the very spirit of independence amongst them, the Gold Coast people under careful and imaginative guidance may eventually set an example to the rest of Africa."

Under date of January 22, 1949, I received a letter from a young African native, Ahafo Mmem of Gold Coast, West Africa, who made this interesting comment:

"The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, visited the Gold Coast in November last year. During a press conference he was pelted with so many difficult questions that the Public Relations Officer who convened the meeting was compelled to close the meeting with the following remarks:

'Gentlemen, I think I have to bring this meeting to a close... I must say frankly that there are few democracies in the world today where a Minister of State could be so shot at like that, I mean, by the Press.'"

"For what is a man benefitted if he shall gain the whole world and lose his soul".

Respectfully yours,

APR:ha

A. Philip Randolph

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please

Testimony of Very Rev. Monsignor John J. McClafferty, Priest of the Archdiocese of New York member of the faculty of the Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D.C., representing the Catholic Interracial Council of Washington, D.C. before the sub-committee of the House Education and Labor Committee considering H.R. 4453, May 20, 1949

Honorable Chairman and Members of the Committee,

I am Monsignor, John J. Mc Clafferty, priest of the Arcdiocese of New York, member of the faculty of the Catholic University of America, and I represent the Catholic Interracial Council of Washington.

For this opportunity to appear before you I am grateful.

I am pleased to have the privilege of entering, on behalf of the Council, an endorsement and approval of this important proposed legislation known as the Federal Fair Employment Practice Act H.R. 4453

All of us realize, gentlemen, that subjective attitudes and prejudices cannot be controlled completely and excusively by legislative mandate. We are aware that in that complex part of human relationships, known as employment, legislation cannot be the complete and only solution. A sound educational program and the salutary experience of members of different groups actually working together are necessary implements to the success of any legislative program in this area of socio-economic relations.

We believe, however, that the proposed legislation would crystallize into concrete and workable expression the basic principles of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights of these United States, would provide a specific and practical forum for the recognition and enforcement of basic human rights, and would give statutory recognition to the Divine principles and mandates of the natural law which affirms the God-given dignity shared equally by every person.

This dignity is woven of the skeins of the intrinsic characteristics with which man is endowed by his Creator -- an immortal soul, the faculty to reason, the ability to know truth and error, ~~righ~~ right and wrong, and the power of free-will. These spiritual qualities elevate man to a level essentially above all the other wonders of the universe that we see about us. These endowments from the Generous and Provident Hand of Almighty God are shared equally by all men.

In addition to sharing these endowments, all men also share equally in the obligation and necessity of earning their daily bread by the sweat of their brow. This confers on all a just and fundamental right of access to the bounty of nature and the opportunity of earning a decent livelihood for themselves and their own.

Any practice, whether it be the result of fear or prejudice, which transgresses these important rights of equality and the right to a fair opportunity to work on the basis of one's capacity and competence, is immoral. Such practice violates justice and charity -- two of the most important principles in the lives of individuals and in the welfare of nations. This measure, if justly and properly administered, should diminish or eliminate such immoral acts, and help preserve the principles of justice and charity in employment relations.

The greatest Commandment of all next to that of loving God is that of loving neighbor. Our neighbor is everyone, the whole human race. This is the teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ. However, as the Right Reverand John A. Ryan, distinguished authority on social ethics, stated before the sub-committee of the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate on a similar measure in August 1944:

> "The Christian precept of brotherly love is not satisfied by mere well-wishing, nor benevolent emotion, nor sentimental yearning. It requires action..."

Therefore, gentlemen, I, on behalf of the Catholic Interracial Council, urge the passage of this bill.

May I close with the prayerful hope that all citizens approach this matter with utmost goodwill, undertake to carry out the principles and objective of the bill with fairness, with friendliness, with sincere faith in American democracy and with the humble and earnest supplication of God's help and guidance,

Respectfully submitted,

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE Speeches

RE: Bill S. 3295

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: I want to thank you for the opportunity to appear before this subcommittee to discuss and urge through your committee the approval by the United States Senate of the 81st Congress the passage of Bill S.3295, legislation "to authorize agreements providing for union membership and agreements for deductions from the wages of carriers' employees for certain purposes and under certain conditions".

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Train, Chair Car, Coach Porters and Attendants, is an international affiliate of the American Federation of Labor and is bonafide under the terms of the Railway Labor Act.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has some eighteen thousand members in one hundred and seventeen cities in the United States and Canada. In addition to the agreement with the Pullman Company and thirty class A railroads of the United States, covering sleeping car porters, attendants, maids and bus boys, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters maintains collective bargaining agreements with the following carriers:

Atlantic Coast Line R.R.Co.; Baltimore & Ohio R.R. Co.; Chesapeake & Ohio R.R. Co.; Central of Georgia R.R. Co.; Delaware, Lackawanna & Western R.R. Co.; Gulf, Mobile & Ohio R.R. Co.; Lehigh Valley R.R. Co.; Southern Pacific R. R. Co.; Seaboard Air Line R. R. Co.; Texas & Pacific R. R. Co.; Illinois Central R.R. Co.; Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific R.R. Co.; Missouri Pacific Lines; Union Pacific R.R. Co.; Missouri, Kansas & Texas; Kansas City Southern; St. Louis, Southwestern; Texas & New Orleans R.R. Co.; International Great Northern; Alton R.R. Co.; Canadian Pacific Railway Co.; Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R. Co.; Chicago and North Western R.R. Co.; Denver & Rio Grande Western R. R. Co.; Fort Worth & Denver City Railway Co.; Louisville & Nashville R.R. Co.; Northern Alberta Railway Co.; Atcheson, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. Co.; Chicago & Eastern and Soo Lines.

You will notice that some of the carriers herein listed are Canadian railroads. For the purposes of the discussion on Bill S. 3295, Canadian

The scope rule of each agreement existing between the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Pullman Company and the railroad carriers, regulates the working conditions not only of our members, but also all employees in the craft as defined in the scope rule of the collective bargaining agreement.

The majority of the membership of the Brotherhood are Americans of the Negro race. The Brotherhood also has other Americans as members, some of whom are of the white race, others of Philippine and Mexican ancestry.

Every worker in the industry under our jurisdiction as defined in the scope rule existing between the Organization and the Company, is not only invited, but also urged to join the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, irrespective of race, creed or color.

The nature of the work that the porters perform on the railroads of this nation might be called personal service duties. Sleeping Car, Train, Chair Car, Coach Porters and Attendants are responsibile for administering to the comfort and safety of the passengers, individually and collectively. The union's membership is not only responsible for caring for the comforts of the passengers en route, but to a limited extent, they serve food and drinks. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in conformity with the Railway Labor Act, has better than fifty-one percent of the employees covered by its agreement. However, in most instances, more than ninety percent of the employees covered under the terms of the agreement between the Brotherhood and the numerous carriers are members of the Union.

I shall not burden your committee with restating the general historical and economic arguments for the union shop and check off. Your committee has already heard eloquent, and I hope convincing arguments on this subject, especially from the testimony of Grant President George M. Harrison of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, whose organization, like the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

I would like, however, to discuss this whole question as it is related to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and why we urge its passage not only for the best interest of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, but also the entire labor movement, the railroad industry and the general requires that they not only work very closely with, but also that they maintain a degree of cooperation with other employees doing similar work.

Mr. Chairman, you are perhaps familiar with the deluxe service available to Pullman and railroad passengers on the railroads of the nation. On most of these trains, if not all, you will find numerous employees classified in one or all of the following categories: sleeping car porters, attendants, maids, bus boys, coach and train porters.

In most instances these employees are members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Their work compels a close association not only on the trains, but also in individual cars of a train. The non-union porter minority is approximately ten percent.

As long as this condition obtains, it is difficult, if not impossible, to reach a maximum espirit de corps of the crew. These "No-Bills" hinder a unity of complete cooperation,because union members are compelled to work with employees who are unwilling to share in the responsibilities of building and maintaining a bonafide trade union. These non-union workers are anxious to receive and enjoy the fruits contained in the collective bargaining agreement which improve and standardize the wages, hours and working conditions of the craft.

The securing and maintaining of a collective bargaining agreement in the interest of the employee is an expensive undertaking. Further, there are many other programs of a union that not only make it expensive,but at the same time require support of the workers. Such programs as workers' education, administering to general and specific problems of the individual and expecially in the processing of grievances and claims, require one hundred percent membership cooperation for complete effectiveness.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is, relatively speaking, a young union in the railroad industry. This year we are celebrating our twenty-fifth anniversary. The hardships, struggles and sacrifices made in building the union are still present in the minds of the vast majority of the members. The fact that thousands of porters who are members of the union and worked on the railroads prior to any bonafide union and were compelled to experience unlimited hours of work, extremely low pay and almost slave-like working conditions, makes them unalterably opposed industry and labor movements. Unfortunately, there still exists in the railroad industry widespread racial discrimination by some companies and unions.

I strongly urge that in the present bill S. 3295, page 2, lines 10 through 15, be changed to read:

> Provided that no such agreement shall be lawful if entered into by a labor organization which, in the scope of its jurisdiction, denies or limits membership into the labor union on a basis of race, color, creed or national origin.

The past and contemporary history of exclusion, limitation and elimination of Negroe workers in the railroad industry is a shame and disgrace to a nation that takes pride in its democratic traditions.

On May 3rd, this year, Judge Clarence Mullins in the United States District Court at Birmingham, Alabama, ruled that the Gulf, Mobile and Ohio Railroad and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen were guilty of racial discrimination against Negro firemen. The judge prohibited the carrier and the company from eliminating Negro firemen from jobs on steam locomotives and diesel engines as helpers, "...to which their seniority as firemen, based on continuous service entitles each one of them."

This case was one of several which have been instituted by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' Provisional Committee for the organization of Colored Locomotive Firemen in an effort to save the Negro firemen from complete elimination from the nation's railroads. The ruling of Judge Mullins in the interest of Messrs. Matt Mitchell, James Harris and George Sams of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, against the carrier and the lily white firemen's union was in behalf of all Negro firemen similarly situated on the lines of the carrier and within the jurisdictional scope of the firemen's union.

In Steele vs. Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company 323 U. S. 192 Tunstall V. Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, 323 U. S. 210 the United States Supreme Court ruled that the collective bargaining representative is required to represent all employees in a craft or class fairly and equitably, irrespective of membership or non-membership in the union. The court ruled that the benefits of collective bargaining must be available to all irrespective of union or non-union affiliation.

Gentlemen of the Committee, the court did not go far enough. I am urging here today that bill S. 3295 prohibit the union shop and check off provision

Negro railroad workers demand all the privileges and opportunities available to white workers. They are prepared to assume all of the obligations.

Here briefly is a picture of the situation presently existing in the railroad industry. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers' constitution revised as of 1947, states that the applicant shall be white born. In addition to barring Negroes, Mexicans, Spaniards or workers of Mexican extraction are also inelligible.

The constitution of the International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers as revised in 1947, states that "no person shall become a member of the B. of L. E. unless he is a white man..."

The Railway Mail Association's constitution revised as of 1947, limits membership to members of the Caucasian race and native American Indians.

The Order of Railway Telegraphers' constitution as revised in 1946, states "any white person of good moral character..."

The Order of Railway Conductors of America's constitution as revised in 1946, states that "any white man shall be eligible for membership."

The constitution of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America as revised in 1946, creates auxiliary unions for Negro workers. The revised agreement of 1946 states that "...Where these separate lodges of Negroes are organized they shall be under the jurisdiction of and represented by the delegate of the nearest white local and any meeting of joint protective board, federation or convention where delegates may be seated...."

This, Mr. Chairman is what is known as the auxiliary union. The Negro members have no right to determine completely through their own efforts union policies and programs, or to elect national officers.

However, in a few of the ten states where discrimination in employment practices has been outlawed, most of these unions alter their policy regarding Negro workers in those states, to conform with state anti-discrimination statutes.

There are other unions in the railroad industry which follow the general pattern herein described in barring or limiting membership to non-white citizens. These unions herein listed, illustrate a very serious socio-economic, undemocratic illness in our American industrial pattern.

The economic arguments for legalizing the union shop and making lawful agreements providing for deductions from the wages of carriers' employees is

JULY 10, 1950

ASSIMILATION IN AMERICAN LIFE IS THE NEGRO'S MID-CENTURY TASK

By A. Philip Randolph

The American Negro and the colored peoples of the world have a rendezvous with destiny in the second half of the twentieth century. The very fate of the democratic way of life may well be influenced by the American racial problem.

A few months ago, a group of eminent American historians agreed that the greatest historical development of the first half of the twentieth century was the emergence of the United States as the dominant world power. Broadly put, the problems of racial discrimination, economic exploitation and political domination are the issues to which the American Negro must direct his energies.

It is not sufficient to say that the American Negro has made encouraging socio-economic and political progress. The fact that the United States has made great industrial, scientific, technological and agricultural advancement in the past fifty years could not fail but effect some change in the status of the American Negro. Yet, the question of the extent to which the Negro has failed to achieve assimilation in the American pattern of life, might cause interesting debate among the social scientists.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the problem of color in the context of social, political and economic issues was of minor consideration to all but the American colored people. Yet, one observation is definitely clear; the racial problem which in 1900 was considered minor by the so-called white racial majority group in the United States, has suddenly become, in the middle twentieth century, a question of major significance to all, irrespective of race or color.

World leadership has placed pressing and international responsibilities upon the American people. It, therefore, seems clear that the great problem facing the American Negro in the second half of the twentieth century simply stated is: How to achieve assimilation into every crevice of the American politico-economic left. The extent to which this can be achieved depends upon our ability to diagnose the politico-economic past and prescribe for the future.

At the midway point of this century we are witnessing a great battle between the democratic ideology on the right and communist totalitarism on the life. Racial discrimination, colonial and capitalistic imperialism, rampant and virtually world wide during the first half of the twentieth century, show significant and encouraging signs of crumbling.

Witness the magnificent victory of the peoples of India against British imperialism; the lack of enthusiasm of colonial peoples of the Dutch and British far flung possessions; the scepticism of the Arabic people, the boiling kettle of unrest against the vicious white supremacy government of Dr. Malan in South Africa. The truth is that the whole African and Asiatic continent is rising up against a theory of racial hypocrisy and bigotry which antedated Adolph Hitler.

Today the words of the eminent Swedish social scientist Gunnar Myrdal has correctly and wisely put it ".....insignificant Negroes began to see very clearly a color scheme in world events.....".

The great moral and spiritual task of the American Negro in the next half of this century is to recognize and assume the role of keeper of the democratic conscience. The suicidal acceptance of the theory of gradualism can only succeed in retarding the objective of complete assimilation. The gross and hypocritical inconsistence between the democratic pronouncements and the democratic attainments ever offer a challenge to the American Negro. The problem is not one in the economic, political and social sense confined to the forty-eight states. If the United States is to justify its leadership in the great democratic crusade in a world more heavily populated by non-white peoples, the great problem of color becomes all the more challenging.

The majority of the American Negroes are still an agrarian people in an increasingly industrialized economy. Yet, the migrations from the rural southern areas will greatly change the economic outlook of the American Negro.

The Negro in the United States must seriously solve the problem of economic dislocation resulting from the farm migrations to the industrial areas of northern and western cities. The action of Negroes in the next fifty years must be concerned with the demand for all the rights and privileges of American life. A responsibility for preparation goes hand-in-hand with the demand.

Not only is our economy more industrial, it is also more technical in its scientific demands. The task is not only to continue to produce more efficient farmers, we must also accelerate the number of Negroes qualified in the general arts, sciences, professions, vocations, trades, crafts and general technical skills.

The drive for corrective federal and state legislation in the form of F.E.P.C. statutes; legislation prohibiting jim crow in suffrage, mob violence and armed forces racial barriers is an over-all effort to aid local and national community assimilation.

The increasing importance of the trade union movement makes it imperative that the American Negro join as an equal in helping to build virile, free and independent democratic trade unions as a basis for our industrialized democratic society.

The American trade union movement in the last fifty years has grown in a relatively short period of time to a movement of major importance in helping to shape local, national and international economic and political policy. The labor movement might be a channel through which the American Negro can wage great battles for assimilation. It is naive to say that racial discrimination is still far too prevalent in many unions in America and therefore the movement does not justify the support of the American Negro.

It is wise and sound advice to wage an unrelenting campaign for complete participation in the union movement by rank and file members. Negroes should seek positions as officers and convention delegates and thereby help in the formulation and execution of union policy. The very foundation of the democratic society in a basic sense, depends a great deal upon the extent to which free, independent and democratic trade unions exist.

Today, the great bulwarks against communist aggression are the governments in which trade unions play a vital part. Witness Norway, Sweden, England and the role the trade union movement is playing in determining democratic domestic and foreign policy. A similar role is awaiting American organized labor.

Keen students of international political and economic trends have observed that the recent creation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in London in December of 1949 was "small, evident of history, in many respects the most significant development and struggle for a free world." It was encouraging at this conference to notice the significant and fundamental contributions made by the trade unions representatives from Asia and Africa. It is significant to note of the nineteen members of the Executive

Committee of the Confederation, eight were chosen from outside Europe and North America. There were three from Asia and the Middle East, two from Latin America, one from Africa, Australia-New Zealand, and the West Indies. If this is significant of a trend of the power and prestige of organised labor on the international level then the part that American labor must play in helping to shape the economic and political decisions of the United States of America is increasingly clear.

President Truman announced on January 20th, 1949, his "bold" new program to make "scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under-developed areas". He posed a great challenge to those who would sincerely attempt to relieve human suffering, imperialism, colonialism and exploitation. Negroes should contribute to the future direction, success and humane approval of this, the Point Four Program. American Negroes must be prepared not only to help shape the policy, but also to function as technical and scientific personnel. To such great technical institutions of learning as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and its like should go Negro youth with the aptitude for advanced scientific and technical training.

Professor Sumner Slichter of Harvard University has stated that this nation might be headed toward a laboristic society. He argues that whereas in the first half of the twentieth century decisions of economic, social, and political importance were determined, in the main, by businessmen, numerically small when compared with the total population, the last half of the twentieth century will find the labor movement exerting a like policy-determining function in local, national, and international affairs. Today sixteen million workers form the basis of this organized American trade union movement.

The great southern region of our nation from which millions of Negroes migrated in protest against economic, political and social oppression and physical fear in the first half of the twentieth century and where still resides the majority of the American Negroes will be affected in the next half century by an increasing industrialization of the economy of that region. Already great trade unions are waging organisational drives and are gradually recognising, to some extent, the equal part that American Negroes must play in helping to shape the industrial pattern and future of American trade unionism.

Social scientists state that one of the great problems facing mankind is that of human relations. The United Nations has come forth with the Human Rights Charter. Here in the United States a great battle is being waged at the middle stretch of the twentieth century for civil rights enactment into law.

The challenge to the doctrine of Negro second class citizenship status is being successfully waged in the courts. Unfortunately, but serving as a challenge to us, is the fact that the Congress is still just about where it was on the question at the turn of the present century.

The problem of assimilation is not complete with the securing of civil rights by the Negro. The important job of completely revolutionizing the conscious and sub-conscious mind of the dominant white people of America regarding racial relations looms larger as we enter the second half of this century.

We must seek and encourage the cooperation in this effort of church, labor, liberal and other civic groups dedicated to the principles of the Judeo-Christian ethics and the democratic way of life.

The American Negro, himself, must be ever mindful that if he would be free of economic, political, and social exploitation he must exert the greater sacrifice, suffering and dedication.

If the next half century will bring about a hastening of the elimination of second class citizenship than the sixteen million citizens of the Negro race will have arrived at their rendezvous with destiny.

July 7, 1950

Mr. Louis Martin, Editor-in-Chief
Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Martin:

Pursuing to your invitation of June first, I am herewith enclosing the attached article.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:agb

COPY

by T. E. Brown.

by T. E. Brown
July 10, 1950

Assimilation in American Life is the Negroes Mid-Century Task

By A Philip Randolph

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A few months ago, a group of eminent American historians agreed that the greatest historical development of the first half of the twentieth century was the emergence of the United States as the dominant world power. Broadly put, the problems of racial discrimination, economic exploitation and political domination are the issues to which the American Negro must direct his energies.

It is not sufficient to say that the American Negro has made encouraging socio-economic and political progress. The fact that the United States has made great industrial, scientific, technological and agricultural advancement in the past fifty years could not fail but affect some change in the status of the American Negro. Yet, the extent to which the Negro has failed to achieve assimilation in the American pattern of life, might cause interesting debate among the social scientists.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the problem of color in the context of social, political and economic issues was of minor consideration to all but the American colored people. Yet, one observation is definitely clear; the racial problem which in 1900 was considered minor by the so-called white racial majority group in the United States, has suddenly become, in the middle twentieth century, a question of major significance to all, irrespective of race or color.

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World leadership has placed pressing and international responsibilities upon the American people. It, therefore, seems clear that the great problem facing the American Negro in the second half of the twentieth century simply stated: How to achieve assimilation into every crevice of the American politico-economic life. The extent to which this can be achieved depends upon our ability to diagnosis the politico-economic past and prescribe for the future.

At the midway point of this century we are witnessing a great battle between the democratic ideology on the right and communist totalitarism on the left. Racial discrimination, colonial and capitalistic imperialism rampant and virtually world wide during the first half of the twentieth century, shows significant and encouraging signs of crumbling.

Witness the magnificient victory of the peoples of India against British imperialism; the lack of enthusiasm of colonial peoples of the Dutch and British far flung possessions; the scepticism of the Arabic people, the boiling kettle of unrest against the vicious white supremacy government of Dr. Malan in South Africa. The truth is that the whole African and Asiatic continent is rising up against a theory of racial hypocrisy and bigotry which long dated and anti-dated Adolph Hitler.

Today the words of the eminent Swedish social scientist Gunnar Myrdal have correctly and wisely put it ".....insignificant Negroes began to see very clearly a color scheme in world events.....".

The great moral and spiritual task of the American Negro in the next half of this century is to recognise and assume the role of keeper of the democratic conscience. The suicidal acceptance of the theory of gradualism can only succeed in retarding the objective of complete assimilation. The gross and hypocritical inconsistence between the democratic pronouncements and the democratic attainments ever offer a challenge to the American Negro. The problem is not one in the economic, political and social sense confined to the forty-eight states. If the United States is to justify its leadership in the great democratic crusade in a world more heavily populated by nonwhite peoples the great problem of color becomes all the more challenging.

The majority of the American Negroes are still an agrarian people in an increasing industrialized economy. Yet, the migrations from the rural southern areas will greatly change the economic outlook of the American Negro.

The Negro in the United States must seriously solve the problem of economic dislocation resulting from the farm migrations to the industrial areas of northern and western cities. The action of Negroes in the next fifty years must be concerned with the demand for all the rights and privileges of American life. A responsibility for preparation goes hand-in-hand with the demand.

Not only is our economy more industrial, it is also more technical in its scientific demands. The task is not only to continue to produce more efficient farmers, we must also accelerate the number of Negroes qualified in the general arts, sciences, professions, vocations, trades, crafts and general technical skills.

The need for corrective federal and state legislation in the form of F.E.P.C. statutes; legislation prohibiting jim crow in suffrage, mob violence and armed forces racial barriers are efforts to aid local and national community assimilation.

The increasing importance of the trade union movement makes it imperative that the American Negro must join as an equal in helping to build virile, free and independent democratic trade unions as a bases for our industrialized democratic society.

The American trade union movement in the last fifty years has grown in a relatively short period of time to a movement of major importance in helping to shape local, national and international economic and political policy. The labor movement might be a channel through which the American Negro can wage great battles for assimilation. It is naive to say that racial discrimination is still far too prevalent in many unions in America and therefore the movement does not justify the support of the American Negro.

It is wise and sound advice to wage an unrelenting campaign for complete participation in the union movement by rank and file members. Negroes should seek positions as officers and convention delegates and thereby help in the formulation and execution of union policy. The very foundation of the democratic society in a basic sense, depends a great deal upon the extent to which free, independent and democratic trade unions exist.

Today, the great bulwarks against communist aggression are the governments in which trade unions play a vital part. Witness Norway, Sweden, England and the role the trade union movement is playing in determining democratic domestic and foreign policy. A similar role is awaiting American organized labor.

Keen students of international political and economic trends have observed that the recent creation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in London in December of 1949 was "small, evident of history, in many respects the most significant development and struggle for a free world." It was encouraging at this conference to notice the significant and fundamental contributions made by the trade unions representatives from Asia and Africa. It is significant to note of the nineteen members of the Executive

Committee of the Confederation, eight were chosen from outside Europe and North America. There were three from Asia and the Middle East, two from Latin America, one from Africa, Australia-New Zealand, and the West Indies. If this is significant of a trend of the power and prestige of organized labor on the international level then thepart that American labor must play in helping to shape the economic and political decisions of the United States of America is increasingly clear.

President Truman announced on January 20th, 1949, his "bold" new program to make "scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under developed areas". He posed a great challenge to those who would sincerely attempt to relieve human suffering, imperialism, colonialism and exploiation. Negroes should contribute to the future direction, success and humane approval of this, the Point IV Program. American Negroes must be prepared not only to help shape the policy, but also to function as technical and scientific personnel. To such great technical institutions of learning as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and its like should enroll, Negro youth with the aptitude for advance scientific and technical training.

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The great southern region of our nation from which millions of Negroes migrated in protest against economic, political and social oppression and physical fear in the first half of the twentieth century and where still resides the majority of the American Negroes will be affected in the next half century by an increasing industrialization of the economy of that region. Already great trade unions are waging organizational drives and are gradually recognizing to some extent, the equal part that American Negroes must play in helping to shape the industrial pattern and future of American trade unionism in helping to bring democratic principles to Negro citizens in the south.

Social scientists state that one of the great problems facing mankind is that of human relations. The United Nations has come forth with the Human Rights Charter. Here in the United States a great battle is being waged at the middle stretch of the twentieth century for civil rights enactment into law.

The challenge to the doctrine of Negro second class citizenship status is being successfully waged in the courts. Unfortunately but serving as a challenge to us is the fact that the Congress is still just about where it was on the question at the turn of the present century.

The problem of assimilation is not complete with the securing of civil rights by the Negro. The important job of completely revolutionizing the conscious and sub-conscious mind of the dominant white people of America regarding racial relations looms larger as we enter the second half of this century.

We must seek and encourage the cooperation in this effort of church, labor, liberal and other civic groups dedicated to the principles of the Judeo-Christian ethics and the democratic way of life.

The American Negro, himself, must be ever mindful that if he would be free of economic, political, and social exploitation he must exert the greater sacrifice, suffering and dedication.

If the next half century will bring about an acceleration to the achievement of the elimination of the second class citizenship status of the American Negro than this generation of more than sixteen million citizens of the Negro race will have arrived at its rendezvous with destiny.

June 14, 1950

Mr. Louis Martin, Editor-in-Chief
Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Martin:

Just a word to thank you for the invitation to write an article for the "Chicago Defender" on predictions of things to come with respect to Negro Americans.

May I say that I will be glad to do so and will send it to you at time indicated.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:RB

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THE CHICAGO Defender

WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING CO.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

June 1, 1950

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, 27 New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

A great deal has been written and published recently about what has happened to the Negro in America and what he has accomplished in the last half-century.

We are now planning a series of feature articles by distinguished Americans on what the next half-century holds for the Negro. This series of articles on predictions of things to come should help to give Negro Americans some conception of the job ahead and stimulate the thinking of all Americans.

As a leader of national importance, your views on what may be accomplished in the next half-century, on what the Negro may do, on what progress in race relations may be expected, would be of great interest to our readers throughout the nation.

We would like for you to give us your views in an exclusive article, not to exceed 1500 words, on or before July 10, 1950. The article may be limited to the Negro's future in a specific field in which you are most interested, or it may be a general statement of your views on how the future looks to you.

I know this request is an imposition on your valuable time but we do hope that you can cooperate with us on this project. Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Louis E. Martin
Editor-in-Chief

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
p/

1950

Note: In view of several articles and editorial comment in your paper in recent days on the Robeson-Peekskill Concert and the importance of this question to Negro-white relations, I wish to request your paper to publish the following letter:

THE TRAGEDY OF THE PEEKSKILL ROBESON CONCERT

To the Editor of the New York Times

Dear Sir:

That Paul Robeson, despite his alleged Communist sympathies and allies, had a right to sing at the Lakeland picnic grounds near Peekskill, Westchester County, New York, on August 28th and also in the same area, September 4th, all fair-minded persons will readily agree. By the same token, the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars had a right to parade in protest of the concert. That the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars sought to stop or break up the Robeson concert is quite apparent and that Robeson and his followers were ready to seize upon, capitalize and even aggravate the situation, is of a piece of left-wing tactics. ~~goes without saying.~~ It seems also clear, beyond the question of a doubt, the police were woefully recreant to their duty when Robeson's concert was first attempted, August 28th, although, when the concert was held September 4th, if the police had not kept the two groups apart, namely, the marching Legions and Veterans and the left-wing followers of Mr. Robeson, some persons probably would have been killed.

It is obvious from a casual study of the Peeksill affair that the rioting and the effort to stop the concert were a travesty upon democracy ~~, a rape upon decency~~ and an unutterable disgrace and outrage.

But I am interested not alone in registering my protest against the delinquent, if not malevolent behavior of the police, but in having the record straight from the point of view of disassociating this whole affair from the cause of the Negro and his fight for liberation.

Contrary to some impressions that have gone abroad, this affair was not ~~a~~ racial ~~matter~~.

~~The proponents and supporters of this effort were left-wing elements. The only racial aspect of the matter was that Mr. Robeson is a Negro and the opposition~~ ~~was~~ ~~is composed of white Legionaires and Veterans of Foreign Wars.~~

It seems to be evident that the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars were not out to stop the concert for racial reasons. They demonstrated against Communism and Mr. Robeson. Antipathy to Paul Robeson no doubt arose from his alleged statement in Paris, France, last April to the effect that in a war between the United States and Soviet Russia, Negroes would not fight for the USA. In this connection, I think it is fair and proper to state that this statement was a personal opinion of Mr. Robeson which he had a right to express. However, in terms of his relationship to Negroes, he had no warrant to speak as the voice of the Negro people of America.

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The basic reason why he was not justified in speaking as a leader of Negroes is that, he has only recently played any part in movements for Negro rights. ~~if it can be said even now that he is actually active in furthering the cause of the Negro in America or throughout the world as much as he is concerned about the fate of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia.~~

Men ~~and women~~ must earn the right to become the responsible voice of an oppressed group. The right to speak for victims of injustice is something which can only come through long struggle, suffering and sacrifice and service for said group, whether minorities involving races, nationalities, ~~or~~ religions or workers. It is sacred. One does not speak with ~~the~~ an authentic voice ~~of authority~~ for groups, even though sincere, out of any clear sky of sudden and dramatic activity. In very truth, Mr. Robeson is practically unknown to the Negro liberation movement as a seasoned participant. Without intending to be uncharitable to a great artist, it might be truthfully said that he is a "Johnny-come-lately" to the cause of the Negro. His has been this work of an artist on It is a matter of common knowledge that he has

This stated in the movies - ~~and in papers~~ ~~Some~~ ~~pages~~ ~~That~~ "Negroes ~~in courts for racial pride~~.

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been chiefly associated with left-wing movements, with little, if any contact with the Negro masses.

The Negro liberation movement needs converts of strong convictions and consecration, but wholly disassociated with causes that have pronounced allegiance with foreign powers either of facist or Communist persuasion. Experience shows that Communist support is a kiss of death for any Negro or labor effort.

Nothing in the entire history of the Negro in the United States of America and the world has constituted or constitutes a greater threat to his future progress than Communism. ~~in the United States and the world. I speak from a quarter of a century of continuous study of the basic literature of the revolutionary movements of the world and the history of the problems of oppressed peoples and labor.~~

~~Unfortunately, most Negro leaders have not given serious study to the history, philosophy, program and practices of Communists in the United States and Russia and Communist countries, Asia and Africa; and are wholly innocent of the ruthless unconcern of the Communists about the cause of the minorities or~~ and ~~labor. They don't know that Communists are unshakeably committed to the line and policies of the Kremlin, right or wrong. They don't know that Communists discount and sneer at civil rights, civil liberties, truth and virtues as bourgeois weaknesses.~~

While making no apologies for the shortcomings and limitations of the American democratic system, and as a matter of fact, no Negro in his right mind can or would attempt to whitewash American brutalities to the Negro ~~when you look around and note that the 81st Congress failed to pass a single civil rights bill, the recrudescence of the Klu Klux Klan, the recent vile and diabolical inhumanity of the Groveland, Florida, victimization of three young Negro boys for alleged attack upon a white woman; but with these obvious shortcomings, the American democratic system provides~~ but with these obvious shortcomings, The American democratic system provides a forum in which, Negroes, out of the fullness of their wrathful hearts against white supremacists, may tell the world about their cause. Without this right, minorities or labor cannot hope to develop the necessary public opinion to affect a solution of their problem.

The most violent partisan of Soviet Russia cannot maintain comparable opportunities for the expression of dissenting opinions from the established Russian Communist line in the Soviet Union; not even former Bolsheviks, Trotsky, Bucharin and Ginoviev, who helped to make the Russian Revolution. Because of this fact, Negroes would evince a profound lack of a sense of balance and enlightened self-interest ~~and common intelligence~~, were they, in a war between the United States and Soviet Russia, to turn their backs upon their own country and join hands with its foe. Since the roots of Negro culture, political, economic, social and educational achievements lie deep in the historical warp and woof of the United States of America, the fall of the United States means the fall of the Negro.

This does not, however, mean that Negroes do not possess the right, or that they should not express severe criticism and condemnation of the biased racial policies, and practices of the United States government and of certain sections of the country. ~~This is a moral obligation Negroes cannot afford to shirk. No doubt, to win their rights, Negroes should maintain an uncompromising, aggressive and militant fight against all forms of discrimination and segregation in the interest of political, economic and social equality, but without guidance by, or cooperation with, Communist or fascist forces that strike at the heart of American democracy.~~

If Negroes feel the urge to march on Washington for an FEPC, let them march. It's sound strategy for the dramatization of the economic sin of job discrimination. But let them march without Communists.

If Negroes are disposed to strike for more wages, or the right to organize, so be it. But let them strike without Communists.

If Negroes, fed up with discrimination and segregation in the armed forces, decide to refuse again to join a jimcrow army; Why not, for this there is an adequate moral rationale, but only within the frame-work of American democracy, and the strategy of non-violent, non-resistant, goodwill, direct action, and not in alliance with, or for the benefit of, Communists of the USA or USSR.

~~Verily, any Negro, willing to take a licking from white supremacy lying down is hardly worth his salt.~~

Nor do I hold that a Negro should not be a Communist. No, not at all. That is his right. I don't expect Negroes in America to be essentially different from white Americans. It is certainly not unnatural for some Negroes, like some Catholics, some Jews, some Protestants, and some trade unionists, to be Communists.

But the great mass of Negroes' common horse sense, despite the world bid of Communists, will reject Communism and all its works, for the Achilles' heel of the Negro liberation movement, may consist in adding to the handicap of being black the handicap of being red.

~~Negroes who are working for the development of the liberation movement should seek allies among such forces as the American Federation of Labor, CIO, church, civic and political organizations that are unequivocably committed to the doctrines, principles and ideals of the Western democracies as against totalitarian Communism expressed in Soviet Russia.~~

To pursue any other course, will not only fail to achieve progress but constitutes obvious suicidal folly.

~~It's a well known fact that~~ ~~Like other groups,~~
~~Unfortunately, all Negro Communists and fellow-travelers are tools for the spread of the Communist gospel without regard to the real interests and needs of the Negro. Indeed, they are the Charlie McCarthys of Stalin as Edgar Bergen.~~ How SAD!

~~I am unalterably opposed to Negroes or trade unions taking orders from Moscow as to what they should do about discrimination and segregation or the problems of labor in the U.S.A.~~

But my rejection of Communism does not imply my acceptance of the immorality AND BRUTALITIES of monopoly capitalism. I elect to choose the principle of the third force or middle of the road methodology of the British Labor Party, as the way, without violence, or bloodshed, to a new social order of security and freedom, peace and justice. ~~for all.~~

Robeson is the wrongest, brillant Negro in the western world today. "~~Let no man deceive you with vain words~~".

Very truly yours,

Philip Randolph

APR:ha

A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

September 15, 1949

217 West 125th St
N Y 27

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH **SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE** Speeches 1951

President's Statement read
over the telephone by
Miss Disney to me (mbh).

January 19, 1951

J

xc FEPC
admin

Question: Mr. President, is it true that you are considering creation of a new FEPC for the war industries?

The President: The budget message answers that.

Question: Mr. President, can that be created - - - this is a question of mechanics - - - can that be created under the powers that you have, or which you have - - - must you have legislation?

The President: When the time comes to do it we will find out the best way to do it and do it legally. It will not be done illegally.

FEPC

Testimony of Clarence Mitchell, Director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Before the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, Wednesday, January 24, 1951

Washington Bureau, NAACP
100 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D. C.
Tele. NA-5794

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee, my name is Clarence Mitchell. I am Director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

I appear before this subcommittee today to ask for safeguards for the protection of the colored young people of the United States who will be affected by whatever legislation is finally reported out by the Armed Services Committee and passed by the Congress.

Each year, the NAACP has two important opportunities to sample the opinion of our membership. One of these is at our convention which is held in June and the other is our annual meeting which is held in January.

In our convention which was held in Boston in 1950 and our annual meeting which was held in New York in 1951, one of the matters given most serious consideration was the mistreatment of colored service-men and women.

Our members from all over the country have expressed praise for new non-segregation policies of the Air Force and the Navy. They have strongly condemned the policy of the Army which continues segregation.

The overwhelming majority of our members believe that the Government of the United States does not give sufficient and necessary protection to colored members of the Armed Services when they are in the South. As illustrations of how the people feel about the mistreatment of service-men and women, I offer to the Committee current front pages of the Afro American Newspaper and the Pittsburgh Courier. These are two of the largest colored newspapers in the country.

According to estimates of the Bureau of the Census, there are 649,000 colored males in the United States between the ages of 15 and 19. There are 658,000 colored males between 20 and 24.

Preliminary samples of the 1950 census returns show that in the states outside the South there are nearly 100,000 young colored men between the ages of 18 and 20. They now live in areas of the country where they are not exposed to the ugliest forms of segregation based on race.

It is a frightful thing to contemplate that their Government will call upon them to risk their lives in war and at the same time fail to protect them against undemocratic practices if they are stationed in the South.

There is hardly a home or family in the United States that is not affected in some way by the pending legislation. There is no heart or mind among the colored people that is not moved to anger and regret by the stories of segregation and brutality of local law enforcement officials that come to the attention of our organization.

A short time ago, a young man came to see me after our office was closed for the day. He was a clean cut young fellow who wore an Air Force uniform. He told me that he had enlisted in the Air Force and was stationed at a field in the South. Suddenly, he flung on my desk a leather contraption of the type which I now show to the Committee. This is used on buses in the South to separate colored and white passengers. The young man told me that he had embarked on a campaign single-handed to seize and destroy as many of these as possible.

Apparently, there are other young men who feel as he does because I used the article he provided in another state. This was given to me for my testimony by a church organization.

As members of the Committee will see, this instrument is useful only to remind colored people that they are supposed to occupy an inferior status. It is one of the irrelevant and childish restrictions which the United States Supreme Court set aside when our organization argued the case of McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education, 339 U.S. 629.

It is important to submit for the record a few facts of the McLaurin Case. In this case a colored man, studying at the University of Oklahoma, was forced to sit in a separate seat in classrooms, study at a separate table in the library, and eat at a separate table in the dining-room.

The court eliminated these restrictions because they "signify that the state, in administering the facilities it affords for professional and graduate study, sets McLaurin apart from other students. The result is that appellant is handicapped in his pursuit of effective graduate instruction."

In the McLaurin Case, the individual who was the victim of humiliation was preparing to live. It is a cruel fact that many of the young men who go into the Armed Services will die. It is, therefore, all the more important that Congress act in the same manner as the Supreme Court has already acted.

The Army issued Circular No. 124 on April 27, 1946. Paragraph 11 of this Circular states:

"Considering essential military factors, Negro units will be stationed in localities and communities where attitudes are most favorable and in such strength as will not constitute an undue burden on the local civilian population."

Even this weak directive is not being followed. However, we do not wish to imply that it is adequate. It is an admission that the Government cannot or will not protect servicemen against unfair abuse in local communities. If the Government has power to draft a man, it also has the power to protect him wherever he may be stationed in the United States.

It is already a crime to interfere with Federal officials in the performance of their duty. Whatever legislation is finally passed should also carry a provision giving protection to service personnel against wanton attacks by peace officers and civilians.

During the Battle of the Bulge in World War II and in Korea, segregation of our troops by race could not survive under the pressure of a surprise attack. Since we know that segregation in the Army may one day cause a major military disaster, it should be eliminated now.

Instead of ending segregation, the Army has added to the list of racial designations. At present, there are five categories used in the records of our fighting men. These are Caucasian, Negro, Indian, Oriental, and Malayan. Presumably, this can be used to extend segregation by racial classifications.

We submit for the record an order from an Army induction station in Minneapolis. This order designates the colored men by an asterisk. We are advised that these men left Minnesota in a group but were separated by race when they arrived at a southern camp.

In other words, these boys, who went to school together in a state which safeguards the civil rights of minorities by law, were forced by their Government to submit to practices of segregation.

In the South, colored and white inductees have vastly different treatment in eating and sleeping arrangements. The white inductees are fed in clean restaurants and housed in favorable living quarters. The colored men are sent to kitchens or other make-shift places. We have submitted to the Armed Services instances of such mistreatment in New Orleans, Birmingham, Houston, and other cities.

We ask the Committee to look at this picture of the disgraceful type of eating arrangements for colored draftees in the great City of Houston, Texas.

At present, it is difficult to get the Armed Services to accept responsibility for correcting these conditions. Many officials have tried to shift the problem to the Selective Service

System. Selective Service people say that it is an Army responsibility.

Meanwhile, as in Houston, the colored draftees continue to eat at improvised tables surrounded by spittoons and debris.

The new law must provide these three safeguards against segregation within the Armed Services:

1. All new units must be organized without racial segregation.

2. No privately owned establishment which requires segregation shall be used to house or feed Armed Service personnel.

3. Racial designations must be eliminated from all forms and records of military personnel.

The whole question of segregation in the Armed Services has been studied and restudied by various boards and committees. This study has clearly established that segregation in the Armed Services is wasteful and undesirable.

The progress made by the Air Force and Navy shows that segregation can be reduced quickly. It is now time to take the final step and eliminate the system of racial segregation by law.

We wish also to comment briefly on the Manpower picture in civilian employment. The various offices of the public employment service still accept and fill discriminatory orders based on race. So far, the U.S. Department of Labor does not require that such orders be refused.

There are a great many businesses like the Capital Transit Company of Washington that still refuse to use qualified colored people in certain jobs solely because of race.

The final legislation dealing with manpower problems must contain language that will assure all citizens of a chance to use their highest skills as such skills are needed.

It is unfair to base deferments on occupations and training and at the same time fail to remedy the conditions that prevent a man from getting the job or training because of his race.

We believe that the Executive Branch of Government should immediately set up machinery for eliminating discrimination based on race in employment and training. At the earliest possible moment the Congress should supplement the Executive action by legislation.

[1951]

Copy of Telegram sent to Rules Committee and other Individuals

March 15th

Imperative that food gift to India receive immediate approval by Congress. Humanitarian justification for such action need not be restated. Continued delay in approving and delivery of food gifts not only a matter of life and death to the people of India but cannot be justified in a nation such as ours which takes pride in its adherance to the christian code of ethics. In the great battle for the minds and alligance of people the world over to the democractic way of life, the United States of America could hasten that objective by prompt approval and rushing of food to India. An empty stomach is not interested in empty words. Our deeds can do more to win friends and influence people as an ally against Communism then mere statements. There is increasing concern among the members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters because of congressional inaction on food to India. I implore you to do everything in your official power to get prompt approval by Congress and rush food to those millions of needy people of India. I assure you that prompt approval and action will be in keeping with our noblest principles of Christian and democratic heritage.

A. Philip Randolph, International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Individuals to Whom the Telegram was Sent

HOUSE

Congressman Adam C. Powell
Majority Leader of the House McCormack
Minority Leader of the House Martin

SENATE

Honorable Herbert H. Lehman
Honorable Irving Ives
Majority Leader
Minority Leader
Honorable Alben Barkley

COPY

[illegible]

March 16, 1951

The following wire was sent also to the following members of the United States Senate:

Honorable Herbert H. Lehman
Honorable Irving Ives
Majority Leader
Minority Leader
Honorable Alben Barkley

New York, New York, March 16, 1951

BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS URGES QUICK APPROVAL BY CONGRESS OF FOOD TO INDIA

Because of the mounting concern throughout the nation expressed through the officers, members and friends of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which has one hundred and ten locals in the United States over the delay in supplying food to the peoples of India, International President A. Philip Randolph, sent the following telegram to the House of Representatives on March 15th to the Rules Committee, Congressman Adam C. Powell, Speaker of the House Rayburn, Majority Leader of the House McCormack and Minority Leader of the House Martin:

> Imperative that food gift to India receive immediate approval by Congress. Humanitarian justification for such action need not be restated. Continued delay in approving and delivery of food gifts not only a matter of life and death to the people of India, but cannot be justified in a nation such as ours which takes pride in its adherence to the Christian Code of ethics. In the great battle for the minds and allegiance of people the world over to the democratic way of life, the United States of America could hasten that objective by prompt approval and rushing of food to India. An empty stomach is not interested in empty words. Our deeds can do more to win friends and influence people as an ally against Communism than mere statements. There is increasing concern among the members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters because of Congressional inaction on food to India. I implore you to do everything in your official power to get prompt approval by Congress and rush food to those millions of needy people of India. I assure you that prompt approval and action will be in keeping with our noblest principles of Christian and democratic heritage.

Theodore E. Brown.

Nov. 28th
1951.

THE NEGRO TRADE UNIONIST IN THE AMERICAN RAILROAD INDUSTRY

APR
article

By A. Philip Randolph, International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters - A.F.of L.

It was a hot sultry night late in August 1925. A small group, six in number, of Pullman sleeping car porters huddled together in a small but neat room in a Harlem apartment house and gave birth to one of the most significant and influential labor organizations in the United States. The plans of this group, if successful, would bring a new way of life to thousands of their fellow railroad workers. In a democratic manner and by democratic means a battle against one of the most powerful and well entrenched American industrial empires was being organized. The Pullman Company typified all that was wholesome and regretful in a capitalist democracy.

Today this union - the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters - is an international affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. Its membership numbers many Americans and Canadians of various races and colors. Its program has influenced not only the way of life of fifteen million American Negroes but the very economic, social and political life of the United States as the nation pushes forward toward a more truly democratic society.

Today sleeping car porters arepaid a minimum of $273.43 for a 205 basic hourly months of work. Just 25 years ago a porter received a monthly wage of $67.50 for an unlimited number of hours; often as high as 400 hours a month. There was no limit to the number of hours and no set standard for determining a basic work month.

Porters because of organization today receive vacations with pay. This was not true 5 years ago! Conditions of work have been standardized. Because of combined union strength greater benefits through federal legislation such as the Railroad Retirement Act and the Railway Labor Act ~~has~~ have accrued to colored and white workers because of the organized American free trade union movement.

These are the fruits of a free trade union operating in a free society. But the union porter has achieved even more than the tangible results. He has dignity, courage and a sense of responsibility. He moves with confidence and vision as he works, through his union, for a better way of life for all who toil for a living. Whether there is food and shelter available to his brother, irrespective of race, color or national origin, is the porter's concern. His program is concerned with workers of every nation and every continent. These are just a few of the advantages of a strong, courageous and free trade union.

One of every ten of America's 1½ million railroad workers is a Negro. In addition to sleeping car, coach and train porters, maids and attendants,; the Negro can be found performing various duties essential to the smooth operation of a complex transportation industry. As firemen, dining car waiters and stewards, red caps, car-cleaners, section hands and shop employees, the colored worker can be seen performing with skill and reliability. Such unions as the United Transport Service Employees of America-CIO and the Joint Council of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees-AF of L, like the Brotherhood, have memberships largely composed of Negroes. Yet, the colored worker can be found in numerous other railroad crafts.

America's fifteen million Negro citizens still do not enjoy complete racial equality. That is why the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' union has assumed the leadership for a national law guaranteeing equality of opportunity in employment regardless of race, color or national origin; why in 1948 a successful program was launched to wipe out racial segregation in the armed forces of the United States; why in countless social, political and economic programs the Brotherhood's members can be found in the vanguard, lending leadership in every endeavor that would push democracy a step forward.

Organized labor in a free society is a powerful force in the fight for civil rights. The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial

Organization, representing fifteen million workers, have been in the forefront of the campaign.

In countless AF of L and CIO conventions, Negro and white delegates have helped shape the policies of both federated organizations not only for the betterment of so-called racial and religious minority groups in the United States but for the under-privileged peoples of Asia, Africa and the other continents of the world. Both the AF of L and the CIO have vigorously supported the program for a fair employment practice law, to eliminate poll tax racial restrictions; to wipe out racial segregation and discrimination in interstate travel and to abolish racial segregation in the public educational systems of numerous sections of the country.

The Negro worker has made significant economic gains in other American industries. Organizations like the independent United Mine Workers of America, the AF of L's Longshoremen, Building Service Employees, United Automobile Workers, Ladies Garment Workers, and the Typographical Union are effective unions for colored and white workers.

Such CIO organizations as the Steelworkers, the United Automobile Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Textile Workers are strong virile unions which have done much to improve the standard of living of all workers irrespective of race or color.

In the narrow sense, the American Negro is not a capitalist or an industrialist. He is a worker - a wage earner. Individually and collectively he thinks and acts like any other wage earner perhaps more so because on a percentage basis he forms the largest racially percentage-wide wage earning group.

The trade union movement in a free society has a very important responsibility. In the United States the Negro is a vital participant in the free trade union movement as local union officers, convention delegates and just plain members. Unfortunately in a few organizations, yet far too many, racism is still practiced by some lily-white [redacted] unions. But the colored workers together with his liberal white union brother is constantly waging, by various organizational and legal means, a determined fight for the removal of all racial restrictions.

The American Negroes' roots are deep in the economic and political soil of his nation. He has fought courageously in every battle; tilled the land; and manned the production lines. He will continue to make his contribution to the democratic way of life. A free trade union is one of the best mediums through which to work for a more complete industrial democracy.

This was the objective launched a little more than a quarter of a century ago by a group of American Negro railroad workers.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH **SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE** speeches 1952

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MAY 8 1952

Statement of George K. Hunton, Secretary of the Catholic Interracial Council and Editor of the Interracial Review New York, N.Y., before the Senate Labor Subcommittee concerning S. 551 and S. 1732, Bills to prohibit discrimination in employment, April 21, 1952

I am George K. Hunton, Secretary of the Catholic Interracial Council and Editor of the Interracial Review. I am a member of the Executive Committee of the National Council for a permanent FEPC.

For more than 20 years I have been actively interested in the interracial movement. In 1934 I was one of the founders of the Catholic Interracial Council, which was formed to combat prejudice and discrimination and to work for equal social justice for all regardless of race and to promote better understanding and cooperation between White and Negro Amercians. I was also one of the founders of the National Council for a permanent FEPC Committee.

I recall that in 1940, during the defense effort, a number of organizations, including the Natioanl Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League and the Catholic Interracial Council became interested in the plight of seventeen young Negro boys, graduates of the New York School of Aviation Trades, who had sought in vain to get jobs in three aviation plants located in the New York area. We formed a committee to work in their behalf. Although these aircraft plants were in need of thousands of skilled and unskilled workers and were advertising for help in papers as far west as Denver, all of the plants refused to hire these boys simply because they were Negroes. Our committee corresponded with and interviewed the officials and personnell heads of these plants. They resisted every argument and the boys were not employed until after the President had issued the executive order setting up a committee on fair employmnt in June, 1941.

The undemocratic pattern of employment discrimination has affected a number of minorities, but the principal victim has been the Negro American - our largest minority group. Beginning early in 1940, due to the efforts and influence of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, and because of the desperate need for more workers required by our constantly expanding war production, tens of thousands of Negro skilled workers were hired in industries and plants which previously had excluded them. In all parts of the country, white and Negro workers found their roles as fellow workers not only tolerable but entirely satisfactory. It must not be forgotten however that despite the example of successful integration of minority workers in a number of large plants and industries that the vast majority of plants and industries continue to exlude qualified workers because of their race, creed, color or national origin.

Again in the intervening period a number of states have enacted fair employment practice laws as well as some of our larger cities. The success of fair employment practice commisions in such states as New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Washington, Oregon New Mexico and Colorado, has demonstrated that the objections and stern warnings raised by those who opposed this kind of legislation have been proven groundless. The progress made in combating employment discrimination in these states and cities which have fair employment practices Commissions, have demonstrated the effectiveness of legislation which provides, conference, conciliation and persuasion backed up by enforcement and penalties.

As a Catholic and an active participant in movements for interracial justice, I would like to inform the committee on the wide support for FEPC which exists among Catholic leaders and organizations throughout this country.

All of the 19 Catholic Interracial Councils have vigorously supported Federal, State and municipal legislation of this kind which contains the features of Conciliation, Conference and Persuasion backed by Enforcement powes. They have consistently declared (and experience has borne out the fact) that education and conciliation is the most effective where the Commission making inquiry has had enforcement powers under the law.

The Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., a founder of the Catholic Interracial Movement and the chaplain of the Council has pointed out on numerous occasions and in testimony before the House that:

> "I am a strong believer in the educational processes. This is fundamental. I consider the passing of the law itself educational. It has an educational effect. It is both a supplement to education and a stimulus to investigation. It helps to diffuse knowledge among the people."

The Majority of the Interracial Committees in over 100 Catholic colleges throughout the nation have repeatedly adopted resolutions urging the enactment of Federal FEPC.

In 1944 when the Ives-Quinn bill as being considered by the New York Legislature, a committee of Catholic from all parts of the State united in presenting a strong endorsement for passage of a New York Fair Employment Bill with enforcement powers.

In July 1946 a Seminar on Social Action problems of Negroes was called by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Social Action Department. The committee made the following recommendations

> "In the light of moral teaching, the Committee vigorously advocates the establihsment of a permanent Federal FEPC with Statutory authority and sanctions."

Similar support by representative Catholic leaders has materialized when similar bills have been considered by legislatures in Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Washington, Oregon, and New Mexico. In Connecticut the head of the committee of citizens working for passage of a State FEPC was a Catholic priest, the Rev. John Loughlin of Hartford.

The Rt. Rev Francis J. Haas, Bishop of Grand Rapids, the former chairman of the President's Committee for Fair Employment Practice, has been consistent in his support of State FEPC in Michigan and of course of Federal FEPC.

As an editor of a Catholic paper, the Interracial Review, I am happy to assure this committee that passage of a Federal FEPC has the endorsement of Catholic editors throughout the country.

This wide and intensive support of FEPC by Catholics has its roots in the ideals and concepts of Christian Democracy which are the founding principles of the Catholic Interracial Councils.

We believe that all men are created by God; that they have the same human dignity; that they have equal natural rights; that they have an identical eternal destiny, and that the entire human race are equal co-sharers in the fruits of the Redemption by Christ.

We have consistently maintained that the interracial problem in America is fundamentally a spiritual and moral problem long before it becomes an economic blight to minority poeples.

Guided by these basic principles we hold that the right to work and to provide for the decent support and material welfare of the individual and the family is a natural God-given right to be enjoyed equally by ALL men of all races, creeds and colors. Our beloved country rests upon the solid foundation of Declaration of Independence which states that "All men are created equal and that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights and that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Clearly, social action based upon these principles of Christian Democracy must be adamant in its insistence that the right to work is a God-given one, and so important that it demands the protection and support of a government which is "of the people, by the people and for the people."

To those who would restrict this protection to States and municiplaities, let me point out that, as a nation, the United States has every reason to hasten in every proper way the development and perfection of American democracy. This is particularly true in these times when the forces of democracy are everywhere competing with the sinister forces of atheistic Communism. It is necessary for our own country and the encouragement of world-wide democracy that the epoch-making promises of American principles be implemented so that it mya truthfully be said that ALL our people share equally in ALL the rights and privileges as well as in the responsibilities of citizenship.

The Millions of citizens who have been urging the enactment of FEPC will by no means be satisfied with mere inclusion of FEPC planks in the platforms of the political parties. Frankly, they now want the promise and assurances heretofore made to be fulfilled by the present Congress.

There is an ever-increasing popular resentment on the part of the American people against the undemocratic filibuster which has up to this point succeeded in blocking FEPC by preventing our highest legislative body from functioning according to the natural operation of the democratic way of government. Clearly, Rule 22 must be amended so as to permit a majority of the Senators present to terminate the obstructing tactics of filibuster.

For all these reasons we urge the Congress to enact an effective Fair Employment Law os that the right to work may be enjoyed by all, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

Report of A. Philip Randolph, International President
to the First Triennial Convention of the Brotherhood
of Sleeping Car Porters on its Twenty-eighth Anniversary
in Los Angeles, California, October, 1953.

We are gathered here in Los Angeles, California, October, 1953, in the First Triennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, upon its 28th Anniversary, which, if construed in terms of the life of an individual, marks the times well beyond that of our coming of age.

Born in 1925, in New York City, we have, like all organisms, had our period of infancy, and have come to know what it means to fight for the right, not only to survive, but to make our humble contribution to the great cause of the labor movement, in particular, and the extension of the frontiers of human brotherhood, in general.

Upon the occasion of our periodic conventions, we feel it imperative to review our past struggles, reassess our philosophy and program and undertake wisely to chart the future through the democratic method of free discussion and debate.

As man, in retrospect, may observe the great sweep of the panorama of geologic, cosmic and historic change, there is no phenomenon more impressive, as well as prophetic, than the continued metamorphosis and, withal, periodic disappearance or extinction of entire species and forms of the animal, vegetable and mineral worlds, as well as human institutions.

We need only to note that now sleeping in the silence of the graveyard of history are the ancient and honored cultures and civilizations of Egypt, Babylon, Greece and Rome, together with the collapse of kingdoms, nations and empires of modern man.

Why? ask the enquiring student of history.

APR Speeches

May - 1952

Address - by A. Philip Randolph
at
May Day Celebration
in
Tokyo, Japan

* * *

Fellow officers and fellow workers of the Japanese labor movement and workers and peoples of Japan, generally, permit me, as the International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, an international trade union, with jurisdiction over a section of the service employees of the railroad industry, affiliated with the great American Federation of Labor of the U. S. A. and Canada, to extend greetings and felicitations on the occasion of the celebration of May Day, a symbol of new life, reawakening and rebirth.

Like the trees, grass, shrubbery and flowers, roused and rising from the sleep and death of winter, become radiant and brilliant with color, beauty and sweetness, for the pleasure and enjoyment and happiness of man and beast, so the workers, faced with the trying and troublous problems of work, life and living, freedom and peace, during the advent of the festive period of spring, with heads unbowed and souls uncurbed, stand erect, with promise, hope and faith for a better world of tomorrow.

I come to you from the far-off land of America, the United States of America, with its 67 million wage earners, more or less, who are fundamentally just like you, who seek and strive to find the solutions to the vital, day to day problems of work and wages, security and freedom.

- U. S. A. NO ~~ELDORADO~~ Paradise -

Yes, I cannot too strongly emphasise the fact that the United States is no PARIDISE ~~Eldorado~~, with milk and honey flowing, and which may be taken at the asking. It is no heaven of happiness and liberty - all packaged-up for all who would receive it.

No, it is a land where the workers must, can and do organise into trade unions and trade union movements that are free AND COMPELLED to fight for their industrial, economic, social and political rights.

They ARE COMPELLED TO fight for the recognition of their labor unions as their bargaining agents.

They fight AND ARE COMPELLED TO FIGHT, for wages, higher wages to buy the means of life.

They fight for better working conditions. They fight to negotiate contracts with rules governing and regulating their working conditions.

They fight to designate representatives of their own choosing, to conduct their economic and industrial bargaining, free from interference, coercion or intimidation by the management or the government.

They fight for shorter hours of work - such as the five day or forty hour week, and with the march of technology, the day may come when the worker may be forced to fight for an even shorter work day and week, not only to replenish and rebuild depleted nerve resources, shaken and damaged in the high tempo of modern industrialism, but also to provide work for unemployed hands.

American workers, with their trade unions, fight for pensions to sustain them and their families in old age.

They fight, in order that they may have a longer and more abundant life, for vacations with pay.

WORKERS FIGHT FOR FREE UNIONS

They also fight, with their trade unions, to select and elect representatives in the city, state and federal governments who are friendly to the cause of labor and to defeat aspirants for office in the city, state and federal governments, who are unfriendly.

They are fighting for a higher minimum wage.

They are fighting for a more adequate workmen's compensation when injured at work.

They are fighting for a wider social security coverage, providing pensions and health insurance for domestic and farm workers.

They are fighting to abolish slums and to build more low-cost housing by government and private agencies for the laboring masses.

They are fighting for more and better public schools to provide education for the children of all the people on all levels.

They are also emphasizirg the value and need for the extension of workers' education among the wage earners by the trade unions and the colleges and universities.

The American workers also, through their trade unions, are fighting to modernise, liberalise and humanise taxation so that it may be applied on a basis of ability to pay and for the benefit to citizens upon a basis of need which, experience has taught them, profoundly and vitally affects their bell-being.

The trade unions, realising that higher prices for food, clothing and housing reduces the purchasing power of the dollar, the yen in Japan, fight to keep down inflation or higher prices that largely result from a limited supply of goods with an increasing supply of money to buy said goods, rendering pay envelopes secured at the point of production, on the job, quite thin when they reach the point of consumption, where they buy the goods produced by the workers.

For instance, in the recent fight of the steel workers, the United Steel Workers of America did not only demand an increase in wages but also that there be no increase in the price of steel which the steel workers' union knew would reflect itself in increased prices of goods throughout industry and commerce, thereby, tending to nullify and offset their wage increase, and giving strength to rising prices and a dangerous inflationary spiral which would prepare the grounds for a destructive industrial and financial depression which would constitute a menace to the economy of the country.

DEMOCRACY

But while the aforementioned objectives of the trade unions of the United States are necessary and valuable to the laboring masses, the trade unions have come to understand, realise and appreciate the fact that these objectives can only be achieved if the trade union movement remain free and voluntary.

These organised workers also realise and understand that the trade unions can and will only remain free and voluntary if the American democracy is preserved and maintained.

It is well for the workers, not only in the United States and Canada, but in Japan and throughout the world, both in front and behind the Iron Curtain, to understand that there can be no free trade unions without a democracy and there can be no democracy without free trade unions.

Free trade unions are the bastions of the democracies and free peoples everywhere.

Wherever the workers' unions cease to be free and become the organic agencies and appendages of the state, not only do the workers cease to be free but the people and the country itself cease to be free. The reason for this is that trade unions are the foundation of the economic life and living of the largest single group in a national community, the workers, and exercise control over and influence upon, the machine and apparatus of production and all the strategic and sensitive areas of a nation.

WORKERS BENEFIT FROM DEMOCRACY

Moreover, since workers are the chief beneficiaries of a free, democratic society, within which alone they can be free, they have a stake in making their labor, social and political institutions serve the interest of a free democratic way of life.

When, as and if the workers lose and abandon their devotion to, and belief in, the ideals, principles, values and faiths of a democratic society, their trade unions will become the tools of a slave governmental system such as Soviet Russia and such as were Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.

Under such a totalitarian slave society, workers are not free to form associations and designate and elect representatives they desire to negotiate agreements concerning rates of pay and rules governing working conditions.

Under such a state, the workers are no longer free to strike to improve their economic lot.

Under such a police-state, workers are no longer free to voice criticism of the leadership and policies of the state or of their controlled phony state labor unions.

ATTACK UPON WFTU

Because the World Federation of Trade Unions was, and still is, the political agent of the Soviet Union and was, and is used by the Cominform, Russian Communist agency, through infiltration, subversion, sabotage, plots and conspiracies and misrepresentation, to foment and develop civil wars, strife, tension, chaos and confusion, the cold war and revolution, to overthrow constituted governments and set up Communist puppet regimes, the free trade unions of the U. S. A. fought it.

Some free trade unions under governments that were free and democratic had leaders who mistakenly sought to appease the Soviet Russian rulers. But they discovered, only too late, that appeasement is the food which the Communist Beast feeds upon and that appeasement begets appeasement until the appeasers themselves are swallowed up.

This is the fate of governments that attempt appeasement of the Red Beast. It is the fate of trade unions that seek to appease the WFTU, a Trojan Horse, or a trick to ensnare well-meaning but misguided leaders of labor and rank and file workers, such as the proverbial spider catches the fly in its web and destroys it.

TROJAN HORSE

It is like unto the story of the war between ancient Greece and Troy. In order to get into Troy, the Greeks built a great wooden horse and placed it, in secrecy, before the gates of Troy. When it was discovered, the Trojans, overjoyed over their find, forthwith brought it within ~~its~~ the gates and when the Trojans were asleep, the Greeks, concealed within the wooden horse, leaped out and conquered Troy.

Thus, the origin of the statement: "Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts, lest they bear a Trojan horse."

In other words, the lesson is, that you must be careful a bout the fellow who is busy trying to give you something.

A good question to ask is: What is he going to get out of what he give me, and what's the matter with the gift?

Thus, the WFTU exposed its hand of claws by its roseate, glittering and glamorous promises as the great Messiah, bringing to the downtrodden toilers of all lands, a new heaven and a new earth, if only they accept the religion of Russian Communism and acknowledge Stalin, Joe Stalin, I mean, as the One and Only true God.

The fact that millions of the workers lived under established governments, jealous of their sovereignty, was just a little detail in the book of the master of the Kremlin which could be promptly taken care of through the ever present Fifth Columns or world-wide Communist Parties.

ROLE OF U.S.A. TRADE UNIONS

But WFTU, which had, through appropriate and deadly conspiracy, stabbed the International Federation of Trade Unions in the back and built its house over its dead body, did not reckon with the big fact that the free, voluntary trade union movement of the United States was jealous of its life and historic mission.

While the Communist-dominated WFTU, of which Joe Stalin had been its mid-wife, went on a honeymoon with many of the national federated trade union centers of the Western democracies, the American Federation of Labor, which had learnt its lessons of the meaning, purpose and ways of democracy in the university of adversity, consistently refused to be taken in by the dazzling tricks of Dictator Stalin, great ringmaster of the Soviet Union's big labor show.

Not only did the American Federation of Labor refuse to join the World Federation of Trade Unions, but it launched a systematic, organized world-wide campaign of organization, agitation and education among the workers in Europe, Asia and Africa, with a view to exposing the sinister motives of the WFTU, emphasizing the fact that this new constellation in the field of world labor was designed to guide the laboring masses into the orbit of the Kremlin which would result in the domination and destruction of the free trade unions of the world, if not the free, democratic nations, leaving the rulers of the Politburo sole masters of modern man.

This picture, may I assure you, is not fantastic because a country today, will go, in the main, the way of its established free trade union movement or it may become paralyzed by Communist sabotage and go nowhere.

Thus, it is quite possible that the momentous and historic step of the A. F. of L. in rejecting the hypocritical hand of the WFTU, saved the world from the siege and disaster of world-wide Red revolutions which would have thrown the world back into the midnight of barbarism and left the heavens without a star of hope.

As a result of the organized fight by the A. F. of L. upon the WFTU, the honeymoon of the Communist and non-Communist trade unions fell upon evil days, eventuating in a split, with the great non-Communist trade union federations withdrawing from the Russian labor union stooge and establishing in London, England, 1949, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions with headquarters in Brussels, Belgium.

The ICFTU is dedicated to the principles, values and ideals of free trade unionism and of a democratic society, and hence, will not accept into its fold, national trade union centers or trade union federated bodies that are dominated by the brethren of the Kremlin.

And be it said to the eternal credit of the labor movements of the United States, that the fight against the Communists at home and abroad was guided by strong, resolute men like William Green, President; George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer; Matthew Woll, Vice President; David Dubinsky, a Vice President and President of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, of the A. F. of L; and, Philip Murray, President; James Carey, Secretary-Treasurer; and Walter Reuther, Vice President of the C. I. O. and President of the United Auto Workers of America.

These men were inflexible but sound in their opposition to Communists and their works on the international and domestic levels, until they cleansed the labor movement of the United States of the Communist termites, with the A. F. of L. group leading the van in the clean-up operation.

And, make no mistake about it, my brothers, if this Operation Clean-up of Communists at home and abroad in the labor movements had not been successful, the free world, if, indeed, it was still free, might be facing a world picture with a much larger blot of crimson.

Yes, if this Operation Clean-up of Communists had not been successful, who can tell if the United States and the U. N. would have dared to challenge Russian Communists aggression against South Korea.

It is a matter of common knowledge that an army moves upon its belly and that an army is helpless without a continuous flow of food and clothing and munitions from factory and farm. If the industrial and farm workers had been captured by the Communists, political strikes would have stopped the stream of goods and firearms from worker to soldier, and Dictator Stalin would have won the war of aggression against South Korea and the cause of freedom and peace, not upon the wind-swept, snow-covered fields of Korea but at the point of "non-production" in the smokeless factories of ~~the~~ An INDUSTRIALLY PARALYZED United States.

If Operation Clean-up of Communists at home and abroad in the free trade unions of the United States had not been successful, the whole structure of the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the heart of defense of Europe, might have collapsed, for fire power, in the final analysis, is dependent upon production power.

Certainly, the courageous and statesmanlike move of the armed forces of the U. S. A. and U. N. in to Korea against naked aggression by Stalin's stooge, North Korea, under the wise leadership of President Truman, might have become a bitter and miserable failure if the American organized workers had been lured to the betrayal of their own country and freedom by the propaganda of the Soviet Union, self-proclaimed Fatherland of the workers of the world.

And in this connection, let me add that the fight of American labor to preserve their free associations against Communist subversion was given basic moral and educational cooperation and help by the American Socialist movement, which by philosophy, program and experience, following the rise of Bolshevik Russia, exposed the fallacies and dangers of achieving social, economic and political emancipation of peoples by the method of suppression of civil and political liberties in the name of the Proletariat.

Norman Thomas, a solid tower of moral strength, one of the great spirits and leaders of our time, with whom I have the honor and pleasure to visit your country, while critical of the sins and limitations of some of the trade unions, has, with a sense of prophecy, insight and vision, thundered against the new imperialism of Russian Communism and low political morality of the Kremlin which would purge, in blood and terrorism, the proponent of dissenting ideas, if not the ideas themselves.

While the Socialist movement in the United States is relatively weak and small in numbers and material resources, it has exercised a wholesome, healthy, sound and constructive influence in the American political climate, largely because of its advanced philosophy,its committment to free trade unionism, and the high integrity of its leadership.

But while the fight lead by the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. of the United States to safeguard free trade unionism throughout the world,is making headway, its success is by no means complete or conclusive. Hard struggles lie ahead.

Russian Marxism, by its very nature, will never say die. It must be stopped as an advancing imperial force, and driven back within the confines of the Soviet Union through the process of discussion and debate, the book, the mind and the spirit, the only permanent and enduring way. But, of course, realism requires that the free world not only trust in God but also keep its powder dry or build its military strength to prevent or meet aggression against free and peaceful peoples.

Verily, the present tragic dilemma of the world has forced upon our democratic and free society the necessity to build military power to prepare for war, an obvious evil, in order to prevent a great power system, the Soviet Union, from fixing upon the world a ruthless order of materialism and totalitarian stateism or the deification of a political system at the sacrifice and expense of the rights of the individual.

While the free trade unions of the United States are committed to the support of the major foreign policy of the United States to build a great and efficient war machine in order that the government and the United Nations may be able to deal with the Soviet Union, leader of the power system of the new imperialism, waged through a hot and cold war, they are unequivocally committed to a program to prepare for peace, but not peace at any price but a peace with honor, justice and freedom.

I refer to the major foreign policy of the USA, which is considered to be the halting of the achievement of world domination by the Kremlin, because the free trade unions are not behind or in support of any foreign policy which does not recognise the propriety of the question of Tunisia being not only discussed by the Security Council and the Assembly but the right of Tunisia to national independence from the domination of France.

Free trade unions of the U. S. A. are not in sympathy with the recognition of distator Franco-Spain.

Free trade unions are committed to the abolition of imperialistic colonialism everywhere and the right of peoples to self-determination.

Free trade unions reject and condemn the Fascist government of South Africa under Daniel F. Malan, with his notorious racial policy of segregation.

Free trade unions support the Point Four program of President Truman, because they are cognizant of the fact that a free world will never emerge as long as peoples are the victims of desperate poverty, oppressive landlordism, usurious loan system and political corruption.

In the long run, ONLY economic aid, technical assistance and political freedom and independence of the non-industrial agrarian peoples of the East can help them to prepare to contribute to THE growth and development of an authentically free world.

Yes, only when the peoples in the feudalistic,agrarian areas of the world achieve economic, social and political status can they be expected to help build a world order in which the dignity, freedom and security of the human person is assured against slavery.

On the contrary, under the totalitarian state power systems, whether Communist or Fascist, the human rights of the individual are incidental. Only the power and stability of the State are of account.

The unique Communist theory of the withering away of the State and the relief of the proletariat from all forms of oppression at a certain period of history, has the compensation of security-from examination, because it has refuge in astronomical time. Moreover, it is based upon an assumption, the proof of which is without historical experience, namely, that a group once in the possession of the State, will surrender it without a struggle, even when in behalf of its alleged interests.

Our modern historical experience with the State, Communist, Fascist or even democratic, has one dominant aspect in common, namely, the consolidation of its power and stability and therefore, yields concessions to any particular group in the national community only under compulsion.

Under a democratic state, this compulsion may take the form of public opinion. But under a totalitarian state since there is no public opinion, there being no free speech, free press or free assembly, a forum in which public opinion is made, the compulsion will take the form of revolution by violence and bloodshed.

This is why the free trade unions entertain the belief that only within the framework of a democratic society can the basic interests and rights of the workers be defended and maintained and grow.

FREE TRADE UNIONS AND PEACE

What about the free trade unions and peace?

Are free trade unions war-minded? You have heard of this ~~LIBEL~~ SLANDER of FREE TRADE unions

This question can be answered by a question, namely, would the free trade unions advocate a war system which creates a back-breaking burden of taxation upon themselves while they seek and fight for a progressively higher standard of living? Hardly.

Free trade unions, conscious of the fact that it is the workers who are the chief victims of wars, are in the vanguard of every sincere and honest movement for world peace. But, needless to say, they have no faith in the counterfeit peace gestures of the Soviet Union which is dedicated to the technique of the big lie as an article of faith.

In fact, the free trade unions do not seek a victory over the Soviet Union by force of arms but they desire the restoration of peace without war, but realize that a free world will never attain the restoration of peace unless it has the power of arms to challenge aggression everywhere.

DEMOCRACY AND FREE TRADE UNIONS

Why do free trade unions throw their lot in with the democratic society, the question may be asked. The answer is that the democracy provides for the existence of plural sources of authority and power, such as the free labor community and a free business community, a free church community and a free school community, each exercising a ~~certain~~ DEFisite measure of control over its institutions and life. Neither one of these communities is totally subject to the dictation of the state. Even in the school community while public schools are maintained by the state, there also are private schools, free from the control and regulation of the state. Each one of thes communities is jealou of its free, and there will fight against the concentration of power in one of the communities.

This is not so in totalitarian states, whether Communist, Nazi or fascist because of the existence of the doctrine and policy of the monopoly of total power by the state which means the totalitarianization of every aspect of life in the national and imperial community. This is why science, education, art and religion are given periodic purging under the auspices of the Politburo to prevent deviationism from the basic Stalinist line.

If workers want to remain free or become free, the democratic form of society is their only hope.

Be it said and recognized by the wage earners that in the desperate and frantic search for uniformity under the police state, they would not only iron out all diversity, but they would do away with the very meaning of unity itself, the reconciliation of differences and oppositions, making variety secure by preventing it from becoming a source of disintegration. We must abandon the myth of a pure system which is the burden of the Communist faithful. Men cannot breath such air with psychological benefit any more than they can live on oxygen alone.

Possessed ~~by~~ of the belief in the absolute purity and infallibility of the Communist faith, Russian Marxism demand, upon pain of extermination, their Complete Acceptance formula for the mastery and direction of historical destiny.

This species of political and ideological dogmatic absolutism, does violence to the principles of simple growth by trial and error and the stuff of day to day experience.

Negro Problem

Now, I realize that because of my color there is a question in your minds about the Negro problem in the United States.

Regardless of ~~whether even the Communists~~ Whether Even the Communist were the chief propagators of the facts of discrimination of Negroes, because of race and color throughout the world, ~~even though they~~ Who EVERYBODY Knows possess no basic interest in the solution of the problem, I am glad this question has become OF world-wide interest and concern.

First of all, let me observe that there is no explanation for the discrimination and segregation, or manifestation of terrorism and violence against Negroes such as occurred last year in the bombing of Negroes who moved into white communities and who were militant champions of Negro rights, except perhaps a condition of social sadism, sickness and frustration and fear, which requires a scapegoat for peoples with a guilt and inferiority complex.

The newly emancipated Negro slave in 1863, was a ready made scapegoat for the old slave masters, beaten in battle, And who had lost the war, and the slave, the foundation of their economy and government.

This is but a sketchy analysis of the mind-emotional structure of the white South from which the Negro problem stemmed.

While this description may not involve the total causal factors of this complex phenomenon known as the Negro problem, I offer it as information and opinion.

Certainly one is fully justified in maintaining that prejudice based upon race, color, religion or nationality is artificial, not natural.

It is a well-known fact of child psychology and anthropology that children are not born with prejudice, it is acquired at home, at school, at church or ~~with~~ FROM associates or through the press, the stage, screen, television or radio.

Prejudices may be manufactured against a people by manipulating, highlighting and dramatizing any special or socalled peculiar trait or physical feature, such as A flat nose, kinky hair, black or yellow color, slanted eyes or hooked nose.

Through the control of propaganda, the means of education, communication and entertainment, these highly emphazied and advertised physical features are cleverly correlated with the assumptions of racial superiority, which, of course, has no foundation in fact or science.

If anthropology, psychology, sociology and history have established anything, it is two facts; one, that there is no pure race; two, that there is no superior race. There is no basis in science for the claim of either a superior white, yellow, brown or black race.

But individuals may be superior or inferior to other individuals within the same race or between races.

In other words, some black men are superior and inferior to some white, brown and yellow men; some white men are superior and inferior to some brown, yellow and black men; some yellow men are superior and inferior to some white, brown and black men; some brown men are superior and inferior to some black, yellow and white men.

There is no justification on a basis of racial superiority for discrimination by one race against another.

Thus, in the light of this analysis, the United States must face and accept the moral penalty of discrimination and segregation practiced against Negroes within its boundaries.

Yes, discriminations against Negroes exist in the schools and colleges, residential relations, and even in some of the free trade unions.

Indeed, one would not be sane to hold that the Negro has attained first-class citizenship.

But, by the same token, one would not be sane to hold that Negroes have not made substantial strides toward the attainment of first-class citizenship.

Thousands of Negroes enter and graduate yearly from the schools, colleges and universities, with degrees in philosophy, arts and sciences, law and medicine.

One million Negro workers are now members of THE American Federation of Labor unions and five hundred thousand in the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Negroes sit as judges in all of the courts except the US Supreme Court; they are members of Congress, city-councils and state legislatures, and teachers in the big colleges and universities.

Negroes have built powerful organizations that militantly fight, with the cooperation of liberals and trade unions, for first-class citizenship and civil rights.

Political, economic, social, educational, labor and judicial developments indicate clearly that Negroes will win their civil rights during our lifetime.

I use the phrase, "Negroes will win their civil rights", because in a democratic society, though presenting the tragic irony of denying rights to some of its own citizens because of race and color, ~~a~~ ANY group in the national community, without rights, must fight for them in order to get them.

The racial policy of the U. S. A., is wrong. It is and has been a grave blunder. It is well that the various peoples of the world make this fact known to the leaders of America so that the U. S. A., may be shocked into consciousness of the fact that the time is past due for her to get her own house in order on this vital issue.

An as American of Negro parentage, I am concerned about the United States making herself morally and spiritually prepared for the new role history has thrust upon her shoulders, namely, world leadership. The United States is prepared for the role in terms of material power and resources. It is prepared for this leadership as the world's greatest master of applied science, technology, and industrialism and production "know how", but she must make herself morally worthy of this new world responsibility.

The key to this preparation is the Negro question. The problem of the Negro must be frankly faced and frankly solved by according himself full first-class citizenship. Happily, the United States itself is beginning to see and realise its failures and sins in its stewardship on this question and ~~its~~ THE United States Supreme Court, President Truman and the Labor Movement, and increasingly the church, are making positive steps forward toward a solution. Most important of all, the Negro himself is waging a determined fight for his rights and will win them.

And I would rather that we fight for our rights and win them, than that they be given to us. In fighting for our rights, we are making America strong, morally and spiritually, to fulfill her great mission of saving the world from the red masters in the Kremlin.

Under a democracy, you get what you can take and keep what you can hold. Being entitled to rights is no evidence you will get them. You must fight to get them and fight to hold them. But, at least under a democracy you have the right to fight for your rights.

Under Stalin's dictatorship, you don't even have any rights and will be liquidated to claim them, to say nothing about fighting for them.

While trade unions are free in democratic U. S. A., workers must still fight to secure recognition of their trade unions as the bona fide bargaining agents to make and maintain agreements, adjust grievances and claims. In other words, in order for an organisation to be recognised as the bargaining agent under the National Labor Relations Act, it must win the allegiance of 51 per cent of the workers of a given class or craft. Of course, employees, under the law, are not allowed to interfere in such representation disputes.

But when a trade union makes demands for a wage increase or shorter hours, the final decision, or outcome, rests upon a basis of economic might as between the union and management.

It is not the policy of the State, except perhaps in a war crises such as the present, to fix wages or prices, in a dispute between labor and capital.

Under a dictatorship, facist or communist, there is no collective bargaining. Prices and wages are fixed regardless of the demands, needs or interests of the ~~union which is~~ WORKERS' unions ARE an organs of the state.

Verily, it is important to understand that the most distinctive character of a democracy is that freedom is not some final achievement which one can buy or win, as you build a house or make a suit of clothes. Freedom is the creation of struggle, sacrifice and suffering. One must never cease fighting for and exercising rights in order to hold them.

This is why the free trade unions support the revolutions of the African AND ASIAN workers against landlordism and all forms of imperialistic colonialism.

For the only true basis of freedom and peace and justice is the progressive equalization of opportunities, to the extent that mankind's great inheritance, both natural and cultural, shall be open to all men.

Only a philosophy of love that all human souls are infinitely valuable, and all human life, as a gift of God, is worthy of development and perfection. Only upon that moral foundation will men be released from hatred of color, race, religion, nationality or ancestry and turn to the ways of peace and the good life.

AFL Convention Sept 22, 1952

Extemporaneous speech by A. Philip Randolph to the American Federation of Labor Convention on September 22, on the ocassion of the report by the Convention's ~~Rules~~ Resolutions Committee recomending the American Federation of Labor adopt a reselution on the question of abolishing Senate Rule 22 and the filibuster.

"Mr Chairman, I rise to support the report of the committee, but I think I should make a few observations on this resolution, because it involves the question of civil rights.

This question was courageously and forthrightly discussed by Senator Lehman in his address to this convention last week.

This resolution concerning the amendment of Senate Rule 22 is vitally important for the enactment of any type of civil rights' legislation. Senate Rule 22 requires that 64 Senators be present on the floor to vote in order to limit debate. Unless 64 Senators vote to limit debate the filibuster cannot be broken. You all know that it is utterly impossible to secure 64 Senators, to have them on the floor and have them vote on anything at any time, practically. Consequently, it is to the interest of democracy that Senate Rule 22 be amended.

Why are we concerned about this question of civil rights? A Negro boy today who is giving his life and blood in Korea for the purpose of establishing a beachhead of liberty and democracy when he leaves Korea and goes to the capital of his own nation cannot enjoy the civil rights that a Communist from Russia can enjoy in his own country. And why? Because of race and color.

I was talking to one of the fraternal delegates from some of the Asian countries, and only recently, because of color, they were the victims of discrimination in the capital of the nation. Now there are today some 2 million Negroes in the South who are going to the polls during this Presidential election. In seventeen states in this country Negroes, in a close election, control the balance of power. And may I say to you that there are hundreds of thousands of Negroes today who have not yet made up their minds as to whether they will vote for General Eisenhower of the Republican Party or Governor Stevenson of the Democratic Party. The reason for this is they are

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SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE speeches

Report of A. Philip Randolph, International President to the First Triennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on its Twenty-eighth Anniversary in Los Angeles, California, October, 1953.

We are gathered here in Los Angeles, California, October, 1953, in the First Triennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, upon its 28th Anniversary, which, if construed in terms of the life of an individual, marks the times well beyond that of our coming of age.

Born in 1925, in New York City, we have, like all organisms, had our period of infancy, and have come to know what it means to fight for the right, not only to survive, but to make our humble contribution to the great cause of the labor movement, in particular, and the extension of the frontiers of human brotherhood, in general.

Upon the occasion of our periodic conventions, we feel it imperative to review our past struggles, reassess our philosophy and program and undertake wisely to chart the future through the democratic method of free discussion and debate.

As man, in retrospect, may observe the great sweep of the panorama of geologic, cosmic and historic change, there is no phenommenon more impressive, as well as prophetic, than the continued metamorphosis and, withal, periodic disappearance or extinction of entire species and forms of the animal, vegetable and mineral worlds, as well as human institutions.

We need only to note that now sleeping in the silence of the graveyard of history are the ancient and honored cultures and civilizations of Egypt, Babylon, Greece and Rome, together with the collapse of kingdoms, nations and empires of modern man.

Why? ask the enquiring student of history.

The answer is that whenever an organism fails to maintain continuous and creative correspondence or contact with existential reality, material, social, intellectual, moral and spiritual, in obedience with the laws of adaptation, it is certain to cease to exist.

But man, in his struggle for life, seeks to maintain continuous relations with external environmental situations and conditions, and through the principle of reason, attempts and does change them, never completely, but with increasing approximation to his ideal.

Thus, the Brotherhood, like all organisms, in the process of growth, is troubled with pains - pains that have their source both from within and without. And yet, we resolutely face the future with faith and hope, ever cognizant of the fact that trouble, problems, difficulties are stimuli to healthy growth and opposition, hostility and antagonism is a challenge to those who would renew their strength to a cause.

But if there ever was a time of trial and test of men, movements and institutions that seek to advance the cause of the good life, such a time is now.

This is so because in the last generation there has developed a world-wide contest for world power and domination between Russian Communism and its satellites and the Western democracies, under the leadership of the United States.

And while most Asian and some European countries have sought and still seek to develop the doctrine and justify the position of a Third Force or neutralism, which, from the point of view of geography, military and economic strength, may have much realism, it becomes increasingly difficult, not only for nations but individuals not definitively to answer the insistent question: Which camp are you in? Are you on the side of the forces of democracy or Russian Communism? To which side will you lend your support and cooperation?

To labor and minorities there can be but one answer to these questions. The very nature of the struggles on the part of labor and minorities to complete an uncompleted revolutions for first-class citizenship, renders it inevitable that labor and minorities, especially, Negroes, join the camp of, and take their stand by, and for, the forces of democracy, for it is only within the framework of democracy that labor and minorities can achieve freedom, equality and justice.

Verily, it is only within the framework of a democracy that labor and minorities can possess, develop and assert their power to protect and advance their rights and interests. For it is only under and within a democracy that there can exist a plurality of sources and agencies of power, such as business, trade unions, cooperatives, church, ethnic and educational movements.

In a democracy, the aforementioned social forces are free to develop, shape and direct their own life and destiny without the domination of the state.

This is true because in a democracy there exists a body of civil rights and civil liberties that provide that individuals possess and enjoy the right of freedom of speech, press, assembly, religious worship, association, organization, suffrage and education.

These rights and liberties must be cherished, guarded and defended as a sacred heritage if our democratic system is to endure.

For Russian Communism is built upon the following five principles that are antithetical to civil liberties and civil rights:

First, Dictatorship.

Dictatorship means rule without difference, dissent discussion or debate with respect to philosophy, principles, policies, program or practices of the dictator.

It stems and flows from the doctrine of the monopoly of total power in a national community, and the Kremlyn would even include the world. This is why Communists seek to infiltrate every single group in a country, from the army to an afternoon woman's sewing circle.

Naturally, this doctrine is based upon the assumption of the omniscience and omnipotence of the dictator, which logically includes its omnipresence, or the world-wide conquest of power and domination; a political mechanism which provides for the existence of no vacuum or opposition.

And thus, Joe Stalin was, and Malenkov is, as much the "Tsar of all the Russias" as was Tsar Nicholas, dethroned and dispatched by the liberal Russian Revolution of 1917.

Second, Violence and Bloodshed.

From the inception of the Bolshevik Revolution, force, violence and bloodshed have been one of the major articles of faith of the Communist regime for support and defense of the Dictatorship. Slave labor camps, concentration barracks, liquidation of groups, such as the old Bolsheviks, including Trotsky, Kamenev, Bucharin, Radek, Zinoviev, who helped Lenin to make the Revolution, blood purges, mark the shameless and tragic story of Communist rule in Russia.

In very truth, terror in the Soviet Union has become an instrument of national policy and erected, probably for the first time, into a science of government, the inevitable consequence of the ruthless tactics of a police state.

But even the Communists cannot escape the simple law of life, namely, "You will reap what you sow." "He who bears the sword, will perish by the sword."

Third, Revolution of Revenge.

The history of mankind shows that revolutions are as natural as storms or hurricanes in a world of oppression and hate. And, sometimes the crystallization of injustices, social, economic and political, in institutions that become cruel engines of exploitation and degradation, under the reign of some heartless human monster, cannot be changed by peaceful means. Such was the socio-economic-political situations that brought on the revolutions in the United States, both of 1776 and 1863; the democratic-liberal revolutions of England and France; and even the liberal revolution against Czarism, under Kerensky.

But when a revolution devours its own mother and children and erects into a religious cult, planned destruction for destruction sake, such as the Russian Revolution under the Bolsheviks, it ceases to serve as a social and spiritual agency for the advancement of the frontiers of human freedom and dignity and becomes a raging and raving bloody beast which gorges itself with the flesh and blood of men, the good as well as the bad, and finally, winds up with self-destruction.

Fourth, The End Justifies the Means.

That the end justifies the means is the unmoral and immoral ritual of the Russian Communist system. This is of the nature of the materialistic conception of history, which would exclude the idealism of Plato, the humanity of Jesus Christ and the liberalism of the poets, religious leaders and political philosophers of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Verily, from evil means flow only evil ends. In fact, the means embrace the ends. The means inevitably shape and determine the ends. Evil must produce evil, as good can only produce good. Yes, hatred breeds hatred, as violence breeds violence, and war begets war. By the same token, love produces only love, as goodwill creates goodwill and peace induces peace. As wisely stated by the noted preacher, John Haynes Holmes, "As well expect to grow grapes from thorns and figs from thistles, as love from hate, or order from violence, or peace from war."

Endless monstrous evils of both ancient and modern times have been vindicated and inspired by the conviction of this iniquitous doctrine of the end justifying the means.

The Inquisitioners of the Middle Ages tortured thousands of innocent men and women, burning them alive in the public square to the alleged end of serving the cause of Christ's gospel of Salvation; the Puritans of New England persecuted the Quakers and hanged the so-called witches, to the alleged good end of protecting the divine commonwealth which they were setting up in this land in the 17th and 18th centuries; a conspiracy of French officers sent Captain Dreyfus, a Jew, an innocent man, to the hell of Devils' Island under the accusing finger of the relentless Emile Zola, in the name of the honor of the French Republic and its army; black Americans have been lynched by mobs in these United States in the name of the protection or vindication of the so-called honor of white womanhood; and black workers are being sacrificed upon the cross of jim crow to preserve the so-called purity of lily-white unions and certain jobs for white workers only.

Fifth, Fear.

And finally, Communist statism has employed fear as an instrumentality of physical and mental torture and psychological warfare, to exact false and incredible confessions from its victims, whether innocent or guilty. But error urged to its limit will destroy itself. While the Bolshevik system has transformed the Russian populace into a nation of human rabbits, evincing fear of the members of their own families, the unpredictability of the sullen silence of the masses of workers and peasants has engendered in the Russian masters a mortal fear of a people's revolt; and, thus, not only are the people afraid of their rulers but the rulers are afraid of the people, a socio-psychological condition which is certain to eventuate in the paralysis and collapse of the Russian Communist Dictatorship.

I have dealt at length upon this question because of the continuing grave and major threat Communists are to the free trade union movement and democracy, both of whom are vital to the workers and minorities in their struggle for status.

But there are other threats, too.

In Europe, Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany, are again making a bid, feeble, to be sure, for the nonce, for the minds of the masses and the bankrupt and frustrated middle class and the old army officers, now idle but ambitious to play a role in the revival of the old order.

In the United States, McCarthyism is the grave and present danger since, though a Johnny-come-lately to the fight against Communism, he is a skillful demagogue, who, while maintaining a self-righteous pose as the Messiah of the American people from the Communist dragon, he utilizes the Communist technique of the big lie and, by the process of repetition, lashes the public into a frenzy against departments of the government, certain groups and individuals, artfully shifting from target to target as it becomes less vulnerable or more resistant and challenging.

Although McCarthyism contains the seed of its own destruction, it now constitutes a serious menace to our civil rights and civil liberties for, like the Communists, Senator Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin would swap freedom for security, a security which would be but a delusion and a snare. Nor can his influence, especially, among the lunatic fringe, be underrated, for it was this same type of lunatic fringe that howled and raved like mad dervishes behind Mussolini and Hitler, who were just bright and evil enough, with their pathologic egotism and delusions of grandeur, to bring the world to the very brink of destruction.

As a part of the great free trade union movement of the world, our Brotherhood, being a double target of Communists because it is (1) a trade union and (2) its membership and leadership are largely composed of workers of color, cannot be unconcerned about the ideological conflict that is shaking the

PAGES MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL

Interestingly enough, there are porters who joined the Brotherhood under the Union Shop and porters who were members of the Brotherhood before the Union Shop, who complain about being forced to join the Brotherhood and pay dues and taxes, as though this was some strange social phenomenon.

My dear Brothers, were we to sit around and drool and mope with a nostalgic anxiety for a past when we falsely thought we were free because we paid nothing for nothing and received nothing in return, the chromatic scale of our lives would be an endless gray, without sunshine or hope.

Yes, joining a union, and the payment of dues and taxes, are a condition of continued employment in an industry under union shop contract. But look what the worker gets. He not only gets protection on the job but he helps build a strong union to fight for higher living standards.

Is the union shop drastic because it requires and compells one to do that which he will not voluntarily do? Well, it maybe drastic, but it is not unfair or injurious.

Look at the income tax. Everybody must pay it, even against his or her will. If he or she doesn't pay it, he or she may be unwillingly and unceremoniously detained in a place he or she does not choose to reside.

We just cannot do anything we want to do or refuse to do certain things if our action is against the best interests of society.

We may own an automobile, but we cannot drive it up and down the streets in disregard of traffic regulations. Why? The reason is clear. We may not only endanger our lives but we may endanger the lives of others.

The point is that one's rights are limited by the rights of others. One's freedom is limited by the freedom of others. The philosophy of this social fact is that no individual, rich or poor, high or low, can live outside of society. He is the creature of society. His life depends upon society. Thus, whether he wishes or not, he must join with other members of society in protecting and advancing the welfare of society.

Just as citizens of every civilized community are taxed to maintain the services and institutions of the community such as schools, hospitals, libraries, fire, police and street cleaning, departments for the benefit of the people of the community, so in an industrial community such as Pullman and the great railway carriers, that have a government of industrial democracy through and under agreements between management and the union, with rules protecting and advancing the welfare of the industrial citizens or workers, the citizens or workers must be required to bear their share of the financial burden, equally, to achieve and maintain the improvements of the industrial community from which they benefit.

Once upon a time, the people paid tribute to the King. There was no freedom. There was only monarchy in government and the King could do no wrong. The people were subjects or slaves. That day, happily, is no more, except under the red flag.

By the same token, before the Brotherhood, porters in Pullman and on every railroad in the United States and Canada were subjects. The Brotherhood drove monarchy out of the Pullman and railroad industries and made porters free workers.

- Our Specific Problems -

At our last convention in New York in 1950, the question of the revision of the Agreement with the Pullman Company was a mojor problem. Last December, 1952, a revised agreement with the Pullman management was signed. With all its limitations, without which no agreement made by man, exists, I consider it one of the best agreements on the railroads today. While the Organization will never stop revising this agreement periodically in accordance with changing conditions, it is not one of our present problems.

But all the other agreements controlled by the Brotherhood require revision, including the Canadian-Pacific, the proposals of which have recently been developed, the Santa Fe, Union Pacific, Missouri Pacific, Texas and Pacific, Texas, New Orleans and Pacific, Atlantic Coast Line, Seaboard Air Line, to name but a few.

-Train Porters Jobs -

Another major problem of the Brotherhood is the maintenance of the train porters jobs in the face of relentless opposition from the powerful Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, a lily-white union, which is waging war against the train porters, all of whom are negroes, not only before the National Railroad Adjustment Board, from which it secured a favorable award on the Santa Fe, but also in the courts, going as high as the United States Supreme Court and the State legislatures where it introduces Full Crew Bills, the enactment of which would eliminate train porters off the head-end of the trains. Up to date, the Brotherhood has defeated the efforts of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen to drive a single train porter off his job. But, obviously, this is a continuing battle which the Brotherhood must wage at great expense to maintain train porters on their present jobs over which the white trainmen's union claims jurisdiction.

- Right to Work Laws -

Probably, one of the greatest threats, not only to the Brotherhood but the trade union movement in general, is the socalled right to work laws that have been adopted in ten or more states and seek to take precedence over federal legislation. Under the laws, union shop contracts are nullified on the grounds that all workers have the right to work, whether union members or not. Under the Virginia right to work law, the Brotherhood's union shop agreement with the Seaboard Air Line Railroad has been temporarily held up on the petition of five misguided and manipulated train porters. The necessary legal action, of course, has been taken to vacate the restraining order.

Although Virginia has no real interest in all workers, especially, Negroes having the right to work except at starvation wages under company union conditions, five colored train porters, who were well known company men who had practically always opposed the Brotherhood, were used to stab themselves in the back along with their fellow workers, to escape obligation to join the Brotherhood and pay dues and taxes. For a group of colored train porters to support a law which big business in general and railroads in particular, are seeking to use to cut the throats of organized labor, is quite a price to pay in self respect inorder to escape the payment of union fees, dues and taxes.

But, you maybe assured that all bonafide trade unions are committed to the waging of a relentless war against those vicious right to work laws, and I am confident these right to work laws, that are the legislative arm of company unionism, will eventually be defeated, especially, above the Mason and Dixon Line, and no doubt, sooner or later, in the South.

- Promotion Of Porters To Conductors -

While the Brotherhood has the responsibilty to fight to make the porters' employment better and secure, and I am certain history will recognize that the Organization has done a magnificent, if not a miraculous job, it also is concerned about providing new opportunities for porters to utilize their knowledge, skill and experience in being allowed to be up-graded to the class of sleeping car conductors and train conductors in the Pullman Company, the Canadaim-Pacific and on the railroads throught the nation.

The iniquitous policy and practice of racialism alone built upon the sinister doctrine of white supremacy, is responsible for the fact that sleeping car and train porters alone of all railroad employees are trapped in an industrial blind alley, is that they are barred from promotion to the next higher service which is normally and technologically related to their jobs, just as firemen are normally and technologically related to the jobs of engineers.

Thus, I recommend that this Convention go on record as endorsing and authorising the development of a nation-wide campaign in the United States and Canada to secure the rights of promotion of porters, some of whom now perform conductors' work as in-charge porters, to the position of conductors.

This is a natural and inevitable part of the program initated by the Brotherhood for fair employment practices legislation, to achieve the integration of Negroes into all areas of employment upon a basis of equality with all other workers, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

I also recommend the resumption of Regional Zone Conferences to be worked out by the International Vice-Presidents and Zon Supervisors in cooperation with the International President to step up, broaden and deepen our program of education in the handling of grievances and claims, the formulation and application of sound organisational procedures and methods, together with the extension of horizons of the broader long range field of workers education, with a view to building up the morale of the Brotherhood members upon a sound trade union philosophy.

- Finances -

Now, concerning finances, may I say that the finances of the Brotherhood, as the reports of the International Secretary will show, are in a sound condition. But upon the basis of the philosophy and experience of the trade union movement which may become and is involved in unforseen emergency problems, necessitating large expenditures, as well as the necessity to maintain and in some instances enlarge the present services of the organisation for the porters, the present income from dues and taxes is inadequate.

It must be recognized that all railroad classes and crafts, and, especially, porters, are steadily contracting because of the competition of various forms of transportation, such as the airplanes, buses and private automobiles which, inevitably, lessens the income of unions with jurisdiction over these crafts and classes.

Hence, it is conceivable that because of the fact the porters represent a small craft which is destined to become even smaller, with the Korean truce and the general amelioration of world tensions, porters may be required to pay more and more dues in order to retain and maintain the existing services of the Brotherhood in the interest of protecting and advancing their industrial welfare.

While the Brotherhood has a small membership, the services of the organization must cover as wide an area as the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen or Brotherhood of Railway Clerks that have more than 200,000 members each.

Thus, despite the Union Shop, it is necessary that I recommend the increase of the membership dues from 3 to 4 dollars a month. Many dining car locals already pay 4 dollars a month dues, and the organizational services provided dining car employees are not by any manner of means comparable to those supplied porters.

-- Tax --

And, of course, the maintenance of the ten dollar Annual Tax is indispensable, for even an increase in the monthly dues of one dollar would not suffice without the existing tax.

But even with an increase in the dues of a dollar a month and the tax, this will amount to only $58 a porter would pay a year for the services of the Brotherhood.

The question is, is it worth it?

It think it is and much more. May I advise that when a railroad union becomes national in scope and seeks to equip itself to protect the interests of it members, the expenses of even remaining a union mount up.

For instance, the affiliations of the Brotherhood with the Railway Labor Executives Association costs $363.00 a month; membership with twenty-two railway unions that have the right to select members of the Third Division of the National Railroad Adjustment Board costs over $5,000.00 a year.

Membership in the American Federation of Labor costs around $5,000 a year. Whenever a national movement for wages and changes in rules begins, each participating union is required to pay its pro rata share. While the Brotherhood has not participated in such a movement in the United States, yet, it may, if it joins the group. It is so participating in Canada.

At the present time, the Brotherhood is involved in court and legal battles to protect porters jobs on the Santa Fe, Seaboard Air Line, Atlantic Coast Line, Missouri-Kansas-Texas and the Union Pacific. No one can forsee the extent of expenditures that may be necessary in the cases before they are concluded, nor when and where the next lawsuit will begin against the Brotherhood or where and when it may be necessary for the Organization to institute legal action for the safeguarding of the interests and rights of the porters.

What of the Brotherhood?

What of its stability?

What of its direction?

Why these questions?

Well, we, too, have our vintage of prophets of doom. We are told by some porters, who have been members since first the flight of years of our Brotherhood union began, who ought to know better, that unless this or that is done, the

Organization can't last. And, of course, some of our goung brothers who have come into the movement under the pressures of the union shop, without the experience of hardship, trouble, persecution, sacrifice or suffering, that are the test and measure of genuine trade unionsts, shout their complaints and criticisms of the Organization up and down the roads, in the porters' quarters, in the sign out offices, on street corners, in poolrooms, saloons and whereever they may be found, because they do not know the history of our great struggles or the mission of organized labor, or the full scope and significance of the union's achievements.

My answer to these, our well-meaning but misguided brothers is a question: Why, my dear brothers be of such little faith?

As we look back twenty-eight years and survey and appraise the problems that beset us, we are compelled to wonder can anything happen to our movement which has not already happened.

Our Brotherhood was born at a time when Pullman Company unionism was flourishing and yet it marched forward, haltingly, yes, but undeterred and undismayed.

Let us tell our young and old Doubting Thomases that our Brotherhood passed through, with scars, wounds and bruises, yes, one of the most devestating depressions the United States or the world has ever known, in the gloomy Thirties, and never hauled down the flag.

Yes, tell our brethren, young and old, who rave and rant, waver and vacillate, when the Brotherhood loses a case or claim of a porter which couldn't be won under any circumstances, that there never was a war in which some soldiers didn't fall. But let me observe that meritorious cases of porters that were lost by the Brotherhood are as scarce as hen teeth.

Relative to the question of the stability of the Brotherhood, let me assure you, my dear delegates, upon this 28th Anniversary of our union, that this Brotherhood will last longer than the life span of any man within my hearing. I will endure as long as the Pullman Company or the Canadian Pacific System or any railway carrier of this nation, for its roots sink deep in the soil of the vital needs of the porters.

But what about troubles within and without?

Yes, our movement has its meed of troubles, difficulties, trials and tribulations. What movement which is worth its salt is without them? And, let me add that if we do not possess the heart and head, the will, spirit and vision to overcome them, we do not deserve to survive. And, in the frame of reference of the law of the survival of the fittest, we shall perish.

Verily, our Brotherhood will be ever troubled.

It is written that man born of woman is of a few days of this world and is full of trouble. Man is born in blood, pain and death.

Life comes from death. The law of life is the law of the seed, and the law of the seed requires that it be buried and decay, out of which comes life in the form of a tree, or some form of plant life.

The symbolism of the Resurrection is anexpression of the emergence of life from death.

And, we should have a heart ot heart communion with our new brothers whom we must welcome into the Brotherhood fold with open arms and open hearts, and let them take a look into the inner life of our cause so that they, like the woman who visited the tomb of the resurrection of the Christ, may realise and understand that the Brotherhood once was dead but now it lives. It had to die in order to live. One must be lost before he can be found. Our death was our suffering, our deep and abiding sacrifices.

But now the Brotherhood stands forth as a thriving, strong and living force.

Stability! Soundness! Strength!

Why, today, the Brotherhood is stronger than it has ever been in its long history.

We are stronger financially. Our treasury runs much beyond a half million, and continues to grow, if too slowly.

But we must reach the two million mark,and we will. We need large resources, not to run the union from day to day, but to serve as a basis of strength upon which to bargain. A large treasury is to a union what a strong army is to a nation. It gives strength. It gives confidence. It creates faith.

When the enemy knows that his foe has the weapons with which to fight, he seldom has a conflict. But if one is weak, though he may be right, someone will trample upon him.

In our world, the strong devour the weak.

Moreover, a trial of Brotherhood strength on the picket line some day, may come.

Our strength is already being tried in the courts and around the conference table.

We are being weighed in the balance and we have not been found wanting.

We express this belief without boast.

- Future -

Thus, let me reassure you that the future of the Brotherhood if bright.

In the words of the late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, which is one of the great classic statements of our times: "We have nothing to fear but fear itself."

With our incomparable record of accomplishments for the porters, in particular, and the minorities, in general, we have much reason for genuine pride and solace.

You must remember that the Brotherhood has not only fought the battles of the porters, it has also fought the battles of the minorities; for it was our union which originated and largely financed the March On Washington movement whichwas responsible for the late President Roosevelt issuing Executive Order 8802, under which the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice was established in 1941, action which place Negro workers on jobs they never had before, bringing into Negro homes not only millions, but hundreds of millions of dollars in wages during the last war.

In fact, not only the idea of fair employment practice but the very phrase itself was first introduced in American literature by the Brotherhood. Our Brother Webster, international vice president, was the only member of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice who was active on the Committee from its beginning to the end.

Why?

Because the Brotherhood put him there and kept him there.

Yes, the philosophy of fair employment practice is the gift of the porter to America.

Why shouldn't every member and official of the Brotherhood be happy over its signal achievements?

It is a matter of common knowledge that the barriers of race and color in the trade union movement in this country have been relentlessly battered by the bludgeons of the Brotherhood, which is probably more responsible than any other single force in opening up new doors of organized labor to black workers.

Yes, the very name Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is synonymous with the fight against discriminations on account of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry in the labor movement.

Now, a word about the men who have been the advising and directing forces of this movement. They represent some of the finest spirits the labor movement has ever known. They have not only worked and fought for the porters but struggled, suffered and sacrificed for them and the principles in which they believed.

In the face of opposition, antagonism and hostility, insult and ridicule, not only from the public and Pullman, but the porters also, these men of heroic mold, to whom principles were more valuable than dollars, carried on a knock-down and drag out fight for over a generation, to build a great union.

And, happily, they succeeded, but not without a hard core of dedicated, loyal and devoted porters who never wavered in their support of, and cooperation with, the leaders.

I salute these men of honor, integrity and courage, vision, idealism and faith. Yes, they have wrought more nobly than they know. They are some of the noblemen of labor. They have earned and are richly deserving of the accolade of respect and praise from the public in general and porters in particular.

History will honor them as Totten and Webster, Bennie Smith and Bradley, Patterson and Dellums, McNeal and McLaurin, Billie Bowe and Ernest Smith, Bynum and Grooms, Jack Mills and Jimmy Martin, Garron and Yates, Al Dailey, Jimmy White and A. R. Blanchette, Theodore E. Brown and a host of men who serve as local presidents and secretary-treasurers and as members of local executive Boards in our far-flung local divisions from Coast to coast and in the Dominion of Canada.

With this great galaxy of leaders and sound and solid men of the rand and file, we hail our fine and splendid Ladies' Auxiliary with its consecrated leadership of Sisters Wilson and Tucker, with their Internation Vice-Presidents and members of their Internation Executive Board, with a long list of local officers and members of committees that command not only the respect but high admiration for the achievements they have so nobly wrought.

Yes, I say achievements. For these good women of the Auxiliary came to us when we were down. They did their bit, according to their strength, to give bread when we were hungry and water when we were thirsty. When our night of adversity was dark and the hand of practically everybody was against us, they did not desert us.

And, let me add, no man is so strong that in the hour of crisis, he does not need a woman with her heart full of love and devotion and sympathy, to pat him on the shoulder and tell him: " A winner never quits and a quitter never wins".

It was this dauntless spirit of the women who have built the Auxiliary that helped to put iron in the porters blood and give him the upward look toward the light. It helped to take a yellow streak, a yard wide, out of the backs of some of the weak-kneed porters. It helped to make them feel that no man who is worth is existence, should cringe and bow, kow-tow and crawl upon his belly and beg for mercy from another, white or black, brown or yellow, rich or poor, even for life itself.

I take off my hat to these women, who never quit and ran away, like some porters, chasing the false gods of company unionism.

It helped porters to see that this union business is no place for weaklings. It is a man's job. Its problems cannot be solved by reading some tea leaves or coffee grounds in a cup, the answers cannot be found in some dark room of a seance; or by carrying around a rabbit foot; or by putting a horse's shoe over the door; or by waving some magic wand.

If the workers would win bread and freedom, they will have to stand upon their hind legs and fight and take it. There is no other way.

No doubt, some brothers will not be able to stand the strain and stress of this industrial war and will drop out of the march.

In every struggle for human freedom, there were those who fell by the wayside because the going was too strenuous, taxing and challenging; and then there were those for whom the meat was too strong; and there were those who became traitors to the cause and became the Judases who attempted to sell out their principles for thirty pieces of silver.

But, be it known that no treachery, however reprehensible, no cowardice, however despicable, can stay permanently the onward march of a righteous cause.

Thus, my dear brothers and sisters, let us salute those courageous and noble Brotherhood men now gone to eternity, who placed their all upon the altar of sacrifice for the priceless purpose of building a Brotherhood which would make porters, not only secure but free.

Let us bow our heads in silence before the spirits of the Matthews of New York, Pucketts of Chicago, Dad Moores of Oakland, to name but a few, to whom the fight of the Brotherhood was a sacred cause. Without them, we could not have survived.

Verily, the Ladies' Auxiliary is not only necessary and valuable to the Brotherhood, it is indispensable to the strength, health and ideals of the free trade union movement of the United States and the world.

The purpose of the Auxiliary is to make the union porters' home a union home. The union porter's wife must not only be concerned about the size and time of getting the checks for the porter's wages, but she should also be concerned about the conditions under which the checks are earned. She ought to be concerned about job security, hours of work, working conditions and treatment on the job. She should know the reason for the existence of the union. Why it is necessary that the porter join the Brotherhood and pay dues and taxes. She should know that some times workers in their unions reach a showdown with employers over wages, hours of work and working conditions that may result in the workers being required to walk off their jobs for the demands, even if they lose the fight and fail to win the demands. The mission of the Auxiliary is to educate the wives, daughters, sisters, children and mothers about the meaning of the Brotherhood and organized labor in their struggle for bread, freedom, decency and dignity.

It is a matter of common knowledge that a union porter or any worker cannot battle for bread outside the home if he is nagged about bread by an anti-union or an uninformed wife inside the home.. If a wife who does not understand the purpose of the union, cries and frets and complains about food and clothing for herself and the children that do not exist, but for which the union breadwinner is out on the picket line fighting, it will break his heart and he will crack up, which may cause the strike to be lost.

Hence, let me beseech the International and local officers of the Brotherhood to join hands with the Ladies Auxiliary and help build its membership.

And so, let us salute George Meany, new president of the A. F. of L., successor to the late venerable and grand William Green, for his constructive and aggressive leadership in waging a relentless war on the World Federation of

Trade Unions, international labor arm of the Soviet Union, the role of which was to destroy free trade unionism and extend the worldwide dominion of the Kremlyn. By this policy and program of the A. F. of L. against world Communism, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was made possible and now is carrying the ball for international free trade unionism, backed by the A. F. of L. with its 10 million members and the C. I. O., the United Mine Workers of John L. Lewis, the Railway Labor Executives' Association and the Big Four.

We salute President Eisenhower upon his appointment of the Anti-Discrimination Government Contract Compliance Committee, charged with the responsibility to wipe out discrimination on account of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry in contracts of the federal government, but warns that while this is a praiseworthy move, it must not be construed as any substitute for federal legislation outlawing discrimination in employment relations.

We hail the militant and effective fight of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People upon its fight to eliminate racial discrimination and segregation in the schools and colleges, on all forms of transportation, in public places and the area of the ballot. This fight merits the moral and financial support of every Negro and Negro institution.

We hail the United Nations as the one best hope in the world for world peace.

We hail the new Republic of India and its great leader Nehru, the largest non-Communist force for democracy in the eastern world. We bespeak for India and its leadership a more friendly and sympathetic understanding from the United States. We urge upon our government, more patience and deeper sympathy with the new and growing republics of Asia, such as Indonesia, Iran, Burma, Israeli and the new republics of the Middle East.

We hail the foreign policy of our government, which challenged imperialistic Communism in Korea with force, and seeks to halt Communist aggression against weaker peoples throughout the world. We also counsel and urge the President and the Congress not to be swayed by the hysteria of McCarthyism but to give prayerful and a sympathetic study of, and cooperation with, any plea for world conference between the Communist world and the free world, with a view to exploring the possibilities for peace.

We hail the efforts of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. for labor unity.

We hail the brave men of color of Africa, in Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, the Gold Coast, Kenya, Nigeria, and on every foot of African soil in their fight to rid the land of the menace of white supremacy, the evil of landlordism, usurious money lending, poverty, disease, illiteracy and tyranny.

We bespeak success and ultimate triumph to the forces of African nationalism and urge the United States to deny loans and financial aid to the great colonial powers, such as England and France, Belgium and Holland, that seek to continue the exploitation of the life, labor and land of Africans.

We hail and support the doctrine of Africa for the Africans.

While we do not condone murder as an instrument or an instrumentality of social liberation, we uncompromisingly condemn the propaganda of European white settlers and government circles in Africa to picture uprising of the Mau Maus of the militant Ki Kuyu tribe of Kenya as an expression of Communist intrigue and agitation. This is far from the truth. The Mau Maus are fighting for their life and land which the white man has taken and wants to continue to take. Like the American men and women of '76, they are fighting for freedom and independence from alien rule and domination.

And, finally, in this historic Convention of the Brotherhood, the leaders and members of which know what it is to drink of the bitter dregs of persecution, let us hail and join the struggles of men, regardless of race or color, religion, national origin and ancestry, everywhere for freedom, justice, peace and plenty and human dignity and may Heaven help us to never falter.

Article for
"American Federationist"
Nov. 2, 1953

STORY OF RAIL PORTERS TO ORGANIZE

By A. Philip Randolph

The First Triennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which was held in Los Angeles, October 4-9, at which Brother George Meany, able president of the American Federation of Labor, made a challenging and stirring address, marked the 28th anniversary of this union.

It signalized a far cry from August, 1925 when six Pullman porters in New York City, initiated the beginnings of the Brotherhood. Of course, our union did not indicate the first efforts on the part of Pullman porters to organize. There had been prior attempts at organization by porters in the employ of the Pullman Company. Perhaps, a half dozen or more Pullman porters' movements had been started from time to time. All of them failed, either because they were maneuvered into accepting Company benevolence or, as a result of intimidation through the loss of jobs, no effective progress was made.

The basic problem encountered by the porters in their attempt to build a union was the same faced by all workers seeking to develop self-organization; namely, winning recognition from the management as a bona fide bargaining agent of the porters. Realizing that this step of self-organization, above all others, must never be successfully made by the porters, the Management, in line with the climate of the period, which reflected the old American Plan philosophy of the company union and the 'yellow dog' contract, projected an elaborate Plan of Employee Representation to lull the porters into a false sense of security. While this plan was no expense to the porters, there being no joining fee, dues or tax the porters had to pay, in very truth, it was the most expensive luxury porters ever paid for, inasmuch as it cost them decent increases in wages, reasonable reductions in hours of work and major improvements in working conditions.

Under this Company Union arrangement, misnamed Plan of Employee Representation, emphasis was never placed upon the wage income of porters but rather, upon tips they were expected to receive from a Lady Bountiful public. It was a matter of common knowledge that when the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was born in 1925, their minimum monthly wages was $67.50 and their maximum monthly wage income did not reach $100.

As to hours of work - porters operated under what is known as an 11,000 mileage system, which was equivalent to 300 to 400 hours a month.

Little attention was ever directed to working conditions since there were no rules covering same in the so-called agreement under the company union plan, and the Management had absolute and final say with respect to working conditions.

Since the Plan of Employee Representation was a device under which the Management sat on both sides of the bargaining table, because the porter representatives, under the Plan, for the porter personnel, were subject to dismissal for any defiance of the will and desires of the Management, bargaining between the Management and the porter employees, instead of reflecting and expressing sound principles of democracy, amounted to sheer mockery.

Thus, there was no such thing among porters as job security, inasmuch as porters did not control their so-called bargaining agent; namely, the Plan of Employee Representation.

Therefore, the old problem of the organization of Pullman porters was impossible of solution until the Plan of Employee Representation or Company Union was completely scrapped and thrown into the ashcan of annihilation.

But, this was not an easy job because the Company Union was built upon fear. The porters were afraid were they to refuse to support the Company Union that they would be fired. Some of the outstanding militant leaders of the porters were victims of the axe of discharge. When periodical elections under the Plan were held for officials of the Plan, porters were afraid not to vote.

Hence, it was not until the Railway Labor Act was amended in 1934, with the coming of the Roosevelt New Deal, which provided machinery for the determination of representation disputes, that the opportunity came for the porters to exercise their right of choice as between a bona fide trade union and a company union, free from coercion, intimidation or interference.

Immediately the Railway Labor Act was amended, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters invoked the services of the National Mediation Board to assist in the settlement of the dispute involving representation for Pullman porters. The Board, in 1935, staged the first national election under the amended Act for the determination of the bargaining agent for Pullman porter personnel. The BSCP won the election by a landslide against the company union which had assumed the title of Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association, by a vote of 6 to 1.

Following this victory of the Brotherhood over the company union, a conference was sought with the Company and, for the first time within a period of twelve years' struggle to build a trade union, representatives of the porters sat down around a conference table with representatives of the Pullman Company and proceeded with the business of negotiating an agreement concerning rates of pay and rules governing working conditions. This was a tough and tremendous task. Skilled in the art of bargaining, when the representatives of this powerful monarch of industry got through telling the leaders of the porters how poor it was, we were almost persuaded to take a tin can and go out on the streets to solicit charity to help the Company.

The negotiations for the first agreement with the Pullman Company extended over a period of two years. It was not until 1937 that signatures of representatives of the Management and the porters' union were affixed to an agreement. As a result of this first agreement, wages of the porters were increased by $12, the largest single increase in wages porters had ever received up to this time; having in the past received from $2.50 to $5.00 per month.

But this long fight on the part of the porters to build a union to serve as a bargaining agent which they controlled was given strength and force and assurance by affiliation with the American Federation of Labor in the form of federal unions in 1929. Porters, through these federal unions, sent representatives to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor from year to year, where they told their story about low wages, long hours, poor working conditions and lack of effective representation because of industrial tyranny and oppression from which porters suffered.

But even prior to affiliation with the A. F. of L. through federal unions, the late president, William Green, at a time when the porters' movement to organize a trade union had its back up against the wall, having proclaimed a nationwide strike on Pullman cars in June, 1928, used his good offices in helping the porters' movement to weather this storm and remain intact, so as to be able to carry on a campaign of organization and education of public opinion upon the needs, aims and objectives of the porters.

While the strike never occurred, having been called off upon the advice and intercession of William Green, it served dramatically to place the cause and problems of the porters before the American public as they never had been known before, thus making the nation, as a whole, aware of the fact that Pullman porters were more than just "Georges', by which they were popularly known and called by the travelling public, but were serious-minded, working men on the railroads who were, along with engineers, firemen, train conductors, brakemen and other railway employees, concerned about building a trade union with which to fight for decent wages, better hours of work and improved working conditions and all other interests, advantages and benefits other organized railway workers sought to secure, including human dignity.

Following hard upon the winning of an agreement from the Pullman Company in 1937, an international charter was granted the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters by the executive council and presented by former president of the A. F. of L., William Green, in a great public rally of porters in Chicago, Illinois in 1938. From thence forward, the BSCP, having secured also jurisdiction over train porters, coach porters and attendants, began to play an important role as one of the international unions of the American Federation of Labor in the labor movement of the country.

Today, as a result of a long, systematic and consistent fight for wage improvements and advancements along the lines of working conditions and hours of work, as well as for the promotion of self-organization, porters have established the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which maintains friendly relations with the Pullman Company through one of the best agreements employees have on the railroads, including machinery for the adjustment of grievances and claims which provides job security for this class of railroad employees.

Porters have received all of the increments in wages all of the non-operating employees of the standard railroad unions have received from time to time, so that today, the minimum wage of the porters is $293.93, with a maximum of $304.93. But this is not the whole story with respect to the wage income of porters. There is overtime of time and a half after 240 hours, a stretch of time much too long, but quite an improvement over the old days. Extra porters who don't enjoy a regular monthly wage but are paid by the hour, are in a much improved position over and above the days of the Company Union since, in addition to their receiving the same rates of pay upon a basis of service age, they are paid on extended tour movements of 72 hours or more, 18 hours out of each 24 hour periods, which provides a compensation of $27 a day. But, of course, this is not an everyday affair, because extended tour movements are not too frequently conducted. While the work month of the porter, under the company union plan, practically had no beginning or end, today there is the 205 hour work month which followed the 240 hour work month that was secured by the Union in its first agreement aforementioned. The porters have also included in their contracts with the Pullman Company and some thirty or forty railroads of the country, an escalator clause that provides for changes in rates of pay in relation to changes in the cost of living.

Besides the achievements of the Brotherhood for porters in terms of wages, working conditions and hours of work, the Union has established agreements providing for vacations with pay of two weeks with the Pullman Company and the railroads of the country that employ train and coach porters and car attendants.

Realizing that the porters are an important and integral part of the railway labor personnel and that their organization should be affiliated with the other railway trade unions, national in scope, not only to fight for common benefits and goals, but also to bear its share of the financial burden for the attainment of these benefits and goals, the BSCP joined the Railway Labor Executives' Association a year or more ago and seeks to play its part with the other railway unions in maintaining decent wage, hour and working conditions standards for rail workers.

But, not only has the Brotherhood waged a consistent and relentless struggle for material benefits for the porters, it has lead the fight among Negro workers, on and off railroads, against the Communist menace, realizing at the very outset of the struggle to build a union, that the purpose and aim of Communists and Communism was to rule or ruin trade unions, with a view to using the trade union movement for the furtherance and advancement of the foreign policy of the Russian Communist State.

Although Communists, in harmony with their practice of seeking to capture trade unions and Negro movements, made a supreme bid and attempt to infiltrate the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and use it in their national and international struggle for world domination and power, because of its prominence, strength and influence, the BSCP always defeated and prevented Communist infiltration to an effective or considerable extent and maintained the Brotherhood, not only free and independent of Communist forces, but employed it to serve as the most effective force against Communism among Negroes in the nation, if not the world.

Because of the militancy, integrity and aggressiveness of the Brotherhood in fighting the battles of the porters, as well as its consistent and relentless fight for civil rights; and its comprehensive, persistent and systematic expose of Communist tactics, trickery and treachery, agents of the Kremlyn never constituted a serious internal threat to the BSCP.

Despite the violent and restless eagerness and desire Communists had to take over trade unions and Negro movements, it is highly doubtful that in our long struggle to build and maintain our union that a single Communist ever rose to the chairmanship of a single committee in a single local union in our far-flung movement in the U. S. A. and Canada, and if he did, he has remained as quiet as a mouse.

At the same time, the Brotherhood does not only continue its fight against Communists and Communism as the foe of free trade unionism, democracy and the freedom and progress of minorities in general and Negroes in particular, but it cooperates with its sister union, the Dining Car Employees, in the rail industry, to expel the Communist menace from its fold.

At the Convention in Los Angeles, the following officers of the BSCP were reelected: A. Philip Randolph, International President; Ashley L. Totten, International Secretary-Treasurer; M. P. Webster, First International Vice President;

Bennie Smith, Second International Vice President; C. L. Dellums, Third International Vice President and T. D. McNeal, Fourth International Vice President.

Our program for the future includes:

1. Negotiation of changes in rules governing working conditions in existing agreements with some 40 railroads in the U. S. A. and Canada.

2. Prosecution of fight for Welfare Plan, providing for increase of vacation with pay from two weeks to twenty days; pay of double time for work on holidays; Health and Welfare Plan, providing death benefits, hospital, medical and surgical care, without expense to porter, and rights to free transportation.

3. Continued fight for F.E.P.C. which, incidentally, was originated by the Brotherhood in 1941.

4. Organization of the unorganized porters on the railroads in the United States and Canada, of which there are but few.

5. Broadening and extension of our regional educational and organizational conferences that elaborate and refine the techniques and methods for the adjustment of the day to day grievances and claims that arise between the porters and the management of the carriers, and the development of our over-all workers' education and leadership program.

6. The expansion and strengthening of the committees for non-partisan political action in the various local divisions.

7. Redoubled fight against the so-called Right to Work Laws that are designed to hamstring union shop contracts and weaken, if not destroy the trade union movement.

8. Renewed opposition to the Full Crew Bill that would drive Negro train porters off the head-end of trains.

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE Speeches

CRISIS OF STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

By A. Philip Randolph, International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
in Auditorium for NAACP, in
Address delivered at Oakland, California
March 28, 1954
Oakland

I think it meet, fitting and timely that public meetings be held for the discussion of the crisis of civil rights and civil liberties since it may awaken and stimulate interest, if only among a few persons, to decide to do something about improving them.

Frank, honest, objective discussion of the problems of race and democracy is sorely needed today. For today, mankind, torn by hatred and hating, tension and terror; shaken by frustration and fear, doubt and despair, faces the future without great faith or fortitude. At least, this is so with some of the chief leaders of the social forces in the great power nations, on the issues of war and peace, freedom and equality.

But the problem of race relations and civil rights and civil liberties is with us, and it may be full of promise or menace, as we understand or fail to understand its cause and implications.

Better race relations mean more than permitting persons of color and of the Jewish and Catholic faiths the privilege of exercising their right to enter this or that school, or to be accommodated in this or that hotel.
WHILE THIS IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY AND MANDATORY, THE PROBLEM GOES DEEPER THAN THIS.

Better race relations will never possess reality and integrity unless they have their roots in the soil of the brotherhood of man, and real brotherhood is unattainable unless the principle of human and racial equality is recognized and accepted, without reservations.

Without human equality, embracing all colors, creeds and countries, there can be no human freedom and without human freedom there can be no human justice and progress.

In fact, the entire sinister doctrine of racism stems from the concept of racial inferiority and racial inferiority presupposes the condition of racial inequality, which the science of anthropology has exploded as one of the great myths of history.

Verily, it is not difficult for the unbiased eye to see that some black men are superior to some white men, brown men and yellow men; some white men are superior to some black, brown and yellow men; some brown men are superior to some black, white and yellow men; and some yellow men are superior to some white, black and brown men.

In fact, it is a matter of common knowledge that some members of the same racial, religious and nationality group are superior or rather, in terms of certain human values, appear to have accomplished more than some other members of the same group.

But, basically, even the question of individual superiority is highly conjectural and uncertain and hardly subject to scientific verification.

Certainly, there is no objective qualitative correlation between color, creed or country and character, culture or civilization.

Some individuals among all colors, creeds and countries have developed such an Olympian stature, morally, intellectually and spiritually, as to transcend the so-called boundaries of race, religion and nationality and become virtual citizens of the world of human service and achievement. Such is the status of Plato, Cicero, Michelangelo, Goethe, Spinoza, Voltaire, Shakespeare, Gandhi, Tolstoi, Lincoln, Einstein and Carver. This is so because the service of their genius has become the common property of mankind.

But we have come to see that when the sadistic forces of racism are let loose and are on the rampage, they take no cognizance of genius, talent, and ability; they howl for the blood of men marked by the stigma of racial inferiority.

And, thus, in these times of storm and stress, trial and trouble, frustration and fear, doubt and despair, the fight for civil rights and civil liberties is the fight for the very salvation, application and extension of civilization, in our own land and throughout the world.

Except where there is overt action, indicating a clear and present danger to the stability and security of the state, it is not in the interest of the health of democracy that civil rights and civil liberties be denied even to the enemies of democracy, namely, Communism, Fascism ~~and~~ OR McCarthyism, lest it constitute a symptom which may lead to the grave malady of the police state— THE NEMESIS OF DEMOCRACY.

But What are Civil Rights and Civil Liberties?

Civil rights are the conditions and attributes of the existence of a citizen. Without civil rights there can be no citizenship. Limited civil rights denote and prescribe limited citizenship. Only full and complete civil rights can provide and invest one with full-fledge and first-class citizenship. Civil rights involve and are a condition to human dignity and human decency. The right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, a cardinal principle of the Declaration of Independence, is a civil right. The concept of the worth and sacredness of the human personality, first given expression, meaning and validity by the Judeo-Christian ethic, can only receive strength, reality and integrity under the sanction of civil rights.

Yes, civil rights are natural rights. They are God-given rights. They are above law. They are above government. They existed prior to law; prior to government.

While the state cannot bestow civil rights upon the individual, the state or organized society must, through law, legislation, executive orders, ordinances and court decisions, give recognition to the civil rights of an individual in order that they may have force and factuality.

Civil rights are as much the original property and inevitable attribute of the individual as is life, for without civil rights, recognized and sanctioned by the state, the life of the individual is uncertain and insecure. Thus, the state cannot, by law or decree, take away an individual's civil rights, for it cannot take away that which it has not given; yea, cannot give; for the state neither possesses civil rights or human life. But the state can refuse to give recognition to an individual's civil rights and, thereby, render them without force and effect. Thus, the fight for civil rights is the fight for the recognition by the state of the individual's pre-ordained human rights, the foundation of civil rights.

Verily, civil rights are an expression or reflection of human rights and human rights exist as a condition of one being human, and the fact of one's being human is God-created.

What About Civil Liberties?

Civil liberties, as set forth in the Bill of Rights in the Federal Constitution, made up of the first ten amendments, are a condition to the maintenance of citizenship or the continuous, definite and complete recognition by the state of the individual's civil rights. In fact, only within the framework of civil liberties can the individual's civil rights secure valid recognition, integrity and strength.

This is so because the recognition by the state of the individual's human and civil rights involves a long process of education, organization, agitation and indoctrination which is only possible if the civil liberties of a national, state or local community embrace freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of thought, freedom to teach and learn, freedom of religious worship, freedom to choose, select and designate leadership, one's spokesman or bargaining agent, one's political representative or party, without intimidation, coercion or interference.

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Employment

According to surveys by the ~~Nati~~ Regional NAACP show ~~that~~ the Negro workman, being a late comer ~~to~~ in some industries in the ~~factory~~ Country, ~~he~~ lacks seniority in many instances ~~in industry most of which is influenced by~~ chiefly because of the color line. Hence cut-backs and lay-offs that now obtain in this industrial and economic readjustment or recession, hit the Negro worker hardest. He is even harder hit when he lacks the protection of union contracts that require fairness. It's the old story of the Negro being the first fired and the last hired.

This is why federal and state fair employment practice legislation is necessary.

The President's Executive Order forbidding discrimination in hiring or upgrading by firms engaged on government contracts has not been implemented by effective enforcement procedures. All too many contractors ignore or evade it.

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1. Thus, we are not free to live where we choose.

2. We are denied jobs and promotions of employment, solely because of race and color.

3. The Federal, State and City governments are the chief offenders, with few exceptions, in practicing discrimination against Negroes in terms of appointment or promotion to supervisory and policy making positions, though there is no dearth of qualified Negroes.

4. Some trade unions, chiefly the railroad operating unions are not yet free from the policy of discriminating against Negroes who seek membership or certain skilled jobs, still known unhappily as white men's jobs.

5. The ugly mien of segregation is yet to be found in bus and rail transportation, and there is discrimination in hotels and motels from coast to coast.

6 Men of color do not get an equal break before the ~~law~~ courts and with law enforcement agencies in some States in our land.

7 There ~~many~~ are numerous places of public entertainment, and recreation that will deliberately insult as well as deny a colored patron accommodation.

Referring to housing neither FHA nor VA requires or attempts to require that the

Without these and other freedoms vouchsafed in the Bill of Rights, the individual's civil rights will not and cannot receive genuine recognition by the state.

Thus, civil rights and civil liberties complement and supplement each other. They are inevitably tied together. Both must be fought for at the same time, for to lose one is to lose the other. Verily, civil rights and civil liberties are the pillars of our democratic society.

Now, the fact is, both civil rights and civil liberties in our United States and the world are at the crossroads. They are threatened FROM without AND within. The very foundation of our democratic society is being assailed and attacked by reckless demagogues in the name of patriotism and national security.

But, before I discuss the crisis of civil rights and civil liberties, let me say a word about the origin and the cause of the civil rights movement in the United States, EXPRESSED AND DEVELOPED BY THE NEG.

It is a fact of history that if the bourgeois, liberal revolution of the United States, the Civil War, had not only ended but been completed, we would not be here this evening discussing the crisis in the struggle for civil rights, for the civil rights of men of color AND OTHER minorities would be fully recognized by our American society and they would be accepted as first-class citizens, possessing economic, political and social equality.

FEPC

* But such was not the case.

Why?

This question can only be answered by an analysis of the nature of a bourgeois liberal CIVIL WAR revolution.

Briefly, it is a transition from a feudalistic-agricultural society to a capitalist-industrial society - not only in form but in substance and power.

The path of a liberal capitalist revolution involves the achievement of certain definite objectives, such as:

First, the overthrow of the old slave or feudal government.

Second, the abolition of the slave or feudal economy.

Third, establishment of a liberal political, democratic republican form of government, free from control of the old slave masters or feudal lords.

Fourth, the transformation of the former slaves or serfs into free workers or independent peasant proprietors.

Fifth, the inauguration of free suffrage.

Sixth, the establishment of a free, public school system.

Seventh, the centralization of political authority in a national or federal governmental system.

Eighth, the national economic unification of the country.

But none will gainsay the fact that these objectives were only partially realized through the revolution of the Civil War.

It is true, for instance, that the old slave confederacy was overthrown by the defeat of General Robert E. Lee at the Battle of Appomattox.

It is also true that the economy of chattel slavery was abolished.

It is true that political authority was centralized and consolidated in a federal system, giving strength and power to the Union.

It is further true that the national economic unification of the country was effected, giving emphasis to the fact of protection of national products against foreign competition, considered a boon to American industrialism, the great desideratum of the new capitalist rulers.

In fact, the foundations of modern American capitalism, through the Civil War Revolution, were sucessfully laid.

Political secessionism had been displaced with governmental centralism, and the old southern plantation-cotton economy of free trade with the vitality of protectionism.

With the rapid liquidation of the pre-capitalist, socio-economic remnants and vestiges that tended to hedge in and constrict the dynamism of the forces of production and exchange, the rise and growth of great cities, the march of the population west, the building of railroad and public utilities empires and giant factories, the exploitation of natural resources, such as coal, oil, lumber, iron ore, the Civil War Revolution came to an end. It had become aborted. The fulfillment of its manifest destiny, in terms of the complete liberation of its black children of slavery, was halted, for its completion was no longer necessary to the massive march of American capitalist industrialism to full command of the national community and a status of world challenge.

Thus, in the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876, the bourbon South, though Tilden had won, capitulated to Hayes, political voice of growing industrial-finance capitalism of the North, upon agreement to withdraw the federal army from the South, leaving the black freedmen without protection.

This was the Great Betrayal by the Republican Party of the newly emancipated slaves who were without land, the foundation of life in the South.

What was the consequence?

The answer is, the Civil War Revolution failed to achieve its human objectives, including:

One, it failed, despite the 13th Amendment, to transform the former slaves into free workers and independent peasant proprietors. Out of Pandora's Box of social, economic and political desperation, confusion and chaos, emerged slavery with a new, but ugly, mien--namely, peonage. Under this system, the freedmen, helpless and hopeless, were still bound, through a vicious practice of advancing the moneyless former slaves rations, consisting of fatback, corn meal and molasses, together with virtual rags for clothes, for which they became indebted to the plantation owner, usually their former masters, to the cotton plantation.

Negro workers in the backwoods of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee and Florida are still victims of ~~a~~ SOME SLOWLY vanishing forms of involuntary servitude in the forms of vagrancy laws AND PEONAGE.

Two, it failed to establish a democratic republican form of government in the former slave states. Following the Great Betrayal of 1876, the Reconstruction governments, set up under Federal supervision, and incidentally, not one southern state, during the Reconstruction era, was under complete control of black men, were overthrown, and the restoration of the domination of the new southern states by the old master class was effected and consolidated.

Three, it failed to establish free suffrage. Despite the 14th and 15th Amendments and Supreme Court decisions, Negroes, through various forms of intimidation and registration tricks, in most southern states, ~~are~~ WERE either denied the right to vote or discouraged from attempting to register to vote. White primaries, grandfather clauses and the poll tax were invented to make the citizenship of the Negro freedman a mockery. Although it must be said the Negro vote in the South is mounting to hundreds of thousands today, and is rapidly moving to the mark of millions.

Fourth, it failed to establish a free public school system. Instead, separate, segregated, jim-crow schools were set up. Thus, today all black America look to the Supreme Court to strike down this monstrous evil in its forthcoming decision on the public school segregation cases. end here

In addition to the failure of the Civil War Revolution to complete its historic mission to achieve a democratic capitalist society, the surrender of the North to the South on the question of the freedmen let loose and stimulated the most violent, vicious and the vilest wave of terrorism, human hatred and bitterness against a people yet known in the annals of history. Black men, women and children were victims of rope and faggot. Lynching became an honored institution in the name of the so-called purity of white womanhood. The Ku Klux Klan waved the bloody shirt and was heralded as the Messiah of white supremacy in Dixie. Everything white was deified. Everything black was damned.

The Negro's life was a jim-crow life. He was jim-crowed in school, jim-crowed on trains and streetcars, jim-crowed to shacks and slums, jim-crowed to God. Jim-crow was the lowest, meanest, most hateful and contemptible estate to which a human being could be consigned. The purpose of it all was to break the spirit of the freedmen and make of the Negro an inferior being and cause him to accept his so-called inferiority as a fiat of God.

Verily, this is the handiwork of the incompleted Civil War Revolution. Albeit, the Civil War Revolution had turned against its black children and devoured them. TODAY, WE SEEK FULLFILMENT UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF NAACP THIS UNFULLFILLED AND INCOMPLETED REVOLUTION.

For the great spirits of Abolitionism, Charles Sumner in the Senate and Thaddeus Stevens in the House of Representatives, had died.

Yes, upon the graves of William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Lovejoy, and a host of other unnamed heroes of human freedom, stood men of lesser courage and conviction on the issue of human slavery. Their voices were no longer heard thundering against the iniquity of human bondage. A new breed of men had taken their places. For the most part, they were compromisers and temporizers. THEY WERE WILLING TO RETREAT. THEY DID RETREAT.

So, here we are at a crisis in the struggle for civil rights and civil liberties, seeking to complete an incompleted revolution for human dignity.

But, the struggle for civil rights and civil liberties is threatened. It is threatened by Communism. It is threatened by Fascism. It is threatened by McCarthyism.

In the name of patriotism and national security, our Bill of Rights is being struck down. The 1st and 5th Amendments of the Constitution have become suspect. What about the 14th and 15th? Will they be next to become anathema?

Verily, we are witnessing a revival of heresy. A sinister inquisition is ushering in the blackest night of our history. Fear and frustration is the climate of these times. We fear the government. We fear our enemies. We fear our friends. In very truth, with witch-hunters and book-burners all around us, we wonder whom not to fear.

What, then, are some Indications of the Crisis of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties?

Some of the major threats may be listed as follows:

Number one: Congressional committees' investigations under the direction of the McCarthys, Jenners, Veldes, McCarrans, in which persons of recognized responsibility and respectability are victims of character assassination by accusation; prosecution and persecution of witnesses on a basis of the vicious principle of guilt by association; arrogant flouting of the democratic judicial principle of an accused person being considered innocent until proven guilty; the acceptance as evidence against an accused person of unevaluated and unverified rumors, suggestions and suspicions.

Number two: Deification of the American Secret Police, the F. B. I., as the final authority for the certification of an American citizen for the next highest office in the land, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Note that the United States Senate held up ratification of the nomination of Governor Warren of California for Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court by President Eisenhower, pending submission of report on who was engaged to speak in Iowa

him by the F. B. I. If this trend continues, who can say but that the final nod for the inauguration of a president of the United States, despite election by the American people, must come from the head of the F. B. I., in the alleged interest of national security.

Number three: The growing climate of the revival of heresy, giving rise to book-burning, witch-hunting; the encouragement of the development of such vigilante groups as the Norwalk, Connecticut branch of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, which proclaimed a policy of neighbor spying upon neighbor; Minute Women, which is committed to the tactics of smearing liberals who come into a community to speak, a type of treatment administered to Dr. Clement, President of Atlanta University, recently elected to the Board of Education of Atlanta, when he was invited to speak last year in Houston, Texas, and Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, President Emeritus and founder of Bethune-Cookman College, when she was scheduled to speak in a public school in Englewood, New Jersey, MRS ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, in Iowa, AND A host of others.

Number four: Intimidation of institutions of education by loyalty oaths.

Number five: Attack upon citizens who seek to apply the principles of the Federal Constitution, especially the 5th Amendment.

Number six: The wholesale indictment of the Protestant ministry as disloyal.

Number seven: The labeling of leaders of labor as prophets of doom and gloom who tell of the ravages of the existing recession upon the workers and their families.

But what can be done about it?

First, we must resolve that the fear-mongers, witch-hunters and book-burners and the revival of heresy can and must be beaten. But they can only be conquered by a positive program which is an affirmation of our democratic faiths, ideals and beliefs. To this end, we need a ~~[illegible]~~ CAMPAIGN for the preservation of our

Bill of Rights and Civil Rights Amendments of the Federal Constitution, for the defeat of the spirit of inquisition is indispensable to the survival of democracy.

Second, the LIBERAL church forces, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, together with organized labor: A. F. of L. and C. I. O., and other liberal ~~elements~~ movements of local communities, should unite in this ~~[illegible]~~ STRUGGLE. Letters should be written to the press for the cause, from time to time. Forums and meetings should be developed to advance this positive purpose of saving the Bill of Rights AND Civil Rights Amendments from destruction by nullification and emasculation. Communism should be linked with McCarthyism it's BROTHER UNDER THE SKIN as the twin enemies of the Bill of Rights and democracy.

But this fight for the preservation of the Bill of Rights needs dramatization. This can be accomplished by the staging of huge public rallies for the Bill of Rights in key cities, such as New York, Chicago, Washington, D. C., St. Louis and Kansas City, Missouri, Denver, Los Angeles and San Francisco, California. In these rallies, outstanding champions of democracy should be heard, such as ex-president Harry S. Truman, Norman Thomas, Eleanor Roosevelt, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Father John LaFarge, Rabbi DeSilver, Walter White, Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Walter Reuther, president of the C. I. O., Senator Wayne Morse and George Meany, president of the A. F. of L.

It must be made unmistakably clear that the most effective fighters against the menace of Communism are the most effective champions ~~for~~ OF democracy.

It must be understood that, contrary to the belief in certain circles, it does not logically follow that because an individual is anti-Communist, he is ipso facto, pro-democracy. It is wholly unsound and a gross mistake to equate all anti-Communists with champions of democracy.

One needs only to survey our historical scene and our current life to document the verification of this proposition.

Was not Herr Hitler anti-Communist? Was he pro-democracy? The answer is inherent in the question.

Dictator Tito of Yugoslavia is anti-Russian Communism. Is he pro-democracy? Not at all.

Francisco Franco, Fascist ruler of Spain is anti-Communist and he is also anti-democracy.

Thus, not only are Communists a menace to American democracy, but some anti-Communists are also a menace to American democracy.

It ought to be obvious to the most naive and credulous person that anyone, such as the McCarthyites, who would negate and emasculate our Bill of Rights, the palladium of our liberties, under the pretext of national security, is no friend of democracy.

Thus, it is not sufficient for one to be merely anti-Communist, as necessary and important as this is. In fact, everyone who is pro-democracy is naturally, and ought to be anti-Communist. For while it is possible for one to be anti-Communist and anti-democracy, it is not possible for one to be pro-Communist and pro-democracy, since the two doctrines or ways of life are mutually exclusive and antithetical.

Now, I can understand how a country may be neither pro-democracy or pro-Communism in diplomacy but pro-democracy in principle.

Because of the ideological warfare between the United States and Soviet Russia, practically all free Asia, lead by Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, because of geography, lack of military power, and the moral position on war and colonialism, takes a neutralist position. It is neither anti-U.S.A. or anti-U.S.S.R., nor is it pro-U.S.A. or pro-U.S.S.R.; but is pro-democracy in principle and anti-dictatorship, whether Communist, Fascist or Capitalist.

Hence, it is not only necessary for one who is pro-democracy to be anti-Communist, but it is vital to the cause of democracy that he be anti some anti-Communists - such as some of our native fascist vintage of anti-Communists, whose policies, program and practices helps rather than hinders Communists and Communism since they weaken the foundations of democracy.

Why the Fight for Freedom?

We must not forget that freedom is not some finality which, like a delicious meal, we may seek to secure and set about enjoying, without further effort. No, freedom is not a ~~finality~~ conclusion, a definite end-result of struggle, like a package of anything. But it is a process, an enterprise and adventure which grows, develops and expands as we struggle to achieve it. Yes, and freedom may contract, wither, retrograde and die. Freedom is pluralistic in nature. It can only live and flourish in various multiforms and through various agencies and individuals. Communism and Fascism are monopolistic, monolithic and totalitarian in nature. They are born and grow only when the pluralistic forces of freedom are arrested.

Freedom is not static. It is dynamic. It is not something some government can give us. We must win it. This has ever been so and ever will be so. Born of centuries of man's struggle for human dignity, freedom is a basic part of man's heritage.

Just as we must fight to win freedom, we must fight to keep it. For freedom you fail to use, you will eventually lose. In very truth, freedom feeds upon freedom. The more freedom you get, the more you want and the more you are able to secure and hold.

In fact, it is only through freedom and with freedom can a people fight for and secure a greater measure of freedom. Thus the NAACP is wisely and militantly using the freedom Negroes have to win full freedom they want and need.

But, in every national community, all groups that fight for freedom always, as a rule, encounter groups that fight against freedom.

And, since civil rights and civil liberties are the expression of freedom and democracy, every movement designed to enact legislation in the interest of winning civil rights and civil liberties is violently resisted.

This is not only true of the Negro. It is true of other groups within the national and local communities. Note that all efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to strike down jim-crow, either by legislation or court action, is vigorously fought by forces of racialism, north as well as south. Some groups that do not actively oppose it refuse to support it.

We have only to observe the long fight by labor for its rights. Every struggle by labor to secure the adoption of legislation or judicial decision for the advancement and protection of labor's rights is systematically attacked by organized big business, through the National Manufacturers' Association and the United States Chamber of Commerce.

If the foreign-born Jews, Negroes or Italians should seek to liberalize and humanize the immigration laws, they are assailed and slandered by the McCarrans and other racists.

This all proves that the fight for freedom is not only a ceaseless one, but in order to win, it must be an organized fight.

Unorganized individuals, in our modern, organized, complex society, are helpless in the struggle for freedom. They are helpless because they } end here
can exercise and mobilize but little power. Power is the result of organization. And it is only with some form of power that it is possible to develop, shape and mobilize public opinion back of the cause of freedom.

You must have power to inform and direct public sentiment against, as well as for certain public policies, programs and philosophies.

You must possess the political power to put men in office and turn them

Communism (17) Let us not be deceived by the loud protests by Communists against racial discrimination. They may be likened unto the wolves that come in sheep's clothing. They are the greatest Trojan horse which has ever come into the midst of a people. They come to exploit and destroy for the advancement of the cause of world-wide conquest and domination by Communist Russia; not to build a better tomorrow for the United States and the Negro.

Be it known that Communists do not seek to solve the Negro problem. They want to make it worse, so that they may point an accusing finger at the United States of America. In very truth, if there was no Negro problem, Communists would create one in order that they may have troubled water in which to fish. This is the mission of the Civil Rights Congress, the National Negro Labor Council, the Communist Party—and all Communist front movements. They are not only a pestilence and a pest but a danger and a menace, and a kiss of death to any cause. And moreover, it is suicidal folly for Negroes to add to the handicap of being black the handicap of being red.

out of office when they are friendly or unfriendly to your cause.

You must not only have the power to fight for freedom but the intelligence, integrity and the intestinal fortitude to assault the citadel of racism and reaction, in order to rout the sinister forces of anti-freedom and jim-crow.

This is why there is a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This is why there is an Anti-Defamation League.

This is why the NAACP won the fight against jim-crow in residential relationships through judicial decision.

This is why the NAACP struck down the white primaries in the courts.

This is why it will strike down segregation in public schools by the United States Supreme Court decision, either now or eventually.

This is why it will drive jim-crow from public transportation.

Without the organized, systematic struggle of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, these signal and epoch-making victories could not have been won.

By the same token, were it not for the organized, systematic struggle of the Anti-Defamation League, anti-Semitism in the United States would have reached towering and menacing proportions.

The struggle for human freedom must be carried on through organization so that if one or more soldiers fall in battle, the fight will go on.

Hence, the Fight for Freedom Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People must be supported by all Negroes and lovers of liberty, regardless of color, creed or country.

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In order that we may safeguard our Bill of Rights and Civil Rights Amendments, let us unite , build and strengthen and keep our movements of liberation and inspiration, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the free trade union movement, A. F. of L., ~~and~~ C. I. O., Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,

and the militant, liberal church forces, so that we, Negro, Jew, Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, the blood of whose ancestors and present sons has been shed to make our beloved country great, may never ~~falter~~ WAVER in our struggle as free, sovereign citizens to keep it great and free--free from
FREE FROM FREE FROM FREE FROM FROM
the evil forces of Communism, McCarthyism, Fascism and racism.

With an America strong, free and without fear, she can work to help the free peoples everywhere fashion a new world.

Let me give you a view of this world of tomorrow. It was the dream of Ingersoll and other idealists since first the flight of years of civilized man began.

> I see a world where thrones have crumbled and kings are dust;
>
> The aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth.
>
> I see a world without a slave, man at last is free.
>
> Nature's forces have, by science, been enslaved;
>
> Lightening and light, wind and wave, frost and flame, and all subtle forces of earth and air are the tireless ~~[illegible]~~ TOILERS of the human race.
>
> I see a world at peace; adorned with every form of human art;
>
> With music; myriad voices thrilled, while lips are rich with words of truth and love.
>
> I see a world where no exile sighs; no prisoner mourns;
>
> I see a world where work and worth go hand in hand.
>
> Where the poor girl, trying to win bread with a needle, the needle which has been called the asp to the breast of the poor, is not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death, of suicide or shame.

CRISIS OF STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

By A. Philip Randolph, International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Address delivered at Oakland, California
March 26, 1954

I think it most, fitting and timely that public meetings be held for the discussion of the crisis of civil rights and civil liberties since it may awaken and stimulate interest, if only among a few persons, to decide to do something about improving them.

Frank, honest, objective discussion of the problems of race and democracy is sorely needed today. For today, mankind, torn by hatred and hating, tension and terror; driven by frustration and fear, doubt and despair, faces the future without great faith or fortitude. At least, this is so with the chief leaders of the social forces in the great power nations, on the issues of war and peace, freedom and equality.

But the problem of race relations and civil rights and civil liberties is with us, and it may be full of promise or menace, as we understand or fail to understand its sense and implications.

Better race relations mean more than permitting persons of color and of the Jewish and Catholic faiths the privilege of exercising their right to enter this or that school, or to be accommodated in this or that hotel.

Better race relations will never possess reality and integrity unless they have their roots in the soil of the brotherhood of man, and real brotherhood is unattainable unless the principle of human and racial equality is recognized and accepted, without reservations.

Without human equality, embracing all colors, creeds and countries, there can be no human freedom and without human freedom there can be no human justice and progress.

In fact, the entire sinister doctrine of racism stems from the concept of racial inferiority and racial inferiority presupposes the condition of racial inequality, which the science of anthropology has exploded as one of the great myths of history.

Verily, it is not difficult for the unbiased eye to see that some black men are superior to some white men, brown men and yellow men; some white men are superior to some black, brown and yellow men; some brown men are superior to some black, white and yellow men; and some yellow men are superior to some white, black and brown men.

In fact, it is a matter of common knowledge that some members of the same racial, religious and nationality group are superior or rather, in terms of certain human values, appear to have accomplished more than some other members of the same group.

But, basically, even the question of individual superiority is highly conjectural and uncertain and hardly subject to scientific verification.

Certainly, there is no objective qualitative correlation between color, creed or country and character, culture or civilization.

Some individuals among all colors, creeds and countries have developed such an Olympian stature, morally, intellectually and spiritually, as to transcend the so-called boundaries of race, religion and nationality and become virtual citizens of the world of human service and achievement. Such is the status of Plato, Cicero, Michelangelo, Goethe, Spinoza, Voltaire, Shakespeare, Gandhi, Tolstoi, Lincoln, Einstein and Carver. This is so because the service of their genius has become the common property of mankind.

But we have come to see that when the sadistic forces of racism are let loose and are on the rampage, they take no cognizance of genius, talent, and ability; they howl for the blood of men marked by the stigma of racial inferiority.

And, thus, in these times of storm and stress, trial and trouble, frustration and fear, doubt and despair, the fight for civil rights and civil liberties is the fight for the very salvation, application and extension of civilization, in our own land and throughout the world.

Except where there is overt action, indicating a clear and present danger to the stability and security of the state, it is not in the interest of the health of democracy that civil rights and civil liberties be denied even to the enemies of democracy, namely, Communism, Fascism and McCarthyism, lest it constitute a symptom which may lead to the grave malady of the police state.

But What are Civil Rights and Civil Liberties?

Civil rights are the conditions and attributes of the existence of a citizen. Without civil rights there can be no citizenship. Limited civil rights denote and prescribe limited citizenship. Only full and complete civil rights can provide and invest one with full-fledge and first-class citizenship. Civil rights involve and are a condition to human dignity and human decency. The right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, a cardinal principle of the Declaration of Independence, is a civil right. The concept of the worth and sacredness of the human personality, first given expression, meaning and validity by the Judeo-Christian ethic, can only receive strength, reality and integrity under the sanction of civil rights.

Yes, civil rights are natural rights. They are God-given rights. They are above law. They are above government. They existed prior to law; prior to government.

While the state cannot bestow civil rights upon the individual, the state or organized society must, through law, legislation, executive orders, ordinances and court decisions, give recognition to the civil rights of an individual in order that they may have force and factuality.

Civil rights are as much the original property and inevitable attribute of the individual as is life, for without civil rights, recognized and sanctioned by the state, the life of the individual is uncertain and insecure. Thus, the state cannot, by law or decree, take away an individual's civil rights, for it cannot take away that which it has not given; you, cannot give; for the state neither possesses civil rights or human life. But the state can refuse to give recognition to an individual's civil rights and, thereby, render them without force and effect. Thus, the fight for civil rights is the fight for the recognition by the state of the individual's pre-ordained human rights, the foundation of civil rights.

Verily, civil rights are an expression or reflection of human rights and human rights exist as a condition of one being human, and the fact of one's being human is God-created.

What About Civil Liberties?

Civil liberties, as set forth in the Bill of Rights in the Federal Constitution, made up of the first ten amendments, are a condition to the maintenance of citizenship or the continuous, definite and complete recognition by the state of the individual's civil rights. In fact, only within the framework of civil liberties can the individual's civil rights secure valid recognition, integrity and strength.

This is so because the recognition by the state of the individual's human and civil rights involves a long process of education, organization, agitation and indoctrination which is only possible if the civil liberties of a national, state or local community embrace freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of thought, freedom to teach and learn, freedom of religious worship, freedom to choose, select and designate leadership, one's spokesman or bargaining agent, one's political representative or party, without intimidation, coercion or interference.

Without these and other freedoms vouchsafed in the Bill of Rights, the individual's civil rights will not and cannot receive genuine recognition by the state.

Thus, civil rights and civil liberties complement and supplement each other. They are inevitably tied together. Both must be fought for at the same time, for to lose one is to lose the other. Verily, civil rights and civil liberties are the pillars of our democratic society.

Now, the fact is, both civil rights and civil liberties in our United States and the world are at the crossroads. They are threatened. The very foundation of our democratic society is being assailed and attacked by reckless demagogues in the name of patriotism and national security.

But, before I discuss the crisis of civil rights and civil liberties, let me say a word about the origin and the cause of the civil rights movement in the United States.

It is a fact of history that if the bourgeois, liberal revolution of the United States, the Civil War, had not only ended but been completed, we would not be here this evening discussing the crisis in the struggle for civil rights, for the civil rights of men of color would be fully recognized by our American society and they would be accepted as first-class citizens, possessing economic, political and social equality.

But such was not the case.

Why?

This question can only be answered by an analysis of the nature of a bourgeois liberal revolution.

Briefly, it is a transition from a feudalistic-agricultural society to a capitalist-industrial society - not only in form but in substance and power.

The path of a liberal capitalist revolution involves the achievement of certain definite objectives, such as:

First, the overthrow of the old slave or feudal government.

Second, the abolition of the slave or feudal economy.

Third, establishment of a liberal political, democratic republican form of government, free from control of the old slave masters or feudal lords.

Fourth, the transformation of the former slaves or serfs into free workers or independent peasant proprietors.

Fifth, the inauguration of free suffrage.

Sixth, the establishment of a free, public school system.

Seventh, the centralization of political authority in a national or federal governmental system.

Eighth, the national economic unification of the country.

But none will gainsay the fact that these objectives were only partially realized through the revolution of the Civil War.

It is true, for instance, that the old slave confederacy was overthrown by the defeat of General Robert E. Lee at the Battle of Appomattox.

It is also true that the economy of chattel slavery was abolished.

It is true that political authority was centralized and consolidated in a federal system, giving strength and power to the Union.

It is further true that the national economic unification of the country was effected, giving emphasis to the fact of protection of national products against foreign competition, considered a boon to American industrialism, the great desideratum of the new capitalist rulers.

In fact, the foundations of modern American capitalism, through the Civil War Revolution, were successfully laid.

Political secessionism had been displaced with governmental centralism, and the old southern plantation-cotton economy of free trade with the vitality of protectionism.

With the rapid liquidation of the pre-capitalist, socio-economic remnants and vestiges that tended to hedge in and constrict the dynamism of the forces of production and exchange, the rise and growth of great cities, the march of the population west, the building of railroad and public utilities empires and giant factories, the exploitation of natural resources, such as coal, oil, lumber, iron ore, the Civil War Revolution came to an end. It had become aborted. The fulfillment of its manifest destiny, in terms of the complete liberation of its black children of slavery, was halted, for it was no longer necessary to the massive march of American capitalist industrialism to full command of the national community and a status of world challenge.

Thus, in the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876, the bourbon South, though Tilden had won, capitulated to Hayes, political voice of growing industrial-finance capitalism of the North, upon agreement to withdraw the federal army from the South, leaving the black freedmen without protection.

This was the Great Betrayal by the Republican Party of the newly emancipated slaves who were without land, the foundation of life in the South.

What was the consequence?

The answer is, the Civil War Revolution failed to achieve its human objectives, including:

One, it failed, despite the 13th Amendment, to transform the former slaves into free workers and independent peasant proprietors. Out of Pandora's Box of social, economic and political desperation, confusion and chaos, emerged slavery with a new, but ugly, mien--namely, peonage. Under this system, the freedmen, helpless and hopeless, were still bound, through a vicious practice of advancing the moneyless former slaves rations, consisting of fatback, corn meal and molasses, together with virtual rags for clothes, for which they became indebted to the plantation owner, usually their former masters, to the cotton plantation.

Negro workers in the backwoods of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee and Florida are still victims of a form of involuntary servitude in the form of vagrancy laws.

Two, it failed to establish a democratic republican form of government in the former slave states. Following the Great Betrayal of 1876, the Reconstruction governments, set up under Federal supervision, and incidentally, not one southern state, during the Reconstruction era, was under complete control of black men, were overthrown, and the restoration of the domination of the new southern states by the old master class was effected and consolidated.

Three, it failed to establish free suffrage. Despite the 14th and 15th Amendments and Supreme Court decisions, Negroes, through various forms of intimidation and registration tricks, in most southern states, are either denied the right to vote or discouraged from attempting to register to vote. White primaries, grandfather clauses and the poll tax were invented to make the citizenship of the Negro freedmen a mockery. Although it must be said the Negro vote in the South is mounting to hundreds of thousands today, and is rapidly moving to the mark of millions.

Fourth, it failed to establish a free public school system. Instead, separate, segregated, jim-crow schools were set up. Thus, today all black America look to the Supreme Court to strike down this monstrous evil in its forthcoming decision on the public school segregation cases.

In addition to the failure of the Civil War Revolution to complete its historic mission to achieve a democratic capitalist society, the surrender of the North to the South on the question of the freedmen let loose and stimulated the most violent, vicious and vilest wave of terrorism, human hatred and bitterness against a people yet known in the annals of history. Black men, women and children were victims of rope and faggot. Lynching became an honored institution in the name of the so-called purity of white womanhood. The Ku Klux Klan waved the bloody shirt and was heralded as the Messiah of white supremacy in Dixie. Everything white was deified. Everything black was damned.

The Negro's life was a jim-crow life. He was jim-crowed in school, jim-crowed on trains and streetcars, jim-crowed to shacks and slums, jim-crowed to God. Jim-crow was the lowest, meanest, most hateful and contemptible estate to which a human being could be consigned. The purpose of it all was to break the spirit of the freedmen and make of the Negro an inferior being and cause him to accept his so-called inferiority as a fiat of God.

Verily, this is the handiwork of the incompleted Civil War Revolution. Albeit, the Civil War Revolution had turned against its black children and devoured them.

For the great spirits of Abolitionism, Charles Sumner in the Senate and Thaddeus Stevens in the House of Representatives, had died.

Yea, upon the graves of William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Lovejoy, and a host of other unnamed heroes of human freedom, stood men of lesser courage and conviction on the issue of human slavery. Their voices were no longer heard thundering against the iniquity of human bondage. A new breed of men had taken their places. For the most part, they were compromisers and temporizers.

So, here we are at a crisis in the struggle for civil rights and civil liberties, seeking to complete an incompleted revolution for human dignity.

But, the struggle for civil rights and civil liberties is threatened. It is threatened by Communism. It is threatened by Fascism. It is threatened by McCarthyism.

In the name of patriotism and national security, our Bill of Rights is being struck down. The 1st and 5th Amendments of the Constitution have become suspect. What about the 14th and 15th? Will they be next to become anathema?

Verily, we are witnessing a revival of heresy. A sinister inquisition is ushering in the blackest night of our history. Fear and frustration is the climate of these times. We fear the government. We fear our enemies. We fear our friends. In very truth, with witch-hunters and book-burners all around us, we wonder whom not to fear.

What, then, are some Indications of the Crisis of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties?

Some of the major threats may be listed as follows:

Number one: Congressional committees' investigations under the direction of the McCarthys, Jenners, Veldes, McCarrans, in which persons of recognized responsibility and respectability are victims of character assassination by accusation; prosecution and persecution of witnesses on a basis of the vicious principle of guilt by association; arrogant flouting of the democratic judicial principle of an accused person being considered innocent until proven guilty; the acceptance as evidence against an accused person of unevaluated and unverified rumors, suggestions and suspicions.

Number two: Deification of the American Secret Police, the F. B. I., as the final authority for the certification of an American citizen for the next highest office in the land, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Note that the United States Senate held up ratification of the nomination of Governor Warren of California for Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court by President Eisenhower, pending submission of report on him by the F. B. I. If this trend continues, who can say but that the final nod for the inauguration of a president of the United States, despite election by the American people, must come from the head of the F. B. I., in the alleged interest of national security.

Number three: The growing climate of the revival of heresy, giving rise to book-burning, witch-hunting; the encouragement of the development of such vigilante groups as the Norwalk, Connecticut branch of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, which proclaimed a policy of neighbor spying upon neighbor; Minute Women, which is committed to the tactics of smearing liberals who come into a community to speak, a type of treatment administered to Dr. Clement, President of Atlanta University, recently elected to the Board of Education of Atlanta, when he was invited to speak last year in Houston, Texas, and Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, President Emeritus and founder of Bethune-Cookman College, when she was scheduled to speak in a public school in Englewood, New Jersey.

Number four: Intimidation of institutions of education by loyalty oaths.

Number five: Attack upon citizens who seek to apply the principles of the Federal Constitution, especially the 5th Amendment.

Number six: The wholesale indictment of the Protestant ministry as disloyal.

Number seven: The labeling of leaders of labor as prophets of doom and gloom who tell of the ravages of the existing recession upon the workers and their families.

But what can be done about it?

First, we must resolve that the fear-mongers, witch-hunters and book-burners and the revival of heresy can and must be beaten. But they can only be conquered by a positive program which is an affirmation of our democratic faith, ideals and beliefs. To this end, we need a crusade for the preservation of our

Bill of Rights and Civil Rights Amendments of the Federal Constitution, for the defeat of the spirit of inquisition is indispensable to the survival of democracy.

Second, the church forces, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, together with organized labor: A. F. of L. and C. I. O., and other liberal elements of local communities, should unite in this crusade. Letters should be written to the press for the cause, from time to time. Forums and meetings should be developed to advance this positive purpose of saving the Bill of Rights' Civil Rights Amendments from destruction by nullification and emasculation. Communism should be linked with McCarthyism as the twin enemies of the Bill of Rights and democracy.

But this fight for the preservation of the Bill of Rights needs dramatization. This can be accomplished by the staging of huge public rallies for the Bill of Rights in key cities, such as New York, Chicago, Washington, D. C., St. Louis and Kansas City, Missouri, Denver, Los Angeles and San Francisco, California. In these rallies, outstanding champions of democracy should be heard, such as ex-president Harry S. Truman, Norman Thomas, Eleanor Roosevelt, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Father John LaFarge, Rabbi DeSilver, Walter White, Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Walter Reuther, president of the C. I. O., Senator Wayne Morse and George Meany, president of the A. F. of L.

It must be made unmistakably clear that the most effective fighters against the menace of Communism are the most effective champions for democracy.

It must be understood that, contrary to the belief in certain circles, it does not logically follow that because an individual is anti-Communist, he is ipso facto, pro-democracy. It is wholly unsound and a gross mistake to equate all anti-Communists with champions of democracy.

One needs only to survey our historical scene and our current life to document the verification of this proposition.

Was not Herr Hitler anti-Communist? Was he pro-democracy? The answer is inherent in the question.

Dictator Tito of Yugoslavia is anti-Russian Communism. Is he pro-democracy? Not at all.

Francisco Franco, Fascist ruler of Spain is anti-Communist and he is also anti-democracy.

Thus, not only are Communists a menace to American democracy, but some anti-Communists are also a menace to American democracy.

It ought to be obvious to the most naive and credulous person that anyone, such as the McCarthyites, who would negate and emasculate our Bill of Rights, the palladium of our liberties, under the pretext of national security, is no friend of democracy.

Thus, it is not sufficient for one to be merely anti-Communist, as necessary and important as this is. In fact, everyone who is pro-democracy is naturally, and ought to be anti-Communist. For while it is possible for one to be anti-Communist and anti-democracy, it is not possible for one to be pro-Communist and pro-democracy, since the two doctrines or ways of life are mutually exclusive and antithetical.

Now, I can understand how a country may be neither pro-democracy or pro-Communism in diplomacy but pro-democracy in principle.

Because of the ideological warfare between the United States and Soviet Russia, practically all free Asia, lead by Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, because of geography, lack of military power, and the moral position on war and colonialism, takes a neutralist position. It is neither anti-U.S.A. or anti-U.S.S.R., nor is it pro-U.S.A. or pro-U.S.S.R.; but is pro-democracy in principle and anti-dictatorship, whether Communist, Fascist or Capitalist.

Hence, it is not only necessary for one who is pro-democracy to be anti-Communist, but it is vital to the cause of democracy that he be anti some anti-Communists - such as some of our native fascist vintage of anti-Communists, whose policies, program and practices helps rather than hinders Communists and Communism since they weaken the foundations of democracy.

Why the Fight for Freedom?

We must not forget that freedom is not some finality which, like a delicious meal, we may seek to secure and set about enjoying, without further effort. No, freedom is not a finality, a definite end-result of struggle, like a package of anything. But it is a process, an enterprise and adventure which grows, develops and expands as we struggle to achieve it. Yes, and freedom may contract, wither, retrograde and die. Freedom is pluralistic in nature. It can only live and flourish in various multiforms and through various agencies and individuals. Communism and Fascism are monopolistic, monolithic and totalitarian in nature. They are born and grow only when the pluralistic forces of freedom are arrested.

Freedom is not static. It is dynamic. It is not something some government can give us. We must win it. This has ever been so and ever will be so. Born of centuries of man's struggle for human dignity, freedom is a basic part of man's heritage.

Just as we must fight to win freedom, we must fight to keep it. For freedom you fail to use, you will eventually lose. In very truth, freedom feeds freedom. The more freedom you get, the more you want and the more you are able to secure and hold.

In fact, it is only through freedom and with freedom can a people fight for and secure a greater measure of freedom.

But, in every national community, all groups that fight for freedom always, as a rule, encounter groups that fight against freedom.

And, since civil rights and civil liberties are the expression of freedom and democracy, every movement designed to enact legislation in the interest of winning civil rights and civil liberties is violently resisted.

This is not only true of the Negro. It is true of other groups within the national and local communities. Note that all efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to strike down jim-crow, *either* by legislation or court action, is vigorously fought by forces of racialism, north as well as south. Some groups that do not actively oppose it refuse to support it.

We have only to observe the long fight by labor for its rights. Every struggle by labor to secure the adoption of legislation or judicial decision for the advancement and protection of labor's rights is systematically attacked by organized big business, through the National Manufacturers' Association and the United States Chamber of Commerce.

If the foreign-born Jews, Negroes or Italians should seek to liberalize and humanize the immigration laws, they are assailed and slandered by the McCarrans and other racists.

This all proves that the fight for freedom is not only a ceaseless one, but in order to win, it must be an organized fight.

Unorganized individuals, in our modern, organized, complex society, are helpless in the struggle for freedom. They are helpless because they can exercise and mobilize but little power. Power is the result of organization. And it is only with some form of power that it is possible to develop, shape and mobilize public opinion back of the cause of freedom.

You must have power to inform and direct public sentiment against, as well as for certain public policies, programs and philosophies.

You must possess the political power to put men in office and turn them out of office when they are friendly or unfriendly to your cause.

You must not only have the power to fight for freedom but the intelligence, integrity and the intestinal fortitude to assault the citadel of racism and reaction, in order to rout the sinister forces of anti-freedom and jim-crow.

This is why there is a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This is why there is an Anti-Defamation League.

This is why the NAACP won the fight against jim-crow in residential relationships through judicial decision.

This is why the NAACP struck down the white primaries in the courts.

This is why it will strike down segregation in public schools by the United States Supreme Court decision, either now or eventually.

This is why it will drive jim-crow from public transportation.

Without the organized, systematic struggle of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, these signal and epoch-making victories could not have been won.

By the same token, were it not for the organized, systematic struggle of the Anti-Defamation League, anti-Semitism in the United States would have reached towering and menacing proportions.

The struggle for human freedom must be carried on through organization so that if one or more soldiers fall in battle, the fight will go on.

Hence, the Fight for Freedom Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People must be supported by all Negroes and lovers of liberty, regardless of color, creed or country.

In order that we may safeguard our Bill of Rights and Civil Rights Amendments, let us unite , build and strengthen and keep our movements of liberation and inspiration, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the free trade union movement, A. F. of L. and C. I. O.

and the militant, liberal church forces, so that we, Negro, Jew, Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, the blood of whose ancestors and present sons has been shed to make our beloved country great, may never falter in our struggle as free, sovereign citizens to keep it great and free--free from the evil forces of Communism, McCarthyism, Fascism and racism.

With an America strong, free and without fear, she can work to help the free peoples everywhere fashion a new world.

Let me give you a view of this world of tomorrow. It was the dream of Ingersoll and other idealists since first the flight of years of civilized man began.

> I see a world where thrones have crumbled and kings
> are dust;
> The aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth.
> I see a world without a slave, man at last is free.
> Nature's forces have, be science, been enslaved;
> Lightening and light, wind and wave, frost and flame,
> and all subtle forces of earth and air are the tireless forces
> of the human race.
> I see a world at peace; adorned with every form of human art;
> With music, myriad voices thrilled, while lips are rich with
> words of truth and love.
> I see a world where no exile sighs; no prisoner mourns;
> I see a world where work and worth go hand in hand.
> Where the poor girl, trying to win bread with a needle, the
> needle which has been called the asp to the breast of the poor, is
> not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death, of suicide or
> shame.

I see a world without the beggar's outstretched palm;

The miser's heartless, stony stare, the livid lip of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn and the piteous wail of want.

I see a race shapely and fair, married harmony of form and function and, as I look, life lengthens, joy deepens, and over all, in the great domain, shines the eternal star of human hope, of human dignity, equality and freedom, plenty and peace, for all the sons of men.

Statement Made at Reception for United Nations Delegates

By A. Philip Randolph

November 4, 1954
Carnegie International Center

My dear friends: because we are committed to the principles of free trade unionism, the moral concept of the brotherhood of man and the democratic way of life, I wish, in the name of the National Trade Union Committee for Racial Justice and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to extend greetings, felicitations, and a hearty, sincere and genuine welcome to our friends and brothers of Africa, Asia ~~and~~ Europe, and the Americas to our little soiree.

We are assembled here, not formally to discuss or attempt to settle any of the great problems of state, but merely to have a cordial and common communion as free men, bent upon the attainment and maintenance of a free world, without regard to color, caste, creed or country, and to strengthen and deepen the roots and bonds of respect, affection and love, as brothers and workers in the vineyard for peace and a better and happier tomorrow.

As citizens of the great democracy of the United States, leader of the free world, citizens who have never produced a traitor, and as a part of the awakening peoples of color, we salute and hail the growing world community, expressed and symbolized in the United Nations, the one great hope of man for world peace, and we bespeak for the darker races still under the blight of colonialism, the fast coming of the day when they shall be free from poverty and hunger, disease and illiteracy, tyranny and man's inhumanity to man. Albeit, we bespeak for men everywhere, the healing of the wounds of hate; the banishment of frustrations and fears, suspicions and distrusts, and the lifting of the shadows of atomic warfare with the emergence of the shining star of human hope for the good and a more abundant life for all men.

As loyal citizens of color of the United States of America, who are steadily and substantially winning the fight for integration and a first-class citizenship status in the vital, varied phases of American life, we applaud the world of color on its march to independence, freedom and racial equality and assure the peoples of Asia, Europe ~~and~~ Africa and the Americas of the moral sympathy of the United States, which holds no colonies and seeks none and does not conspire for world conquest or domination but, rather, strives for the building of a world community of fellowship, cooperation and human helpfulness.

May our great country ever stand for truth, which makes men free; for justice, which makes peace enduring; for brotherhood, which transcends national boundaries, iron and bamboo curtains, and differences of people, under the Fatherhood of God "who made of one blood all the nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth."

I cannot end this brief welcome to you more appropriately than with the simple prayer of St. Francis of Assisi:

Lord make me an instrument of your peace;
Where there is hatred let me sow love;
Where there is injury, pardon;
Where there is doubt, faith;
Where there is despair, hope;
Where there is darkness, light;
Where there is sadness, joy.

A. Philip Randolph
International President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A.F.L.
Chairman, National Trade Union Committee for Racial Justice

Address by A. Philip Randolph
at
Testimonial Luncheon to Judge J. Waties Waring
Sponsored by the
National Committee for Rural Schools
November 20, 1954

Dear Friends: I am delighted to share in the fine fellowship spirit of this occasion, made possible by that splendid little lady, the sparkplug and inspiration of the Rural School movement, Miss Rae Brandstein.

I am also happy to be a part of a program with one who does not only possess charm, grace, dignity and loveliness, but profound insights and convictions and a great vision and dedication for a better tomorrow. Her voice means much to the cause of peace and better race relations. I am wont to refer to her as the First Lady of the World, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

And, I need not tell you that I am grateful for the opportunity to greet my good friend, Dr. Bunche, one of the big wheels of modern world diplomacy; one who has wrought profoundly, nobly and well in giving stability, validity, reality and integrity to the United Nations, man's one great hope for world peace.

And, now, we have foregathered here to do homage to one of the great leaders of the judiciary, Judge J. Waties Waring, formerly of Charleston, South Carolina; a man of challenging consecration to the principles of human justice and freedom.

Not only is he distinguished and to be ever rememberd with reverence and honor for his notable decision against the notorious White Primaries, but his recent return to his home in Charleston, with his charming and courageous wife, where he lived with his fellow neighbors of color, give him a moral stature of grandeur and nobility.

And, acts of this type are fitting, timely and proper, for we are living in times of storm and stress. The citadel of our civil liberties and civil rights is being attacked.

Under the guise of protecting our national security and safety from the Russian Communist monster, a danger which we do not for one moment underrate or minimize, the forces of Fascist reaction seek to strip the people of their constitutional liberties; men in high places beat the drums of war and governors of the states of Georgia (Talmadge), South Carolina (Byrnes), and Mississippi (White) preach open defiance of the United States Supreme Court decision, striking down segregation in the public schools.

On television, a few weeks ago, Governor Talmadge of Georgia denounced the decision. Other voices of the South in North Carolina plead for time. While we recognize the need for reasonable time for implementation of the decision, we unequivocally reject gradualism as a trick and a snare. It's the policy and practice of evasion, stalling. It sows the seeds of pessimism, defeatism, and retreatism.

Negroes want to exercise their human and civil rights now, not tomorrow.

And, I emphasize the idea of exercising our human rights, for the Decision did not give Negroes any rights, human or civil, for human rights are God-given; not man made. No government court or Executive can give me my human rights. I possess them because of my being human and I am human because of the creation by God. Thus, the Fatherhood of God principle gives basis of its corollary, the Brotherhood of Man. And the doctirne of the brotherhood of man is the foundation of the principle of human equality, for all men are made of one blood.

If human beings, being brothers, are equal, then it follows that the dignity of their human personality should have equal respect and consideration.

Hence, any institution which demeans the human personality of a person, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, is anti-God, anti-human, anti-the brotherhood of man.

This is why jim-crow schools are debasing, degrading, demoralizing, not only to Negroes but to those who seek to impose them upon Negroes.

It is notable that Pravda of the Kremlin carried no mention of the decision of May 17. Why? Because it took out of the hands of Communist Russia, its most powerful propaganda and political weapon, namely, racism.

Northern Korean Communists can go to Altanta, Georgia, Charleston, South Carolina and Jackson, Mississippi, and enjoy rights denied a Negro boy born there. Boys who have just returned from the bloody battlefields of Korea where they fought, bled and died to build a beach-head for liberty and democracy for Southern Koreans they have never known.

In other words, a Communist Northern Korean boy or Communist Chinese boy can enjoy first-class citizenship status in these southern communities, but not the Negro boy.

If the Federal Government should retreat and yield to the wild clamor of Southern white supremacists and refuse to enforce the Supreme Court decision in a reasonable time, our country will justifiably forfeit the respect, faith, confidence and goodwill of the free peoples of the world.

May Heaven grant that that shall never be.

Presentation Address by A. Philip Randolph
on the occasion of
70th Birthday Celebration for Norman Thomas
November 21, 1954

Norman, your friends, some of whom are assembled here today, salute you upon your seventieth birthday. We salute you because you have wrought nobly as well in the vineyard of life for a better tomorrow.

As the leader of the Socialist movement, though now without immediate promise, perhaps partly due to the present progressive nature of American capitalism, at least in terms of productivity, the deepening and sharpening world crisis and the rise of the totalitarian state, you have brought into the arena of public debate of social, economic and political questions, not only a disarming bit of sparkling wit and humor, but a challenging integrity and courage, warmth and skill of argument, pulling, as it were, no punches, that have made you a veritable tradition of public platform education.

Yes, American capitalism is still progressive. It is the greatest machine of production in the world. But it may not always be progressive. It may be now rapidly moving toward a position of diminishing returns. Indeed, it would be a strange twist of history were this not so.

Thus, the role of the Socialist movement in providing a philosophy as the basis of a developing mixed economy for our American community will ever remain important and insistent.

Moreover, though not a pacifist, as the leader of the Socialist movement your voice has been one of the most commanding and convincing for the cause of world disarmament and peace.

And while you have forthrightly and justifiably condemned racketeering in trade unions, we have never heard a leader of labor, anywhere in this country, despite differences in politics, question the integrity of your loyalty to the trade union movement.

By the same token, your ringing and consistent denunciation of white supremacy and world colonialism, render it impossible for even the extreme Negro nationalists to doubt your inflexible devotion to the brotherhood of man.

Finally, although you have long been an implacable foe of the totalitarian state, whether Communist or Fascist, you have demonstrated the wisdom of not equating all anti-Communists with pro-democracy, realizing that it may be necessary to be anti some anti-Communists. The soundness of your position is clear to anyone who takes the time to refer to some of the outstanding anti-Communists, such as Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and Senator McCarthy.

In conclusion, we hail and applaud you as a citizen of the world, a great man, a humanitarian, a champion of the common man, the weak, the dispossessed and disinherited.

You are now and have ever remained loyal to the expression of truth, courage, simplicity and humility and love. To this I can attest, who have had the good fortune to share your fine fellowship here in our America and in far-off Asia.

May I say that I am greatly honored to have been chosen to make this presentation of a fund to you, which we hope to increase, to be used as you may see fit to help bring about a world of freedom, justice, peace and plenty.

May Heaven grant you many, many birthdays, in order that your voice may be heard calling upon the United States to remain true to her heritage of democracy, with unshakable commitment to the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, regardless of color, creed, caste or class, in order that she may be prepared to serve as the moral leader of the free peoples of the world.

Verily, the spirit of America will be greatly impoverished without you, Norman, and the Socialist philosophy.

Be it said to your eternal credit that you and Eugene V. Debs, perhaps, more than any other personalities in the Socialist movement in the United States, or for that matter, Europe and Asia, have given said movements rationality and sound conscience on the issues of race and color, the flagrant lack of which, along with trade union movements in the United States and Europe, was one of the chieftest weaknesses, a weakness which Communist demagogues hypocritically but successfully exploited.

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE Speeches

Address by A. Philip Randolph

Third Annual Conference
National Trade Union Committee
for Racial Justice
November 11-12, 1955

We have met here in conference on problems of labor and minorities at a time of crisis.

There is a world crisis.

There is a national crisis.

The world crisis involves war and peace.

The national crisis involves security and freedom.

Now, in every crisis there are two forces at work; namely, danger and opportunity. There is always danger that in the crisis, the great human and social values of our civilization may be destroyed.

By the same token, there is opportunity to fight for greater acceptance and support for these values; values such as freedom of thought; freedom of belief; freedom of association; freedom of speech and freedom of the press; values such as human justice and human liberty; human equality and human dignity.

Now, these values are in danger. They are being threatened by a flock of reckless demogogues and self-appointed Messiahs, in the name of patriotism and our national security - they are being threatened by all sorts of loyalty oaths, Congressional investigations and a wave of heresy around the dubious theory of guilt by association and, strangely enough, recently, guilt by kinship, even with Mama or Dad.

But, of course, we must not underestimate the importance of our having grave concern about our national security. Without security our sovereignty as an independent nation cannot survive and continued progress is impossible.

However, we are not only concerned about our sovereignty and independence - we are primarily interested in the sovereignty and independence of a country of free people, and not an authoritarian or police state.

Thus, enlightened America would achieve and preserve freedom and security. We consider both indispensable and compatible; for security without freedom will soon deteriorate into dictatorship; and freedom without security is an illusion.

Now, this problem of apparent conflict between freedom and security has its roots in the first World War and the Bolshevik Revolution of Russia which stressed the rights and deification of the state as against the liberty and rights and dignity of the individual; the objective of the liberal democratic capitalist revolution, with underpinnings in the Judeo-Christian ethic and traditions.

Thus, the Communist state grew out of and rests upon the doctrine of the monopoly of total power, through a monolithic party, in the national community by the State - the dictatorship, whereas, the genius of the democratic state consists in the fact that it is the expression of the philosophy of the distribution of power among competitive and cooperative sources of power and authority, such as the business community, the labor community, the farmers' community, the school and church communities, and others.

Now, the assurance of freedom in the democratic society is based upon the consistent insistence on the pact of each community to maintain its independence and authority, free from the domination of the state.

It is a fact of history that under a totalitarian state, Communist or Facist, all of these communities would become organs of the state, thereby losing their freedom of independent existence, for to concede the independent existence and freedom of any one of the aforementioned communities of social interests and forces would be tantamount to the negation and abandonment of the philosophy of the monopoly of total power and the collapse of the Communist dictatorship.

On the contrary, in the democratic state, not only are the basic communities of social interest, authority and power jealous of their free life, with respect to each other, guarding well their jurisdictional domain, but also with respect to the state. Verily, in the democratic society, the state is the servant and not the master of the citizens.

Hence, it is only within the framework of the democratic society can the free trade union movement exist, grow and develop. This is also true of minorities. The tragic history of labor organizations under Hitler's Nazims, Mussolini's Fascism, Stalin's Communism and Franco's tyranny, is indisputable corroboration of this thesis.

It is for this reason that organized labor's life, fortunes and future are tied up with democracy.

This is why the free trade union movement has no alternative except to fight and oppose Communists and Communism. Hence, the fight against Communists and Communism in the U. S. A. and the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trades Unions by the A. F. of L. and C. I. O., was and still is imperative. Free trade unionism and Communism are exclusive forces. They are incompatible. They are inevitable enemies.

But while democracy is the only social order in which free trade unionism can live and develop.

Now, since, unlike Communism and Fascism, it is the distinctive characteristic of the democratic order that within it various social forces are in a continuous competitive struggle for life and power, it naturally follows that no social force can have, or merits status in the order unless it has the will, vision, faith and strength to struggle for status.

Thus, each social force, including labor and capital, has the responsibility of building the strength successfully to struggle for the achievement of its natural objective. With capital, the basic motivation is interest and profits, and with labor, it is wages, shorter hours, improved working conditions, humane treatment and, in this mid-twentieth century, health and welfare fringe benefits and, of course, a more abundant life and human dignity - for labor is life and life is labor. In fact, big business begets big labor. Just as business units merge, so labor units must merge.

This is the fundamental raison d'etre of the united labor movement, resulting from the merger of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. As blunt as it may sound, labor gets what labor takes and labor can only take what it has the power to take, and power is the product of organization.

While a division of labor in 1935, which resulted in two labor movements, the A. F. of L. and C. I. O., may have created a desirable and valuable and creative dynamism of organization which increased the numerical strength and progressive militancy of organized labor, labor division has reached the point of diminishing returns and now serves as a source of weakness, chaos and confusion, which now shackles labor's hands and impairs its ability effectively to oppose its enemies.

But, there is organization and organization. Although the wage-earners need organization as a necessary machine through which to develop the power with which to struggle for labor's rights, labor needs more than mere organization; more than sheer, naked power.

For while labor cannot win its rights without **power**, it is also true that it cannot win its rights with power **alone**.

Recognizing this fact, the leadership of the United Labor Movement has been wise enough to plan to broaden the new constitution for the new house of labor to discourage discrimination based upon race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, and to establish three major departments to grapple with problems on Communism, Corruption and Civil Rights.

Now, the trend of organized labor toward increasing maturity in philosophy, policy, program, practice, strategy, tactics and techniques inevitably pointed toward the unity of the independent labor organizations in the United States, especially the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. In fact, the very survival of the trade union movement in this country dictated this movement for unity.

It is a mtter of common historical knowledge that the structure of organized labor has followed, in the main, the broad lines of the structure of organized business. We have but to take a glimpse at the early beginnings of trade union organization in the U. S. A. to find confirmation of this fact.

It is to be noted that the first organizations of labor in this country, such as carpenters and shoemakers in Philadelphia; printers in New York and tailors in Baltimore, known as local craft societies, were chiefly in the pattern of our present-day local trade unions. These early associations of working men made their appearance in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century, beginning in the 1790's. It is also important to note that around the middle of the Nineteenth Century, in the 1830's, conventions of working men associations were held for the purpose of uniting all local unions into city federations; and in the 1850's the broad outlines of several of the present-day national unions were clearly delineated, such as the printers and molders.

Pressed by the necessity of successfully grappling with the growing power of anti-labor employers, in the 1866 the National Labor Union, a loose federation of national trade unions, was formed.

But the financial and industrial depression of the latter part of the 1830's tended to liquidate many of the local unions, which taught the wage earners the lesson of the necessity and value of stronger national bodies and broad nationwide labor federations. Thus, following the Civil War, in the late 1860's or specifically, 1869, the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor rumbled into existence. But, like the National Labor Union which was disbanded in 1872, the life of the Knights of Labor, severely shaken by the panic of 1870, was of short duration. Verily, in the university of adversity, labor was learning its bitter lessons of organization and, in 1881 it gave evidence of its ability to profit from the problems of experience in the organization of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions which, in 1886, became the American Federation of Labor. Up the long, rugged path of struggle of the wage earners to build collective bargaining strength, when they fashioned the A. F. of L. it was the first federated body which was able to attain any measure of stability, under the responsible leadership of Samuel Gompers.

Now, it must be remembered that this steady, if halting and zigzag organization of workers into local and national unions, city and national federations, inevitably followed the formation of city-wide and nationwide independent and associated employers' movements. Just as the trend toward higher levels of organization by wage earners was designed as a defensive and offensive weapon for the protection and progress of their interests, so the local, national and federated associations of business were built for the purpose of advancing the basic concern of the employers.

For instance, labor had noted, with some dismay and bewilderment, how the American Railway Union, under Eugene V. Debs, had met the fate of veritable extinguishment under the hammering blows in the Pullman strike, by Pullman and the Railway Managers Association. The Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers had been faced by the powerful Carnegie Steel Company and had met with disaster and defeat in the Homestead strike.

The march of industrial monarchy was marked by the organization of the United States Steel Corporation in 1901, followed by the development of giant employers' associations, such as the National Metal Trades Association, Structural Erectors Association and, not too far behind in these stirring days of struggle on the part of labor for bread and status, the organization of the National Manufacturers Association and the United States Chamber of Commerce, with numerous local branches, liberally financially heeled to do battle, in the interest of the employers, in the city councils, state legislatures and the Congress of the United States.

Thus, in order successfully to meet with local, national and nationwide federated employers' associations, labor has no alternative save unity or defeat, either at the bargaining table or in the state legislatures or federal Congress.

Without labor unity, on both the economic and political fronts, the so-called 'right to work' laws that are designed by anti-labor employers to prevent or hamstring union security, now in eighteen states, will, like the proverbial locusts, spread over the nation and, if unchecked, may even win a 'right to work' amendment to the Federal Constitution. Needless to say, that these so-called 'right to work' laws, which may be properly termed the 'right to wreck labor's rights' laws, are being patriotically presented in the interest of individual liberty for the workers by their so-called employer guardians.

Without labor unity, labor's amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act will ever remain a scrap of paper. Be it remembered too that these 'right to work' laws have their roots in a provision of the Taft-Hartley Act which gives restrictive anti-labor legislation in the states precedence over federal law, a position which seems patently indefensible and untenable under the Federal Constitution.

Without labor unity, a broad and adequate school building and low-cost housing program is virtually hopeless. Moreover, without labor unity, wage earners will not possess the bargaining strength to win the increases in wage rates which are necessary to provide the level of purchasing power required to keep the American economy dynamic, expansive and healthy; for without mass consumption there cannot be mass production. In brief, the magic wheels of automation, the new Cinderella of big business, will be brought to a dead standstill.

Let us not be lulled into a false sense of security by the splendors of modern materialism, either with respect to labor or business, for although automation may create a machine which can repair a machine without the touch of a human hand, there is no machine which can produce a machine or which can purchase a machine or consume the products of a machine.

While modern science has brought into existence many miraculous contrivances for the well-being of society, it has found no substitute for human desire, human wants and human demand for goods and services; and without economic demand, made possible by the possession of high purchasing power of the great masses of workers, higher production and distribution of goods and services cannot continue, and America will cease to be the great industrial and financial power nation it now is.

Thus, the united labor movement is not only the foundation of the welfare of the wage earners, it is the foundation of the welfare of the United States and the American people.

While a united labor movement is essential to enable the workers to bargain for bread and freedom from a position of strength, it will also enable their government the more effectively to bargain with other world powers and, especially, the Soviet Union, from a positive position of strength. Finally, the united labor movement, built upon and guided by sound principles of morality, will be able to serve as a mighty force in helping to complete the incompleted Civil War Revolution which began but never finished the liberation of former Negro slaves.

The Civil War Revolution was never completed because a counter-revolution, led by the former slave masters, which set in 1876, during the Hayes-Tilden election, which involved a "deal" or "the great betrayal" of the black freedmen, practically liquidated and tore down the structure of federal laws for the freedom of the former slaves.

Be it known that "the great betrayal" of the freedmen consisted in the North, led by the Republican Party, accepting the deal of the South, which provided that though Samuel Tilden was elected to the presidency of the United States, the election was conceded to Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican, by a devious manipulation of electoral college votes of Florida, South Carolina and Louisiana. This great political concession by the South to the North was made upon the agreement that the northern Republican forces would withdraw the Federal Army from the South and leave the newly emancipated slaves to the tender mercies of their former masters. These plantation slave owners were now seeking and working for restoration of power over the southern states that were being brought back into the Union on a basis of their ratification of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments of the Constitution.

This counter-revolution pulled down and nullified the super-structure of legislative and administrative laws and agencies designed for the protection of the freedmen; legislation and agencies doggedly built up by the matchless champions of Negro civil rights, Thaddeus Stevens in the House and Charles Sumner in the Senate.

With the shameless execution of this coup d'etat against the freedmen, there followed the rise of the notorious Ku Klux Klan, spreading, with robes and the fiery cross, terrorism, fear and hatred over the land. This ruthless attack of physical violence against the new citizens of color of the South was accomplished by the enactment of legislation in southern states for the establishment and maintenance of white supremacy. Soon, on the statute books of states from one end of the South to the other, were laws for poll tax, white primaries, grandfather clauses, to curtail the right to vote of black men; vagrancy laws, to give basis and strength to peonage, a new form of slavery. Out of the context of these conditions, the whole structure of southern lback jim-crow was born. There was jim-crow in schools, on railroads; there was jim-crow in residence arrangements.

It was this counter-revolution which spawned the concept and practice of color caste occupational patterns and the union color bar. The lowly white worker, alluded to by the old southern aristocrats as "white trash" had been flattered by identification with the ruling white business and social aristocracy, and were sold the idea that they had a stake in the subjugation, domination and humiliation of their black brother. The new white political demagogues, such as Tom Watson and Hoke Smith of Georgia, Senator Vardarman of Mississippi, Senator Tillman of South Carolina, rang the changes of Negro inferiority and together with pulpit, politician and press, sought to give a basis in custom, practice and law, for the racial wage differential, or cheap black labor. Thus, the new plantation economy of the South, though without chattel slavery, would rest upon a black pillar of flesh, without the protection of labor organization, law or morality.

Hence, the task of the Negro worker and his allies, the trade union movement and liberal forces of education, church and politics, is to complete the incompleted Civil War Revolution and sweep away the vestiges and remnants of a counter-revolution and the restoration which constituted the negation of the Civil War Revolution Amendments that were designed to give the status of first-class citizenship to black Americans.

Let me point out to this conference that the fight to complete the incompleted Civil War Revolution is the fight to achieve the status of first-class citizenship in our country, and without first-class citizenship, Negroes are not fully free.

And because of the indivisibility of human freedom, human justice and human dignity, until the Negro worker is fully free in the canebrakes of Mississippi; the turpentine swamps of Florida and Alabama and the cotton fields of Georgia, no white worker, North or South, is fully secure in liberty.

Thus, the achievement of first-class citizenship in labor unions, industry, politics, government, school, church and human relationships, and other areas of our democratic society, is the unfinished business of American democracy and the supreme task of the Negro worker with the cooperation of his white brothers and sisters.

But no social force in our American life has a greater stake in the realization of complete freedom and justice and equality for the Negro worker than the new united American trade union movement, since it represents wage earners that also suffer from drastic limitations and restrictions upon their rights, freedom and interests.

Hence, the new united labor movement must provide in the articles of its constitution full, and complete equality, without any reservations.

If it is sound trade union philosophy to provide sanctions for the exclusion and expulsion of trade unions that are Communist dominated, than it is sound trade union philosophy to provide sanctions for the exclusion or expulsion of trade unions that are under control and direction of racists and practice discrimination and segregation on grounds of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

If a worker should be ineligible for membership on an important agency or committee in the united labor movement, because of membership in the Communist Party, a worker should be ineligible for membership in an agency or committee of the united labor movement who is a member of the Ku Klux Klan or White Citizens Union or any other organization committed to racism and the doctrine of white supremacy. Racists, like Communists and fascists, are the enemies of democracy, freedom and human dignity.

Therefore, in the new house of labor, all workers, Catholic and Protestant, Gentile and Jew, foreigner and Negro, should be welcome as members upon a basis of equality. There must be no first and second-class membership based upon race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

In short, the recognition by the united labor movement that civil rights stem from human rights and that human rights are God-given and not man-made which is the foundation of the brotherhood of man, will give the new house of labor basis of sound morality.

Verily, the great danger of the new united labor movement is not size but failure to keep its morality in step with its immense organizational and financial power - the morality of the Sermon on the Mount. It is this morality which eliminate the errors of Communism, Corruption and Racism.

There are many and strong assurances that the new house of labor will be built upon the rock of the moral order which will stand when the rains come and the storms rage, by the high character of the leadership in Brother George Meany, the able President of the A. F. of L. and, perhaps, the chief architect of this new house of labor, with the brilliant and unselfish cooperation of Brother Walter Reuther, outstanding President of the C. I. C.

Finally, briefly, let me observe that no group of citizens committed to the American democratic tradition and dream of equality and freedom for all men, can meet at this time without giving some expression of righteous indignation to the wave of terrorism, hate and fear which is now sweeping the South, and, especially, Mississippi and South Carolina, against Negroes because of their support of the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, for the desegregation of public schools. This outrageous defiance of the United States Supreme Court and the Federal

Constitution by southern white leaders in high public office, is a grave thrust at the heart of American democracy, and serves to weaken the moral influence of our great country in the councils of nations and peoples.

Thus, in order that this condition of lynch law and mob spirit in the South may be arraigned before the bar of public opinion, I wish that this conference call upon President Eisenhower to call a special session of the Congress to enact appropriate legislation on civil rights that will give protection to besieged Negro citizens in various areas of the South. I do not, by any manner of means, condemn all the citizens of the South, for there are white citizens in all sections of the South who are opposed to lynch law and committed to the support of our democratic creed and ideals for all men without regard to race or color.

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LEGIBILITY IS DIFFICULT IN THE ORIGINAL

Address by A. Philip Randolph
at
REUNION OF OLD TIMERS
George Washington Hotel
October 29, 1955

Mr. Chairman and members of the Old Timers ~~club.~~ I feel greatly honored to have been invited to share in this occasion under the auspices of the Old Timers ~~club~~ since we are living in a period marked by things and events that have the complexion of newness, coupled with the fact that when one is, unfortunately, labeled "old timer", who may be soon ushered involuntarily into the ashcan of history, persons who evince a willingness to be members of a group with this title are not without some marks of moral and social courage. I suggest that some form of courage is involved because such a title may result in one's isolation, not only from opportunity for vocational participation but social association with the fairer sex. I was a little amused, when registering at the polls the other day, when one of the workers inquired if I was wont to give my age, evidently assuming that might be a source of embarrassment. I need not tell you that I have none of the feminine vanity which sets an age level beyond which they never pass. Because of this ~~unfortunate~~ interesting tendency, the pension funds, both on the railroads and Social Security, are not too readily depleted by feminine participation.

But this organization of old timers has to do ~~with~~ less with ~~of~~ chronological than ideological interests. I hope no one will become disturbed by my use of the word 'ideological' since it has become the vogue in this era of waning McCarthyism to look with suspect upon anyone who makes ~~a~~ too facile usage of this term; the assumption being that he necessarily must be leftist — of a red tinge.

Now, my pleasure upon being here tonight consist essentially in the fact that there are a number of persons associated with the Old Timers who, years ago, embraced a Socialist philosophy as a way of life.

I recall the many delightful and, to me, extremely serious meetings when it was my task to discuss the evolution of society, the baneful effects of uncontrolled capitalism upon the working classes and the role of Socialism in ushering in the dawn of a new day for the oppressed and disinherited toiling masses. These were the days before the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 when the Communist Soviet dictatorship was installed and the doctrine of the monopoly of total power in the national community by the dictator was being relentlessly propounded.

Contrary to the tendency in some circles of reaction and political and intellectual obscurantism where attempts are made to equate Socialism with Communism, the Socialists in the campaigns of Eugene V. Debs and Morris Hilquit, Abraham Shiplacoff and Victor Berger, held steadfastly to the principles of individual liberty. We were committed firmly and irretrievably to the philosophy of democracy ~~and~~ with the concept of pluralistic sources of authority and power in the national community, the negation of dictatorship. Our criticism of capitalism was that it did not provide for the enjoyment of basic freedoms by all of the people of the country, and a more equitable distribution of wealth. The current history of the period was full of injunctions against the strikes of the workers. The manipulation of the 'yellow dog' contract and Company Union, under the so-called American Plan, stifled the growth and development of bona-fide trade union organization. Socialists noted that 'government by injunction' was being used by the courts to prevent the workers from building their wage structure, reducing hours of work, improving working conditions and achieving a more abundant life. They pointed out the evils of the old capitalist order, without sound workmen's compensation legislation; laws against child labor; measures to regulate the work of women at night; the absence of various forms of social security; the existence of blight of the slums that were maintained for the profit of landlords and banks; the need for safety and health protection devices in various forms of transportation and the tenement houses.

No group of men and women in America ~~did as much~~ WORKED MORE ZEALOUSLY to build the foundation of the Roosevelt era of social security and the legislation providing for self-organization of the workers without intimidation, coercion or interference, ~~than~~ than the old Socialists of this country, of whom some still remain and some of those who Remain are members of the Old Timers club.

Cognizant of the fact that the trade union movement, the basic bulwark and bastion of democracy, could only develop and march forward within the framework of a democratic system, the old Socialists were ever alert, aggressive and militant in fighting for the maintenance and preservation of ~~civil rights and~~ civil liberties.

As we look in retrospect, the times I now describe seem to be of a piece of a romantic era.

In this mid-twentieth century when the Western Democracies are menaced by the powerful Russian Soviet State, and when science, industrialism and technology have given birth to the atomic and hydrogen bombs, the use of which in warfare may result in the destruction of civilization, we are, Socialists and liberals and all believers in freedom and liberty, plagued with the problem of the maintenance of liberty and security.

I need not tell you that our constitutional government and liberties of today have their roots in the struggles of the nineteenth century for free government and free citizenship and our ~~modern constitutional government and~~ concept of liberty, involving freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom from seizure and search, freedom of thought, freedom of suffrage, freedom of worship, freedom to work, were practically accepted as the very essence, the warp and woof, the heart and soul of the democracy of our country, By the men who founded this nation.

But times have changed.

The Soviet State and the atomic bomb have helped to impose new attitudes and outlook and behavior on the part of the people of our country. While we speak with pride of our democracy, there are some who are willing to swap liberty for security. There are those who assume that security and liberty are not possible of development and possession at the same time. The demagogues who would make short shrift of freedom cry out against freedom of thought and association, speech and press, in the name of patriotism. Efforts are made to equate opposition to the fundamental pillars and principles of our constitutional government with our national security.

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National Security and freedom are not incompatible. They are not exclusive forces. In fact, they compliment and supplement each other. Certainly without national security our freedom would be a mere abstraction and illusion. And conversely, without freedom our national security would deteriorate into a species of ~~desperatism~~ TYRANNY. Ours is not the task to achieve security without freedom or freedom without security but to seek the possession and building of both. What profiteth our democratic ~~live~~ SOCIETY to win a war against Communism but lose our democracy?

[illegible] WAR FOR THE SALVAT[illegible]

Thus, probably one of the greatest struggles of our national life today is clearly and firmly to extablish the compatibility of freedom and security and to reject THE counsel of false patriots who would scrap the Bill of Rights and wreck constitutional government ~~with~~ BY the evils minions of heresay.

Because of this conflict and confusion over the role of freedom and security in our democratic society, the American people have come into the midst of a crisis; a crisis of civil liberties and a crisis of civil rights.

Now the nature of the crisis involves two basic ~~forms~~: 1, danger; 2, opportunity.

There is danger that our democratic heritage and our values, faiths, ideals, principles and morality may fall upon disaster. The opportunity consist in evincing the courage, fortitude and intelligence, vision and faith to fight for the preservation and consolidation of our civil rights and civil liberties.

This is both a negative and positive struggle. The negative struggle involves the relentless war against Communists and Communism, Fascists and Fascism that seek to undermine and destroy the pillars of democratic faith. The positive struggle lies in the realization that it is not enough to strike down theevil forces of Communists and Communism, Fascists and Fascism. but that we must also strengthen, reinforce and fortify our fortress of freedom, civil liberties and civil rights.

How can this best be done in these times of storm and stress, intellectual uncertainty, political disorder, world tension and confusion?

One of the portent forces that we must welcome and support is the United labor movement resulting from the merger of the AFL-CIO. A merger which comes at a time of crisis involving a threat to the highest value~~s~~ our civilization has created, namely, the dignity of the human personality. This value is in danger when freedom to think; freedom to write; freedom to express ones inner spiritual, moral and intellectual convictions are threatened and in suspense .

Too long has the American house of labor been divided. As a result of this basic division there has been friction, factionalism, fear and frustration. Unions have squandered money and wasted time berating each other. This inter trade union warfare didnot onlyweaken labor organizationally but played into the hands of the employers at the bargaining table, the market place when labor sought to ~~raise~~ build its wage ~~earning~~ structure.

While the total number of members of the trade union movement increased during this division it may not be any measure of the possible increase under the direction of ~~the~~ a united house of labor.

Moreover, one must not be unmindful of the fact that numbers alone do not constitute the true index of the strength of organized labor. For despite the existence of 16 million organized workers in America at this time, the Taft-Hartley Act put upom the statutes by anti labor forces still hamper and handicap the struggle of trade unions ~~of~~ to organize workers in various areas of the South

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In addition to this fact, the country may now witness a flock of so-called "right to work" laws that ~~will~~ seek to carry the workers back to the era of no trade unionism or weak trade unionism, the time that the workers had no rights the employer was bound to respect.

Thus, the united labor movement offers a great promise not only because of the increase of political power with which to dtrike down "right to work" laws and TO amend the Taft-Hartley Act so as to rid it of anti labor ~~factions~~ SECTION, if this is possible, but also to strengthen the underpinnings of our American democratic society in serving as an abastion to ~~the Bill of Rights in the safeguard of~~ our civil liberties and civil rights. [illegible]

And it may not be amiss to observe in this direction that the greatest sourse of labor's strength is not men or ~~numbers~~ MONEY but VISION - FAITH AND morality. The united labor movement can only be truly strong, effective, constructive and creative if its ~~heat~~ HEART, soul and head are right and sound on the great principles of human [illegible] equality, justice and freedom for all men without regard to race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

The new house of labor must be fully free from and cleansed of the virus of hatreds and fears, discrimination and segregation [illegible]. ~~because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry~~.

The workers in the new house of labor must not only get the benefits of organized labor but must be equally entitled to benefits of organized labor without regard to race, or color. Thus, racism like Communism and corruption must be banned. They are triple evils. They are the enemies of our democratic way of life. They are against the concept of ~~the~~ free worker [illegible].

Just as we have sought to drive monarch~~al~~ from government and to establish free, full and first class citizenship for all regardless of race, color, religion , national origin or ancestry, SO in our labor community and in the house of labor there must be freedom and equality with respect to ALL the members of this house.

If we build this new house of labor upon the rock of equality, justice and freedom it will stand. It will stand when the winds come and blow and the rains beat against it. It will stand against the ~~massination~~ machinations of Communists and the assault of Fascists.

Not only do we welcome the united labor movement because of its potentiality to help give strength, reality and force to civil rights and civil liberties ~~and to help second class citizens in this nation for men and women of color,~~ but also because it will be able to strengthen the hands of ~~the~~ our government in ~~forced~~ FOREIGN relations ~~with~~ in the struggles throughout the world with the international Communist conspiracy.

The united labor movement will be equipped and armed to give help and sucker to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions which stands as a formidable force and challenge to the Communist World Federation of Trade Unions.

This new power which labor is in the process of forging in the fires of unity may help the United States of America to save the great continent of Afric from the sinister clutches of Communist agents by giving concrete, practical and sound coopereration to Africa nationalism which like a mighty fire is roaring UP FROM THE JUNGLES and sweeping across ~~the continent.~~

Hence, I know that the members of the Old Timers Club, along with ~~me and~~ other lovers of the good and more abundant life, not only welcome the united labor movement ~~which~~ But will help to defend it against detractors who are now raising the cry of labor monopoly ~~is~~ AS a danger to American liberty.

Although we know that 16 million workers represent a small fraction of 60 or more million wage earners in this country and that they will play an important role in helping to save our priceless heritage of liberty from some of these passionate and self proclaimED Messiahs, the new house of labor will need its friends for it already has its enemies.

Bigness of the labor movement is not an essential danger. The gravest danger of the united labor movement will consist in its failure to have its morality ~~fall behind~~ keep up with its organizational strength and financial power. The creation of various departments of civil rights, corruption and Communism, workers education, ~~etc.~~, would seem to give promise that THE morality ~~in~~ OF the new united labor movement ~~has support~~ WILL primarily Recognition ~~and~~ BECAUSE OF ITS basic significance to the cause of organized labor and American democracy.

Certainly, the new house of labor will do well to keep ever before it the fact that American democracy is never safe and secure so long as one Negro, Catholic or Jew, Gentile or Protestant, native or foreigner is without protection; is not free ~~and~~ is not equal before the law.

Verily, no ~~wear~~ WORKER of any union national or international can be secure in his rights to fight for higher wage rates, improved working conditions, shorter work day ~~and~~ health and welfare fringe benefits, of one black worker in the ~~cambrics~~ CANEBRAKES of Mississippi, ~~in~~ the cotton plantations of Georgia, or ~~in~~ the turpentime swamps of Florida does not have the right to be a first class member with full and free privileges, ~~a~~ right to vote and be voted for in the union which covers the industry or form of service of which he is a part.

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No group of men and women in America did as much to build the foundation of the Roosevelt era of social security and the legislation providing for self-organization of the workers without intimidation, coercion or interference, than the old Socialists of this country, of whom some still remain and some of whom are members of the Old Timers club.

Cognizant of the fact that the trade union movement, the basic bulwark and bastion of democracy, could only develop and march forward within the framework of a democratic system, the old Socialists were ever alert, aggressive and militant in fighting for the maintenance and preservation of civil rights and civil liberties.

As we look in retrospect, the times I now describe seem to be of a piece of a romantic era.

In this mid-twentieth century when the Western Democracies are menaced by the powerful Russian Soviet State, and when science, industrialism and technology have given birth to the atomic and hydrogen bombs, the use of which in warfare may result in the destruction of civilization, we are, Socialists and liberals and all believers in freedom and liberty, plagued with the problem of the maintenance of liberty and security.

I need not tell you that our constitutional government and liberties of today have their roots in the struggles of the nineteenth century for free government and free citizenship and our modern constitutional government and concept of liberty, involving freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom from seizure and search, freedom of thought, freedom of suffrage, freedom of worship, freedom to work, were practically accepted as the very essence, the warp and woof, the heart and soul of the democracy of our country.

But times have changed.

The Soviet State and the atomic bomb have helped to impose new attitudes and outlook and behavior on the part of the people of our country. While we speak with pride of our democracy, there are some who are willing to swap liberty for security. There are those who assume that security and liberty are not possible of development and possession at the same time. The demagogues who would make short shrift of freedom cry out against freedom of thought and association, speech and press, in the name of patriotism. Efforts are made to equate opposition to the fundamental pillars and principles of our constitutional government with our national security.

National Security and freedom are not incompatible. They are not exclusive forces. In fact, they compliment and supplement each other. Certainly without national security our freedom would be a mere abstraction and allusion. And conversely, without freedom our national security would deteriate into a species of desperatism. Ours is not the task to achieve security without freedom or freedom without security but to seek the possession and building of both. What profited our democratic live to win a war against Communism but lose our democracy.

Thus, probably one of the greatest struggles of our national life today is clearly and firmly to extablish the compatibility of freedom and security and to reject counsel of false patriots who would scrap the Bill of Rights and wreck constitutional government with the evils minions of heresay.

Because of this conflict and confusion over the role of freedom and security in our democratic society, the American people have come into the midst of a crisis; a crisis of civil liberties and a crisis of civil rights.

Now the nature of the crisis involves two basic forms: 1, danger; 2, opportunity.

There is danger that our democratic heritage and our values, faiths, ideals, principles and morality may fall upon disaster. The opportunity consist in evincing the courage, fortitude and intelligence, vision and faith to fight for the preservation and consolidation of our civil rights and civil liberties.

This is noth a negative and positive struggle. The negative struggle involves the relentless war against Communist and Communism, Fascist and Fascism that seek to undermine and destroy the pillars of democratic faith. The positive struggle lies in the realization that it is not enough to strike down theevil forces of Communist and Communism but we must also strengthen, reinforce and fortify our fortress of freedom, civil liberties and civil rights.

How can this best be done in these times of storm and stress, intellectual uncertainty, political disorder, world tension and confusion?

One of the portent forces that we must welcome and support is the United labor movement resulting from the merger of the AFL-CIO. A merger which comes at a time of crisis involving the highest value civilization has created, namely, the dignity of the human personality is in danger when freedom to think; freedom to write; freedom to express ones inner spiritual, moral and intellectual convictions are threatened and in suspense .

Too long has the American house of labor been divided. As a result of this basic division there has been friction, factionalism, fear and frustration. Unions have squandered money, wasted time berating each other. This inter trade union warfare didnot onlyweaken labor organizationally but played into the hands of the employers at the bargaining table, the market place when labor sought to raise its wage earning.

While the total number of members of the trade union movement increased during this division it may not be any measure of possible increase under the direction of the united house of labor.

Moreover, one must not be unmindful of the fact that numbers alone do not constitute the true index of the strength of organized labor. For despite the existence of 16 million organized workers in America at this time, the Taft-Hartley Act put upom the statutes by anti labor forces still hamper and handicap the struggle of trade unions of organized workers in various areas of the South

In addition to this fact, the country may now witness a flock of so-called right to work laws that will seek to carry the workers back to the era of no trade unionism or weak trade unionism. The time that the workers had no rights the employer was bound to respect.

Thus the united labor movement offers a great promise not only because of the increase of political power with which to dtrike down right to work laws and amend the Taft-Hartley Act so as to rid it of anti labor factions, if this is possible, but also to strengthen the underpinnings of our American democratic society in serving as an abastion to the Bill of Rights in the safeguard of our civil liberties and civil rights.

And it may not be amiss to observe in this direction that the greatest sourse of labor strength is not men or numbers but morality. The united labor movement can only be truly strong, effective, constructive and creative if its heat, soul and head are right and sound on the great principles of human equality, justice and freedom for all men without regard to race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

The new house of labor must be fully free from and cleansed of the virus of hatreds and fears, discrimination and segregation because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

The workers in the new house of labor must not only get the benefits of organized labor but must be equally entitled to benefits of organized labor without regard to race, or color. Thus, racism like Communism and corruption must be banned. They are triple evils. They are the enemies of our democratic way of life. They are against the concept of the free worker.

Just as we have sought to drive monarchal from government and to establish free, full and first class citizenship for all regardless of race, color, religion , national origin or ancestry in our labor community and in the house of labor there must be freedom and equality with respect to the members of this house.

If we build this new house of labor upon the rock of equality, justice and freedom it will stand. It will stand when the winds come and blow and the rains beat against it. It will stand against the massination of Communist and the assault of Fascist.

Not only do we welcome the united labor movement because of its potentiality to help give strength, reality and force to civil rights and civil liberties and to help second class citizens in this nation for men and women of color, but also because it will be able to strengthen the hands of the government in forced relations with the struggles throughout the world with the international Communist conspiracy.

The united labor movement will be equipped and armed to give help and sucker to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions which stands as a formidable force and challenge to the Communist World Federation of Trade Unions.

This new power which labor is in the process of forging in the fires of unity may help the United States of America to save the great continent of Afric from the sinister clutches of Communist agents by giving concrete, practical and sound coopereration to Africa nationalism which like a mighty fire is roaring and sweeping across the continent.

Hence, I know that the members of the Old Timers Club, along with me and other lovers of the good and more abundant life, not only welcome the united labor movement which will help to defend it against detractors who are now raising the cry of labor monopoly is a danger to American liberty.

Although we know that 16 million workers represent a small fraction of 60 or more million wage earners in this country and that they will play an important role in helping to save our priceless heritage of liberty from some of these passionate and self proclaim Messiahs, the new house of labor will need its friends for it already has its enemies.

Bigness of the labor movement is not an essential danger. The gravest danger of the united labor movement will consist in its failure to have its morality fall behind organisational strength and financial power. The creation of various departments of civil rights, corruption and Communism, workers education, etc., would seem to give promise that morality in the new united labor movement has support primarily and basic significance to the cause of organized labor and American democracy.

Certainly, the new house of labor will do well to keep ever before it the fact that American democracy is never safe and secure so long as one Negro, Catholic or Jew, Gentile or Protestant, native or foreigner is without protection; is not free and is not equal before the law.

Verily, no worker of any union national or international can be secure in his rights to fight for higher wage rates, improved working conditions, shorter work day and health and welfare fringe benefits, of one black worker in the cambrics of Mississippi, in the cotton plantations of Georgia, or in the turpentime swamps of Florida does not have the right to be a first class member with full and free privileges, a right to vote and be voted for in the union which covers the industry or form of service of which he is a part.

Address by A. Philip Randolph

Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida
October 2, 1955

Mr. President, members of the faculty and student body and friends: I consider it a pleasure and an honor to have been invited by ~~Professor~~ PRESIDENT Moore to deliver the Founder's Day address at Bethune-Cookman College on this day. I am happy to share in the fellowship spirit of this occasion because of long and strong ties of not only friendship, but devotion and affection and love for the founder of this important and significant educational institution, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune.

I have known her from the days when I was just a lad. I was thrilled to listen to her address the faculty and students of Cookman Institute when I was there as a student in Jacksonville, Florida. I was enamored and captured, not only by the wisdom and the inspirational force of her speech but also by the beauty and grace and charm of her personality. Her queenly stride and this turn of her head and the sweep of her arms were winsome and intriguing - even to a boy such as I was, who sat and watched her in wonder and admiration.

Founders' Days for movements and institutions are not ordinary occasions, for at such times those of us who are among the living and are able to look in retrospect over the years and observe the strength and force and creative influence of the personalities that have given birth to movements and institutions for human advancement, have the opportunity to drink anew of the life-giving waters of inspiration that flow from the lives of the men and women who are the foundation of these movements and institutions.

What we are today and what we may become tomorrow must spring from the work of pioneers who are the founders of great social movements and institutions of religion, education, science, business and labor. Without the enrichment of the human spirit by the heritage of the dynamism of the lives of our forebears who, in the face of indescribable difficulties and opposition, overcame and surmounted tremendous obstacles, our generation would neither possess the inspiration or the drive, the verve or esprit de corps to move forward to the high ground of full, free, and first-class citizenship in this great country of wealth and ~~wonder.~~ worth.

Even the black men and women of past generations, who may have lacked the training of the three 'Rs' but who possessed deep and incomparable convictions about a hopeful future for Negro Americans, have bequeathed to us a vital and insistent evangelism of racial progress and advancement.

Among the great pioneers of Negro education in the South, in particular, and the United States of America, in general, stands in all her regal dignity, loveliness and beauty, our own Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune. Today, it is our opportunity and purpose to reach back and touch the ~~great~~ Fine life of this great woman for its meaningful benediction and prophecy to our generation and future generation~~s~~.

Caught up, as it were, in the context of these times of atomic bewilderment and consternation, if not despair, some of us are not wont to betake our minds back across the years to re-think in terms of the personalities and problems of former days, but when we fail to sense the power and the value of this outlook we miss a vision and a strength, without which a sustained, creative and constructive march forward cannot be made.

Despite the fact that our modern civilization, especially in the frame of reference of power and materiality, is rapidly ascending to higher reaches of excellence and achievement, its roots sink deep into the most ancient of days; a past of startling mystery.

Even in the realm of the widely publicized phenomenon of technological automation, a sort of mechanical refinement which enables a machine to fix a machine, a full and complete picture of this marvelous contrivance cannot be realized unless we lift up the curtain of the past and go back to the men and women who were the first to think in terms of classified knowledge to search for first principles and inquire into the nature of reality, the meaning of life, significance of time, the future of man.

This search of the human mind for the exposition and understanding of the imponderables of existence leads us back to the early Greek thinkers, such as Empodocles, Heraclitus and Aristotle.

~~For~~ THESE WERE leaders in the catagory of scient~~ific thinkers~~RE when man was but groping for an understanding of nature which touched and hedged him in whenever he sought to satisfy human wants and alleviate pain, ~~we must think of other founders of scientific knowledge, such as Copernicus, Galileo, Ptolemy, to cite but a few of the men in the realm of the scientific spirit.~~

If we would explore the heritage of religious thought, we cannot only begin with today or with a few generations before our time; we must, with the wings of history, move among the solemn and silent mystics of the past, such as Zoroaster, Confucius, Buddha, Moses, Jesus Christ, Mohammed and Gandhi. These were the founders of our religious beliefs and convictions. They gave to the world prophecy, hope and faith. Modern man standing, as it were, upon the higher reaches of human intelligence has not added any new reality or power or insight or vision to early religious man.

What has been said with respect to the founders of science and religion is also true with respect to the founders of philosophy and education. While there is an inevitable, continual reorientation of man's thinking in relation to and about his environment, reality, God, his fellow-man, the past and future, the depths of the search and inquiry on the part of man about these subjects have not gone measurably beyond Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. These men were the founders of man's effort to inquire into the processes of knowing the known and the unknown. And the spiritual impact of the significance of the founders of the great human movements for the achievement of a challenging spiritual life can only find a complete and satisfying answer when we attempt to speak and commune with the great spirits of the churchmen, during the times of St. Augustine, St. Origen, St. Jerome, St. Thomas Aquinas and, in our later religious history, Martin Luther, John Calvin and John Wesley. The~~se~~y were the founders of great religious movements. They were the expression of surging religious faiths. They were promulgators of new human and spiritual values that were destined to give new point and meaning and direction to human life and existence.

Anent the place of the founder in human life and progress; it may not be amiss to indicate that while it is necessary, yea, indispensable that there be workmen with the skills to add improvements in the form of additional stories to a house which is already built, it is still another thing to discover the workman who can lay its foundation. AND BUILD THE HOUSE.

Today, writers on government and political freedom, in order fully to comprehend the forces and ways of modern society, must return to Plato's Republic, The Prince by Machiavelli and also to the 18th Century leaders of philosophy of politics, such as Rousseau, Voltaire, Helvetius, all of the Encyclopedists of France, John Stuart Mills, Locke, Hobbes of England, and the American political naturalists; Jefferson, Madison, Washington, Hamilton, John Marshall and the Adamses.

I have sought to think in terms of the beginners of schools of thought and movements of moral and religious worth, in order that we may fully sense and grasp and understand the great contribution that this leader of education for Negro boys and girls, Mary McLeod Bethune, means not only to black America but to the salvation of the soul of America and to thepeace of the world. Be it said to her everlasting credit and honor and glorious memory that when faced by problems of unparalleled complexity, problems that may even have threatened her security, position, place and prestige, if the occasion required courageous expression, she never retreated, she never compromised.

I remember having been personally responsible for her being involved in a number of conferences with presidents of the United States in the White House, and when occasion arose for forthright, unequivocal and fearless statement of the plight of the Negro and insistence for federal concern and action in the interest of justice; She never failed to rise to the challenge of the occasion. In every instance, with a plentiful measure of grace and dignity, firmness and courage, she gave enlightenment and understanding to the President which, invariably, gained Presidential goodwill and cooperation. When we were pressing for Presidential clemency for the life of a young Negro boy in Virginia, under serious charge of law violation, and when an impressive committee sought audience with one of the outstanding Vice Presidents of American history, Dr. Bethune was undaunted in her efforts to pin this high governmental personage down to some positive action though he sought to elude and escape conference with us repeatedly. Though she walked with dignity and admirable bearing, she was persistent and insistent and not easily put off by evasion or even insult. As a result of these~~, and~~ personal, ~~and~~ close and highly significant conferences, encounters and situations with leaders of state, in the interest of Negro rights, one was compelled, as a result of association with Dr. Bethune, to develop a profound sense of respect, devotion and affection for her.

It is a well-known fact, of course, that she was the friend, and a close one at that, of the Roosevelt family, including the President and ESPECIALLY, Mrs. Roosevelt. But while she was the recipient of governmental consideration during that administration, her stature as a person of world significance and world standing, eminence and importance was comparable to that of Mrs. Roosevelt, than the first lady of the land. In fact, in my opinion, Dr. Bethune was one of the three greatest women of our times; women who would ~~comprise~~ include Mrs. Roosevelt, Dr. Bethune and Madame Pandit of India.

While she was not in the category of the well-born, as were Madame Pandit and Mrs. Roosevelt, since our noble leader rose from humble circumstances, if not poverty, without possessions that provide pleasure and happiness, contentment, ~~associations and~~ security, and opportunity, she possessed the inner strength, the moral and religious insights that placed her upon a level comparable to these other two eminent women of our era.

And when the history of this period is written, Dr. Bethune will, as one of the members of this great constellation of woman leadership, illumine the thought and life of the world because she lived in it.

I am also profoundly glad to be here because I got my early formal direction in letters within the walls of Cookman Institute which was subsequently merged with Bethune College; ~~the~~ both now constituting an institution of acknowledged distinction and value in the field of education.

Though Dr. Bethune's major work; namely, the building of Bethune-Cookman College, is located in the South and her very life's blood has been poured out in bringing her dream of an educational institution for Negro youth to realization in this area, be it said to her eternal credit that despite predictions about the passing of Negro educational institutions when once desegregation came to pass in the South and Negro and white youth began attending the same institutions of learning, she ever remained steadfast in her belief in and devotion to the cause of the abolition of jim-crow schools. This is evidence of rare character because, no doubt, as a result of her position on this question, she alienated AND LOST FINANCIAL SUPPORT friends, both North and South. But Dr. Bethune had the vision to see that the old South, hindered, handicapped and hedged in by vestiges of agrarian feudalism, with its manifestations of caste and class structure, was dying. She saw the rise and growth and development of a new South; with all of its promise and hope of a democratic life within the framework of which all men will be considered and accepted as equal, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry. And her vision ~~was correct.~~ is TRUE -

A new South is being born; it is coming into life in the lap of four major forces. First; Industrialization. Second; Trade Union Organization. Third; The Liberalization of the Ballot. Fourth: Democratization of Education.

It is evident that with the development of these new forces will come new men; new white men, new black men. Men whose faces are turned toward the future of democracy and freedom, equality and justice. While the South is at this very hour being plagued and harrassed by the violent tribal storms of racial hatred when men of color face the law of the rope and faggot; when Negroes, just as they were following the Civil War, are being driven from the ballot box by the shotgun, and a ruthless, psychological warfare is waged against Negro youth in a last desperate struggle to effect the salvation of discrimination and segregation, the old South can no longer live - it must die. ~~It must die because it is wrong, it is unjust, it is hateful, it is against the democratic dream, it is anti-God.~~ Its LIFE IS A LIE. It WORSHIPS AT THE ALTAR OF THE FALSE GODS OF WHITE SUPREMACY. Thus, we are witnessing the red flush and glow of the last gasp of a dying era; but a gasp which is violent and virulent and vicious; a gasp which would give superficial manifestation of sound life. This is always true when any organism is in the throes of death. Its last moments reflect THE behavior of its first moments of life.

Dr. Bethune, though gone, knew, during her mission with you and me, that we were coming into this period of great storm and stress when a momentous transition was about to take place in this area, which would bring a larger measure of freedom and goodwill among all the citizens of the South in our land.

May we never forget that the founder of this splendid institution, just as the founders of all great social movements of education, freedom and democracy, ~~has~~ suffered for the cause she believed in. Let us not forget that we too must drink of the bitter dregs of sacrifice and suffering if we would build upon the foundation of our great founder, Dr. Bethune. Sacrifice and suffering are the law of life. In fact, the law of life is the law of death. The seed must die in the ground before it can manifest itself in a tree or flower. You and I and all of the lovers of liberty must also die before we can LIVE to see the sunset of the new freedom.

Living as we do in this great crisis of civil rights which involves the probable danger of the loss of certain basic privileges to exercise these rights, we also have the opportunity to give strength and reality and integrity to these civil and human rights. I cannot too strongly emphasize and stress with you the fact that civil rights stem from human rights and that human rights exist as a consequence of one being human. This is the foundation of the principle of humane quality which must express itself in civil, economic, political and social equality. No government or dictator can, by legislation or decree, give you your civil and human rights; these rights are God-given and not man-made. Governments may establish legislation that may limit, hedge in, circumscribe and curtail the exercise of one's civil and human rights, but ~~it~~ They cannot take them away, just as ~~it~~ They cannot give them to a human being. GOD gave BLACK AND White men, BROWN, YELLOW AND RED men the Right to LIFE, LIBERTY AND the pursuit of happiness.

Thus, the decision of the United States Supreme Court of May 17, 1954, striking down segregation in public schools, did not give Negroes any new rights;

it simply gave recognition to and sanction of the rights which Negroes and other citizens as human beings already possess. But the fact that one may possess these rights does not make it inevitable that ~~they~~ he will be able to exercise them. For man may contrive certain devices so as to nullify the exercise of these basic human rights by various individuals. This has been done with respect to the Negro in the South through the nullification of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments of the Constitution of the United States. Our problem, then, is to remove and sweep away the various obstacles and conditions that have grown up through law and custom and practice that prevent Negroes from exercising their God-given rights as other human beings in this country.

Dr. Bethune made her contribution to the struggle for human rights. We shall have fulfilled a great and glorious mission if we give of the highest measure of our life and being to the support of this great cause of human freedom of which this great founder was a creative and major force.

We must be happy and grateful for her leadership. She rejected and opposed Communism. She rejected and opposed, Fascism and Nazism. She knew that the common man did not have a ghost of a chance under any dictatorship. And she further knew that a common man, when black, had less than a ghost of a chance.

She knew that the dignity of the human personality ~~was~~ is the most priceless possession of an individual and that this tender and fragile flower will fade and die without the sunlight of freedom and that freedom can only exist within the frame-work of the democratic society.

She also knew that freedom is indivisible. To have freedom for one there must be freedom for all. Under the ruthless reign of lynch law, a 14 year old Negro boy Emmett Louis Till of Chicago

~~MAY BE~~ CANNOT BE DONE TO DEATH IN MISSISSIPPI TODAY WITHOUT ~~BUT A WHITE BOY MAY BE DONE TO DEATH TOMORROW.~~ ENDANGERING THE LIFE OF A WHITE BOY BY THE VERY EXISTENCE OF THE LYNCH LAW SPIRIT. JUST AS DISEASE GERMS KNOW NO COLOR LINE, LYNCH AND MOB LAW GERMS KNOW NO COLOR LINE.

THUS, JUSTICE MUST BE UNIVERSAL — TRUTH MUST BE UNIVERSAL — FREEDOM MUST BE UNIVERSAL — HEALTH, PHYSICAL, MENTAL AND ECONOMIC, MUST BE UNIVERSAL, IF MANKIND WOULD ACHIEVE THE GOOD AND THE MORE ABUNDANT LIFE.

DR BETHUNE KNEW THE VALUE ~~OF~~ OF THE BALLOT. SHE KNEW THAT NEGROES, IN ORDER TO BE GOOD AND USEFUL CITIZENS, SHOULD REGISTER AND VOTE. SHE KNEW THAT VOTING IN ELECTIONS, LOCAL, STATE AND NATIONAL, IS NOT ONLY A RIGHT BUT AN OBLIGATION AND A RESPONSIBILITY. AS AMERICAN CITIZENS, WE MUST USE THE BALLOT, REGARDLESS OF PARTISAN POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS, TO MAKE AMERICA GREAT AND KEEP ~~HER~~ IT GREAT; TO MAKE AMERICA STRONG AND KEEP ~~HER~~ IT STRONG; MAKE AMERICA FREE AND KEEP ~~THE~~ ~~HER~~ IT FREE. YES, FREE FOR ALL THE CHILDREN OF THIS GREAT LAND, ~~FOUGHT FOR AND SAVED FROM ALIEN RULE BY BLACK AND WHITE BLOOD~~ FOR WE ARE ALL ONE. SO SAYS THE GREAT APOSTLE ST PAUL IN THESE WORDS OF WISDOM:

September 25, 1955

Statement by
A. Philip Randolph
International President
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

Protest Meeting Against Mississippi Lynching of Emmett Louis Till

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We have met today in this great outpouring of Negro and white, Jew and Gentile and Catholic and Protestant citizens for the high purpose of making a massive, monumental, momentous and meaningful protest and demonstration against the Mississippi lynching of 14-year old Emmett Louis Till of Chicago.

Nothing in the darkest days of human tyranny of Attila and Ghendis Khan exceeds this Mississippi exhibition of human bestiality, brutality and barbarism against Master Emmett Louis Till - just a lad in his tender teens, and all because of race and color.

Believing in the basic sense of fair-play and good-will of the common people of this country which, when touched, awakened, informed and aroused, expresses itself as public opinion before which even the wild, fanatical forces of white supremacy, Dixiecrat Ku Kluxism and racial hatreds must bow, the New York Division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was moved by this Mississippi lynching outrage, national disgrace and crime against humanity, to stage this protest rally to help the mobilization of the moral resentment and indignation of Negro and white New York in particular and America in general, to the end that the culprits may be brought to justice and that a similar manifestation of inhumanity may never happen again in this land.

Only the righteous revolt of the people, North and South, against racism mad with the mythology of white superiority, can halt this wave of terrorism and tragedy, fear and frustration, desperation and disaster that hang like a storm cloud over the heads of the people in certain areas of the South.

The dreadful death of little Emmett Louis Till, though unspeakably terrifying, is but a piece of a pattern of a cruel, systematic, organized cold warfare against citizens of color who insist upon securing the status of first-class citizenship and, especially, the implementation of the U. S. Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, requiring the desegregation of public schools.

Hysterical with fear of the rise and progress of Negro Americans toward full freedom and equality, little men in politics, press and pulpit in Mississippi and some other sections of the deep South, would use the primitive weapons of discrimination, hatreds, mob violence and lynch-law to block the path of advancement of the Negro, fearing lest competition in the arena of the book, spirit and the mind may expose their pretentious preachments about the white man's superiority to be a hollow farce.

Such is the reason for the outcry and machinations against the desegregation of public schools and the use of devious efforts, as well as the shotgun, to drive Negroes from the ballot box in the South.

But Mississippi, like other white supremacy-minded states will miss the boat.

The march of the Negro toward first-class citizenship, freedom and justice in these United States and Africa may be set back but will never be stopped.

While Negroes are plagued, beset and harrassed by racial violence, fired from jobs and shot down because of ignorance and fear on the part of the ruling politicians, farm owners and misguided workers, this is the last gasp of the Old South in its death throes.

Enlightened white and Negro youth will build a new South with a heart and head of humanity.

There are four great forces that are standing at the deathbed of the Old South. They are industrialism, trade unionism, extension of the ballot to the Negro and poor whites and the democratization of education.

These social forces are creating new white and new black men.

These new white men and these new black men have no fear.

One has only to look at the trial of the two white men in the court in Money, Mississippi, for the lynching of Emmett Louis Till. Watch Negroes in the courtroom. Especially observe the great uncle of Emmett Louis Till, Mr. Moses Wright. He has a noble and majestic posture, free from fear. Emmett Louis Till's mother shows no sense of timidity.

It is this unconquerable spirit to resist and resent wrong and fight for freedom and for that which is right and just and fair for all the children of men which will usher in the dawn of a New South.

Thus, be not dismayed, desegregation will win even in Mississippi and Georgia. It will win, not only because it is right but also because the Negro will fight to make it win.

It is well to recognize that there are white citizens of the South, yes, even in Mississippi, who oppose justice and law by the rope and faggot.

But, the decent people of the United States, North and South, white and black, must be stirred to action by this abomination in Mississippi against God and man and help win the fight for the desegregation of schools, enact federal and state civil rights legislation by joining the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which is ably leading the struggle against racism. It needs members. It needs money. It needs morale. Every person at this rally, black and white, should join it today.

Our Brotherhood, with its membership on the far-flung railroads of these United States, is pledged and committed to the struggle for complete, full-fledged and first-class citizenship.

The rank and file members demanded that this protest rally be staged without admission fee or collection, because they have been schooled and educated in their struggle to fight for their rights.

And let me warn you against accepting help in this fight from communist forces, for their support is a kiss of death. They must not be permitted to smile their way into the liberation movements of the Negro and other minorities which they seek to control or destroy.

Let me also warn the United States against a do-nothing policy about efforts for the suppression of the Negro, for such a policy will tend to cause this country to lose the confidence, faith and good-will of the whole world of color in Africa and Asia, representing two-thirds of the population of the world.

Statement of A. Philip Randolph
Read by B. F. McLaurin

Prevue of Nigerian Art and Cultural Exhibit
Carnegie International Center
April 19, 1955

We feel proud of the many cultures from which we have woven the American patters. Our forefathers landed on these shores from all parts of the world - from Europe, Asia and Africa. The rapid and almost miraculous growth of America, its peoples, its resources and influences is attributable to the happy blending of races, folk-ways and religions which are shaping the America of the future.

We know America was not always a free and prosperous country. The early settlers and their descendants through continual struggle and sacrifice shaped our free democratic institutions.

Yet the state of freedom is not static. The rights of individuals must be continually expanded in a genuinely free society. The American people have learned the urgent need for standing guard against reactionary forces which seek to control through destruction of freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of the press or freedom of association.

Students of history know that associations of working men more than a century ago struggled for and achieved the laws that guaranteed a free education for every American child.

Our society has many imperfections, but we are constantly and actively engaged in correcting them. A dramatic reminder of this is provided by the Supreme Court decision to eradicate inequalities in our educational system, based on race, color or national origin. This decision resulted in a large measure from the efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Urban League, and other enlightened forces within our society. There's a great deal more to be done.

The crux of a free society is freedom of enterprise and free collective bargaining on behalf of the people who work and produce. Their development and prosperity is directly related to these freedoms. Since time began there have been forces seeking to enslave the bodies, souls and minds of men. Today dramatic bids for world-wide control are being made by the Russian communistic imperialists. I have pride and confidence in the people who now populate Africa - the land of my ancestors that they will not fall prey to the communist imperialist propaganda.

I am also proud to be associated in this effort to show the American public the creative artistic genius of native Africans of yesterday, today and tomorrow.

CIVIL RIGHTS DAY

By A. Philip Randolph, International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Address delivered at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
December 15, 1955

Bill of Rights Day

Mr. Mayor, other officials of the city of Philadelphia and friends: I think it eminently fitting, proper and timely that citizens of varied colors, creeds and callings come together for the purpose of celebrating Civil Rights Day in our country.

The first 10 amendments of the constitution and the subsequent 13th, 14th and 15th amendments constitute the foundation of civil rights and civil liberties in the United States of America.

It is important that we understand that civil rights stem from human rights and that human rights, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence as the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are God given and not man made. But, human rights require implementation in order that they may have strength, force, meaning and effect in the day to day life of the people of our country.

While no instrument of the government can give an individual human rights since they arise as a result of being human, the creation of God, governments may, through legislation and groups of people in a community through action prejudicial in nature, may interfer with or practically prevent an individual from exercising his human rights. It is for this reason that civil rights legislation is enacted by governments. It is intended to enable citizens or any people who may not be citizens from being prevented from exercising their human rights. For while no one can give me the right of life, or the right of liberty, or the right to the pursuit of happiness, governments and groups of misguided citizens may stand between me and my exercising these rights.

Now, no one needs to spend much time attempting to verify this fact for today we live in a civil rights crisis. May I point out that in a crisis there are two factors present. One, there is danger; two, there is opportunity. There is always danger that values we hold dear, important and priceless may be destroyed and there is always the opportunity that these values may be deepened, enriched and strengthened by struggle, sacrifice and even suffering to keep and hold them.

Now, the nature of this civil rights crisis consists in the fact that a great section of the population of our country, the Negro, is not yet fully free. In fact, it is not an exaggerated statement when we point out that Negroes are still second-class citizens.

If we can agree that in the main freedom means the ability of an individual to act in accordance with his desires if it does not infringe upon the rights of others. In the light of this concept of freedom, it is clear that Negroes are not fully free or first-class citizens.

For instance, Negroes don't have the privilege of working at jobs for which they may be qualified because of the pattern of color caste in employment relations. They can not live in areas they may wish to live in because of residential segregation. Negroes can not attend the schools they may wish to have their children educated in because of bias in the school systems. They can not do business in certain places because of the inability to rent stores as a result of discrimination. Negroes can not worship God in the churches they may choose because of Jim Crow in our religious communities. Negroes do not have the security of person and property because of the lynch law spirit in certain areas of the nation.

Thus, we have here the raw materials of this civil rights crisis. Why do we have this civil rights crisis? Briefly, it is the result of the fact that the Civil War Revolution was never completed. Like other liberal, capitalist revolutions, it was designed to achieve certain objectives such as:

One, the overthrow of the slave or feudal government.

Two, the emancipation of chattel slaves.

Three, the abolition of the slave or feudal economy.

Four, the establishment of a free public school system.

Five, the transformation of the former slave into a free worker or independent peasant proprietor.

Six, the centralization of political power in the hands of a federal governmental system.

Seven, to achieve the economic unification of the country.

To what extent did the Civil War Revolution fail to achieve these objectives or missions?

First, let me observe as to the extent to which the Civil War Revolution succeeded in the realization of certain of its objectives.

One, it did succeed in centralizing and consolidating the political powers in the hands of a federal system and to save and preserve the union.

Two, it achieved the economic unification of the country.

Three, it emancipated the chattel slaves.

Four, it overthrew the confederate government.

Five, it abolished the slave economy.

What about the extent to which it failed.

The answer is:

One, it never transformed the former slaves into free workers and independent peasant proprietors. Instead, the freedman became a serf or peon bound to the plantation by debt.

Second, it never established a free public school system. Instead, jim crow schools were designed.

Third, the freedman never received a free ballot. New legislation in the southern states which consisted of the poll tax, white primaries, grandfather clauses, vagrancy laws, and the general nullification of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments stripped the freedman of his basic civil rights.

Since 1870 when the 15th amendment was enacted not one piece of civil rights legislation by either a Republican or Democratic administration of the federal government has been placed on the statute books. More that that, it is a matter of common knowledge that the Federal Constitution has not been and is not being enforced in the South. If it had been enforced many of the representatives in Congress from Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, Florida and Tennessee would not be sitting there.

But why was the Civil War Revolution never completed?

The reason is that a counter-revolution consisting in the restoration to power and control of the old slave masters or their hirelings in the southern states when they were brought back into the union, following the ratification of the war amendments.

This counter-revolution and restoration were effected in the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876, when a deal was made which threw the election to Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican, at the great price and betrayal of the freedmen by the withdrawal of the federal army, the sole protection of the former slaves from the South.

Thus, the South was left free to proceed, unhindered, with the nullification of federal liberation legislation and the building of the sinister structure, social, economic and political of jim crow.

One of the major agencies of this process was the Ku Klux Klan, which with the lynch law, firery cross and white hooded night riders, the spirit of the freedmen for first-class citizenship was whipped, beaten and virtually crushed.

Hence, we are here today in order that we may inform, awaken and arouse the people of America to the realization of the fact that the Civil War Revolution has never been completed and that it must be completed not only in the interest of the Negro but also in the interest of the soul of America.

Therefore, this Civil Rights Day Celebration will be useful if it is employed to deepen our convictions and strengthen our resolution to complete the Civil War Revolution in order that the Negroes in America may become fully free, by supporting the fight of theNational Association for the Advancement of Colored People for the enforcement of the United States Supreme Court Decision of May 17, 1954 for the desegregation of public schools.

The tragic plight of the Negroes in Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana and Georgia at this hour is a result of the fact that America has winked and connived at the extension of the nullification of the Civil War amendments down the years so far as civil rights for Negroes are concerned.

For that reason we have a problem of conscience in our country where we talk eloquently about the Federal Constitution but do nothing to enforce it, where it touches practically one tenth of our population in the country, namely, in the South. The very fact that we have professed one thing and done another with respect to the basic, organic instrument of freedom of our life has been a fundamental reason for our moral confusion, if not collapse in the nation.

We have condoned and countenanced double moral standards in our racial pattern. Because of this fact, our nation has lost the faith and confidence ot two thirds of the population of the world. The teeming millions of people in Africa and Asia can not believe that we mean what we say when we talk about democracy for them, whom we don't know, since we do not give democracy to our own citizens of color at home.

Thus, this civil rights day may help to develop a searching of souls on the part not only of the government leaders of America, but of all of the people so as to come to the realization that our country will never be able to march forward as a leader of the moral forces of the free world until we have completed the Civil War Revolution here and made the peoples of color fully free; and not only colored Americans but also Jews, Catholics, the foreign born and labor, all of whom suffer from some form of discrimination and unfair, restrictive legislation of social practices.

When the Negroes of this nation are fully free we will then truly have a democracy based upon the Judeo-Christian ethic of the dignity of the human personality regardless of race, creed, religion or national origin.

I think it pertinent to observe in this connection that human rights and civil rights are born in and can only have validity in a democratic society. Human rights and civil rights are unknown and can not have force and effect in a static society such as slavery or feudalism.

In a static society rights what ever they may be are inherited.

Nor can there be any human or civil rights in a totalitarianism society, Communist or Fascist. For in a totalitarianism society all rights are centralized in the hands of the dictator, through a monolithic political party which employs violence, blood and the sword to maintain the rights of the dictatorship.

In fact, this is true because under the Bolshevik Russian pattern of dictatorship there is a monopoly of total power in the national community by the dictator. There is no other source of authority or power within a state save the dictator.

But, in a democratic society it is vastly different, for democracy stems from the concept of Judeo-Christian ethic of the dignity of the human personality.

Thus, in the nature of the democratic society there must exist plural sources of authority and power. These plural sources of authority and power consist in the church, trade unions, business enterprises, cooperative societies, educational communities and so forth.

Neither one of these sources of authority and power would be content with the total power of the national community centralized and consolidated in the state for then the business community, labor community, church community and educational community would become organs of the state and forfeit their independence and basis for creation, growth and development.

Thus, therefore, the obligation of the citizen of the democratic society is to see to it that the power of the national community remain distributed among its varied and various social entities in order that there may be continued competition, growth and development of the multiple aspects of the national life of the democratic state.

Now, unfortunately it is possible that the basic mission of the democratic state will be distorted if not negated by sinister social conspiracies within the state that may accumulate great power and use it against the good of the common people or a special group of people.

This is happening now in Mississippi and South Carolina in the growth and development and spread of what is known as the White Citizens Counsils, a recent addition to the old Ku Klux Klan.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE Speeches

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ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
TO
THE SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE
SEPTEMBER 2, 1956

LABOR AND THE STRUGGLE FOR A BETTER TOMORROW

Labor Day marks an important milepost in the long journey of the working class toward the goal of bread and freedom, dignity and status, and a free democratic society.

In the dark and somber shadows of human slavery, the well-known longings and yearnings of the laboring masses gave rise to thousands of Utopias and Messiahs.

Obviously, long before historical records, and ages prior to the revolt of the Hebrew children against the tyranny of the Pharaohs, probably during an immense and immeasurable period of time, through whose trackless and fearsome swamps humanity had trod, the laboring masses were writhing in their slave fetters and some had, doubtlessly, broken their bonds.

It appears from all the evidence that the first form of society was slavery, or the relationship between masters and slaves. In fact, all the members of the household, incldding the children, except the oldest son, ~~who is~~ the first-born, were bond servants. Verily, this was the origin of slavery. Yes, the first human law, unwritten, as it were, was the law of entailment upon primogeniture.

When the patricians, or owners of property, property, which in those dim and misty eras of history chiefly consisted in lands, died, the property did not fall to the children, but to the oldest male child. This eldest son and inheritor was, by usage and custom, not only the new heir, but also administrator and despot of the paternity. In fact, he was absolute lord and monarch, generally known as pater familias.

By virtue of this ancient law of primogeniture, which provided for usurpation of property and power, the sisters and brothers, along with the real estate, fell to the oldest male, a custom which was as hallowed as the adoration of the vestal fires.

As long as there were only masters and slaves, the strongest brutes survived; but when the new idea of manumission arrived, which was forced upon the slave masters by the growth of the slave population, the survival of the fittest changed hands. If we accept the doctrine of natural selection based upon brute force, we must accept the survival of the fittest as its natural corollary.

It is important to note that reason had not yet made its appearance in the economy of the life of man to any appreciable degree. But with the advent of reason as a conscious mode of action, there came also sympathy and enlightenment which began to exercise an influence for mutuality and cooperation among the working classes, and there emerged a determination among them to drive from the world brute force, upon which their subjection and exploitation were based. They frowned upon the competitive system, which holds up the shrewdest and strongest as the fittest to survive. They turned their hands against mere force and war and began to demand equal opportunities for cooperation that may make for the survival of all.

This was a manifestation of reason and the recognition of mutual interests and mutual rights among men and especially, the laboring masses.

The struggle of disenthralling their lives from the ruthless competitive system, where every individual slave or freedman was isolated, was an effort to establish workers on a cooperative and mutually helpful basis, and became the signal of the beginning of a revolution for bread and freedom among the working masses.

It largely resulted in ushering in the era of the survival of all and was designed to banish from the world the culture, reign and prestige of the slave masters and the servility of the slaves.

Now, if force, brute force, lies at the bottom of the law of natural selection and the survival of the fittest, the heart and soul of the competitive system, so reason and justice, its moral anthesis, must be the bottom rock upon which the new mutualism, trade unionism or socialism is founded.

It is pertinent to note that the religion of Jesus, planted and nurtured by a manual laborer, formed the basis of hope from which stems the great labor movement of our time. This movement has been severely attacked, misrepresented and branded as calamitous because, in an organized and consistent manner, it openly struck a blow at the cruel system of masters and slaves, ever emphasizing the principle of human equality - the dignity of the individual personality. This is the heart of the Judeo-Christian ethic.

Undoubtedly, thousands of years after manumission of slaves had set in, largely as a result of resistance on the part of the laboring masses, in the form of strikes, uprisings, insurrections and revolts, mighty human commotions of oppressed slaves and freedmen that shook the social structure of Rome and Greece like the eruption of a volcano; commotions doubtlessly staged by a multitude of secret organizations of slaves and freedmen alarmed and frightened the Caesars and patricians.

These secret associations of slaves and manumitted freedmen are probably fundamentally responsible for launching mankind, after long centuries of hunger and agony through the grim darkness of the unwritten age of slavery, out of passive submission to servitude into an ageless struggle for bread and freedom.

It is quite possible that Jesus Christ became a member of one of these secret societies of slaves and freedmen, for he was a worker, the son of a carpenter, and a carpenter himself, who came out of Nazareth, the home of the camel drivers, day laborers and fishermen - the despised of men.

Jesus Christ was known as 'the lowly Nazarene'; he supped with publicans and sinners, in complete disregard of the law of the ruling circles of his time, for which he was condemned by the high priest~~s~~. He mingled with the common people; his association with the Pharisees, Sadducees, and scribes was only to tell them of his mission as the son of the one true and liv~~e~~ing God. All of his disciples were men of labor. Even Luke, the physician, was a worker. In fact, physicians and teachers in ancient times were slaves.

These secret societies of the ancient working class fulfilled three functions, economic, religious, and fraternal. It is recorded that they had a common table, with common provisions. They also sought a god or goddess as a patron of their craft and a deliverer from the torture and torment of exploitation.

These associations also served as a sort of haven of refuge for the leaders of the slaves and freedmen from their persecutors in the dark jungles of human slavery, the highest ~~power~~ PEAK of man's inhumanity to man.

All through the long night of ancient slavery there was a "taint upon labor." There is a "taint upon labor" even today. It is a matter of common knowledge that labor is not yet fully free. The Taft-Hartley Act attests to this fact. In 17 states the "right-to-work" laws are additional testimon~~ies~~y. Yes, labor has not yet attained complete respectability as one of the great social forces of our free society. In certain circles of so-called polite society there is manifest concern about the blood of the slaves and blood of labor.

Slaves and the freedmen performed the historical drudgery. They had two rights: One, the right to burial, being part of the family born. Two, they had the right to a meagre subsistence. The right to burial in the ancient days was of great significance to slaves and freedmen, as well as to the well-born, because to be denied this right constituted a disgrace, since it amounted to a denial of the possession of ~~the~~ A soul. It is said by certain archeologists that the dread of being denied sepulchre,by the ancients of all classes,was greater than the fear of death itself.

These associations of slaves and freedmen that staged massive and stupendous rebellions against their unhappy lot were known in Rome as Collegia and Sodalicia, and in Greece as Eranoi and Thaisoi, according to The Ancient Lowly by Henry Morgan.

This "taint upon labor" was evidence of ignoble birth and served to bar this part of humanity from participation in the aristocratic vocation of war although the records of history are replete with evidence of the fact that thousands of slaves served as mercenaries to armies.

It was through this long period of human slavery that the work-people received the indelible stamp of social reproach and contempt from the so-called well-born; the kings, the generals, slave masters, and high priests.

Horace, Herodotus, Lucanus, Livy and Pliny, and many other ancient writers testify to the wretched food served the poor slaves in Egypt, Greece and Rome. It was the slaves and freedmen who were the victims of the Black Death which decimated their population. Pliny, in his Natural History, speaks of the unutterable pauperization, want, and social misery of the working class.

Aside from the curse which the lowly condition stamped upon the slaves and manumitted freedmen, they were treated with ignominy and generally marked with a stigma on their faces. The word stigma among the Greeks was full of reproach, not only because of scars on the faces and bodies of the poor working men and women who were doomed to perpetual servitude, but also because it w as branded on their social life.

Hesiod, the great Grecian poet, appealed to the gods for the amelioration of the sufferings of the peoples.

Granier de Cassagnac, in his history of the working classes, states of ancient slavery: "This curse of blood is implacable."

The slave race, however, developed many men of genius and ability.

While the working-class humanity were groping through a veritable barren and hapless void of history, with a life without hope, they left some landmarks in biography. But the "taint upon labor" ever followed and plagued them.

For instance, when Ventidus Bassus, a former slave, became a consul, the nobility pointed their fingers of scorn at him saying: "You were a bootblack." While Galerius, Diocletian, Probus, Pertinax, Vitellius, became emperors, they were ever reminded of their proletarian past.

The well-born said to Galerius: You were a swineherd; to Diocletian, you were a slave; to Probus, you father was a gardener; to Pertinax, you father was a freedman; to Vitellius, your father was a cobbler.

And upon the marble statue of the great Augustus, during the lifetime of this master of the world, was placed the inscription: "Your grandfather was a merchant, and your father was an usurer."

What a symbolism of the great gulf between the well-born and lowly-born in the ancient of days.

Hesiod, a freedman, wrote:

"Men's right arm is law; for spoils they wait
And lay their mutual cities desolate."

Homer writes in the Iliad of the great extremes of lords and slaves.

Observing the depths of degredation of the ancient world of workers, out of the compassion of his great soul, Jesus said to all men, including the laboring masses, but especially to the toilers:

> Come unto me all ye that
> labor and are heavy laden, and I
> will give you rest.
>
> Take my yoke upon you, and
> learn of me; for I am meek
> and lowly at heart; And ye shall find
> rest unto your souls.
>
> For my yoke is easy, and my
> burden is light.

Permit me to pause here for a brief moment to give you a graphic picture of a toiler brutalized by the terrible torture of slavery. This picture was drawn out of the mind and soul of Edwin Markham after he had viewed a painting by Millet in Paris. It was the world-famous painting of a brutalized toiler.

God made man in his own image, in the
image of God made He him. - Genesis.

Bowed by the weight of centuries he
leans
Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,
The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back the burden of the world.
Who made him dead to rapture and
despair,
A thing that grieves not and that never
hopes,
Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox?
Who loosened and let down this brutal jaw?
Whose was the hand that slanted back this
brow?
Whose breath blew out the light within
this brain?

Is this the Thing the Lord God made
and gave
To have dominion over sea and land;
To trace the stars and search the heavens
for power;
To feel the passion of Eternity?
Is this a dream He dreamed who shaped the suns
And markt their ways upon the ancient deep?
Down all the caverns of Hell to their
last gulf
There is no shape more terrible than this--
More tongued with censure of the world's
blind greed--
More filled with signs and portents for
the soul--
More packt with danger to the universe.

What gulfs between him and the seraphim!'
Slave of the wheel of labor, what to
him
Are Plato and the swing of Pleiades?
What the long reaches of the peaks of
song,
The rift of dawn, the reddening of the
rose?
Through this dread shape the suffering
ages look;
Time's tragedy is in that aching stoop;
Through this dread shape humanity
betrayed,
Plundered, profaned, and disinherited,
Cries protest to the Judges of the
World,
A protest that is also prophecy.

O masters, lords, and rulers in all lands,
Is this the handiwork you give to God,
This monstrous thing distorted and
soul-quencht?
How will you ever straighten up this
shape;
Touch it again with immortality;
Give back the upward looking and the
light;
Rebuild in it the music and the dream;
Make right the immemorial infamies,
Perfidious wrongs, immedicable woes?

O masters, lords, and rulers in all lands,
How will the future reckon with this Man:
How answer his brute question in that Hour
When whirlwinds of rebellion shake all shores?
How will it be with kingdoms and with kings--
With those who shaped him to the thing he is--
When this dumb Terror shall rise to judge the world,
After the silence of the centuries?

As we look across the centuries at the tragic trials, tribulations and troubles of the toilers in a tooth and claw, beak and fang society, we can the better understand the meaning and promise of the labor movement today. We can the more fully grasp the value of labor's struggles for social security, full employment, a guaranteed annual wage, workmen's compensation, legislation against child labor, minimum wage laws, legislation against the yellow dog contract and company union, and legislation for rising mass purchasing power through higher wage levels, to provide for mass production and a growing and expanding economy and prosperity, a fair employment practice commission for the elimination of discrimination on account of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry in employment relations, the liberalization of laws regulating immigration, support of federal low cost housing, federal aid to education, and national health legislation.

We can the more clearly see why labor condemns totalitarian states and fights against communism, fascism, racism, anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism and anti-foreignism, and aggressively struggles to build and maintain a free, democratic society.

It is well-nigh axiomatic to the enlightened wage earners that a free trade union movement cannot exist outside a free society. Verily, freedom is the life of labor and labor is the life of freedom. Yes, labor is the life of freedom. It is the bulwark of democracy in the United States and throughout the world. It is the light and lamp of peace. It is the messenger of humanity and hope.

On this Labor Day, we of labor are proud of the fight of labor for freedom. Be it known that it was the American labor movement of the United States which halted the march of the communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, the instrumentality of the Kremlin, in its struggles for world-wide conquest.

It is labor of the free world which is carrying the banner for a better world of tomorrow.

It is the AFL-CIO which stands against world capitalist colonialism and communist world imperialism. While our government opposes communist imperialism, it has yet to take a forthright position of opposition to world colonialism; the colonialism of France and England.

We men of labor are grateful for the sane, sober, sensible, and sound leadership of George Meany, with the consistent and competent support of Walter Reuther.

Nor is labor unmindful of its obligation and of the necessity of cleansing its house of corruption and leaders of labor without honor and honesty. Realizing that labor can the more effectively fight for democracy in government and industry if it exemplifies democracy in its own house of labor, the AFL-CIO stands for a democratic labor movement.

Labor's task and aim, be it known, are not merely to benefit labor, but the whole society, and while labor is far from the attainment of its goals, it will never cease its struggles and never say die in its fight for peace and plenty, freedom and justice, and a more abundant life for all men.

Along with labor's battles for bread and the roses of a better and a more beautiful life, it is faced with internal problems; these problems are moral and spiritual. They involve self-discipline; the development of faith in labor; the development of belief in itself; pride in its life; the realization of inspiration from its history; its glorious traditions; its role of sacrifice, suffering and struggle in society; its contributions to the good life; its triumphs; its culture; its future.

This internal spiritual revolution on the part of labor is as essential as organizational power. It is as important as bread. This is so because labor has been psychologically conditioned for thousands of years to be men of little faith in themselves; to worship and to have reverence for the slave masters, the kings and rulers, the landed gentry and nobility, the capitalists and managerial hierarchy, and to underrate, discount and distrust itself.

Labor has not yet won the respect, honor and social acceptance of the landed gentry, capitalists and management. But, of course, this will come; it is coming; it is partially here.

But, it is still a fact that in government, labor is given one small department with meagre appropriations.

The right of self-organization, without interference, intimidation or coercion, is not universally recognized throughout the land in our own country.

When public bodies of importance are established, labor is given grudging recognition.

Yes, labor's battle today is not only for bread but also for equality, status and dignity. But it does not fight for equality, status and dignity for itself alone, it fights for human dignity, the grandeur and majesty of the individual personality and soul of all men, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

This is so, for man does not live by bread alone, but by the book, the spirit and the mind.

While labor must fight, if it would win, for the cause of human decency, labor shares in the spirit of Micah who says:

> He hath shewed thee, O man
> what is good; and what doth the
> Lord require of thee, but to
> do justly, and to love mercy,
> and to walk humbly with
> thy God.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT
NAACP ANNUAL CONFERENCE, JUNE 27, 1956
CIVIC AUDITORIUM, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

Probably the most challenging social phenomenon of this mid-century is the world revolution of nationalism or the revolt of the peoples of color against colonialism, of which the American revolution of racialism, or the revolt of Negroes against segregationism is a significant phase. Just as the revolution of nationalism has its roots in the monopoly of land and oppression of labor throughout the world of color by the white man, so the revolution of American racialism has its roots in the monopoly of land in the South and the enslavement of Negroes for a quarter of a thousand years by the white man, followed by their exploitation as veritable serfs of a semi-feudalistic plantation system.

Naturally, the first concern of the black American slave and the colonial serf was the breaking down of the political-economic order of which they were victims. But, a revolution must do more than overthrow a political-economic system of tyranny. Either a revolution must transform its children of slavery and serfdom into free workers, independent peasant proprietors and citizens, or it will betray and desert them by leaving them to be devoured by the monster of a counter-revolution.

It is because the Civil War Revolution betrayed and deserted its black children and left them to be consumed by a Hydra-headed beast, the counter-revolution, that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had to be born, out of the bowels of the social agony of colored Americans, to give leadership to the civil rights revolution which is developing with increasing challenge and dynamism against the old southern order of jim-crow, poll tax, white primaries, peonage, vagrancy laws,

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convict labor, sharecropping debt farming, lynching, White Citizens Councils and mob rule.

It is all important in the evaluation of the path of the Civil War Revolution and its influence upon the course of Negro labor to note that while it conformed to the pattern of the liberal free enterprise, capitalist revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries in effecting a transition of power from one class to another; namely, from the plantation slave oligarchy to the financial and industrial capitalist, in the frame of reference of the national socio-economic-political structure, there was, albeit, no transition of power from one class to another within the former slave states of the South.

In fact, as a result of the counter-revolution, the currents of which set in upon the close of the Reconstruction period, there was a restoration to power of the old slave oligarchy, both over the economy and the governments of the southern states after they were brought back into the Union.

Since the white workers of the South had been drugged with the opium of white supremacy by political demagogues of the ilk of the Vardamans of Mississippi, "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman of South Carolina and Hoke Smith of Georgia, the newly emancipated slave met not only an hostile employer in his former slave master but also a prejudiced and illiterate white worker-competitor. A combination of the said conditions gave rise to a color caste occupational pattern of employment, reflected in the so-called white man's jobs and the racial differential wage, together with the lily-white unions with their color bars.

Establishment of white unions and white jobs proved to be only an illusion of strength and security to white workers, for anti-union employers used racialism in industry to divide the wage earners, weaken organized labor

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by the use of Negro workers as strike breakers, which benefited only the open shop employers and worsened the economy by lessening the purchasing power of the wage-earning masses.

Now, while there are still workers and management who have not seen the light of the fallacy, fraud and fiction of racism, a veritable revolution in the arena of trade union organization, industry and race is underway.

For there are still white men's jobs, such as railroad engineers and train conductors; radio and television commentators; serious, dignified roles in movie and television plays; and even in the textile industry in the South participation by Negroes as workers is practically barred in every form except as janitors or some form of menial labor.

But, be it said to the credit of the United Textile Workers Union, under the able leadership of Emil Rieve, that it has taken a liberal, sound trade union position of willingness to accept Negroes in the industry and the union. But there are still bottlenecks and blind spots of irrational racism in the building trades, both North and South, that require the therapeutic treatment of human brotherhood. Moreover, there is the problem of apprenticeship training in the highly skilled trades which is practically closed to Negroes.

But these problems are human problems and they can and will be resolved by reasonable human beings. Evidence of this fact is seen from the story of industrial history which points to but a handful of Negro workers in the early labor movement, known as the Old Knights of Labor of 1869 and the American Federation of Labor which followed hard by in 1881, to some million and a half of Negro members, more or less, in the united labor movement, AFL-CIO today.

Because the united labor movement has reached the enormous figure of 15 million members it may not be amiss to ask the question: What is the

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promise of this new house of labor to Negro wage earners who seek equality in industry, labor organizations and civil relations?

I suggest that there may be seven areas of high implication for the Negro wage earner in particular and Negroes in general, as a result of the birth of the united labor movement. They may be listed as follows:

(1) A million and a half Negro wage earners within the folds of organized labor. (2) Leadership committed to civil rights. (3) Constitutional provision for equality of status of members in the new house of labor, without regard to race, religion, national origin or ancestry. (4) Establishment of a permanent Civil Rights Committee to develop, with the cooperation of the Executive Council, policies on civil rights. (5) Creation of a Civil Rights Department with full-time personnel to give administrative implementation to policies on civil rights. (6) Integration of Negro workers into the structure of the new movement upon all levels of interest and activity; office workers, technical, administrative and executive. (7) Election of two Negro workers to membership of the highest executive body, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO.

It is of noteworthy interest that at this period of crisis in the civil rights revolution and the highest peak of organizational power of the American labor movement, that its leadership should reside in the hands of a worker of fine moral integrity, vision and courage, such as George Meany, who is forthrightly and strongly committed to the cause of civil rights, amply attested in notable speeches and action. Happily, the straightforward position of Brother Meany on civil rights is definitively and uncompromisingly supported by Brother Walter Reuther, able and courageous president of the United Automobile Workers Union of America and former president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and now one of the vice presidents of the AFL-CIO and head of the powerful Industrial Organization Department.

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But, probably, the most powerful factor in providing the foundation for this new policy on civil rights in the new house of labor is the million and a half of members of color of increasing trade union consciousness and militancy, distributed in unions throughout the country in varied and various industries, classes, crafts and callings. And, the provision on civil rights in the constitution of the AFL-CIO, while not wholly satisfactory, since it does not provide sanctions against racism upon the same grounds that sanctions are provided against communism and corruption, since all three evils are enemies of sound, free trade unionism and democracy, it is a far step forward toward the goal of a labor movement free from the stigma of discrimination on account of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

Moreover, provision for a Civil Rights Committee and Civil Rights Department mark an important and significant milepost in the great fight against intolerance and bigotry. Certainly, the presence of two Negroes on the Executive Council indicates a development of high moral maturity in the long history of the labor movement in our country plagued, as it were, with the dilemma of race and color.

If labor has been gravely recreant to its ethical duty to its fellow brothers of color in the past, it cannot be longer gainsaid that among the social forces in our national community, in terms of extending recognition to workers of color, that the AFL-CIO has moved well into the vanguard in principled profession and performance.

But, however desirable, necessary and valuable recognition of Negro wage earners upon the highest levels of labor policy may be, recognition alone is not sufficient to effect complete integration of Negro labor in various industries and job areas and local unions.

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The responsibility for achieving integration in all areas of industry and the labor movement rests upon Negro workers, labor unions and management. Now, neither one of these three factors can achieve the solution of this problem without the cooperation of the other factors. Although the trade union consciousness and militancy of Negro workers, together with trade union insistance upon non-discrimination clauses on hiring of workers in labor contracts with management may, no doubt, constitute the major force as a key to the solution of the problem. This racial policy, when promulgated at the top, must, in the nature of the structure of the trade union movement, be implemented at the bottom, in the local unions and in the plants where the workers, black and white, are and where the conflicts arise and sound co-operation may be developed as a result of racial contact and the recognition of the existence of a common and basic interest among the workers, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the local union is the point where Negro workers must demonstrate their loyalty to the union cause and by religious attendance at union meetings, to keep the fight alive against racism. It is also important that in the local union a vigorous fight be made by both white and Negro members, in the interest of the realization of the goals of the union by unremitting struggle, suffering and sacrifice. It is important that colored workers recognize, along with their white brothers, that no union can ever accumulate and build power except it pass through the fires of great suffering, struggle, trouble, hardship and trial. This quality is far more important than money, for while it is possible to build a union without money it is not possible to build a union without the spiritual and moral qualities of sacrifice and devotion to the cause of a better life for the workers.

While Negroes have had and still have legitimate grievances against

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discriminatory practices of some unions which should be pressed for correction, organized labor, too, has a legitimate complaint against the indifference, if not outright opposition of some sections of Negro leadership to trade union aims and practices. Just as the poor white workers of the South were sold propaganda that they had a stake in the segregation and subjugation of their colored brothers, so Negroes were sold propaganda that their best interests were tied up with organized big business against organized labor.

Philanthropy of the rich for Negro institutions, educational and religious, were pointed to as evidence of the friendship of capital for the Negro worker; while trade unions were roundly berated and condemned for exclusion of Negro workers from membership and jobs. Irked and distressed by the attacks from capital and some Negro leaders, some trade union leaders replied by denouncing Negroes as strike breakers and poor union members. History will show that both groups were partially right and wrong.

However, regardless of the merits of the arguments on both sides, the fact remains that organized labor and the Negro were far apart. Both suffered and still suffer from this division.

Illiterate and emotional white and black workers are still played off against each other, thereby depressing already low wage rates in the South to lower levels which, in turn, weaken the economy of southern states by reducing the purchasing power of both sections of labor, black and white.

But, separation of workers, upon a basis of race and color, religion and nationality, is an abnormal condition since all workers have the same basic interest; namely, decent wages, improved working conditions and shorter hours of work. Nevertheless, these cannot be attained while laboring masses are divided, because division creates weakness which employers are shrewd enough to exploit. Therefore, since well-nigh nine-tenths of Negroes are

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working people and must sell their labor in the market daily for wages with which to buy fook, clothing and shelter, education and recreation, organized labor and the Negro have a natural basis for alliance.

As all the southern states have "right-to-work" laws, more appropriately labeled "right-to-wreck labor unions" laws, legislation to ban the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has also been enacted in southern states, including Louisiana and Alabama, with prospects of this plague spreading to other southern states.

As leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are mobbed and lynched because of their fight for civil rights, labor leaders are, too, threatened, intimidated, kidnapped and, sometimes, shot and killed because of their efforts to organize workers into unions to fight for their labor's rights.

As the South's fight for states' rights is to enable it to be free to maintain segregation, it also resorts to the dogma of states' rights to outlaw labor organization.

As Negroes' rights are flouted and given less respect in the South, so does labor meet a comparable fate.

As civil rights organizations are weakest in the South, so are workers' labor organizations.

If the literacy test and poll tax and violence discourage the Negro vote, the poll tax and the literacy test also reduce the vote of the poor whites.

It is obvious that this condition demonstrates that Negro and white workers have more in common than they have in opposition. In fact, white workers have more in common with Negro workers than they have in common with White Citizens Councils and the Eastlands.

This fact has been obscured to poor whites by the identification of

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all whites in the South upon a basis of race instead of class. Southern white Bourbon rulers, faced with the possible unity of poor whites with poor blacks against poverty and illiteracy, low wages, poor working conditions and long hours of work, promptly gave the poor whites compensation for their economic, social and political inadequacies, in the form of the doctrine of racial superiority, while poor blacks looked with scorn and contempt upon their lowly white brothers. Thus, if Negroes and poor whites fail to sense the necessity and value of unity as workers in trade unions and, too, at the ballot box, it is not because of a lack of a basic interest between them, but on account of ignorance.

Verily, poor whites and poor blacks have fought and still fight each other, not because they hate each other but they hate each other because they fight each other and they fight each other because they do not know each other and they do not know each other because they are separated from each other, which engenders fear of each other.

But, since neither labor or the Negro is fully free and because both can only survive and win their complete rights within the framework of a democratic society, Negroes and white trade unionists can most effectively advance their cause by the recognition of the common interest both have at the point of production, on the job and in the union hall, as well as at the ballot box.

Both have the problem of getting the southern political demagogues off their backs, who ride into office from year to year on the slogan of racialism. Both have the problem of liberating themselves from the economic clutches of exploitation of city industrial and financial capitalists of the South and a semi-feudalistic plantation oligarchy.

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It is because of the logical and historical validity of these conditions that should make for unity of Negroes and trade unions. The moral alliance between Negroes and organized labor constitutes a major key, not only for the achievement of labor's and Negroes' as well as other minorities' rights but also for the consolidation and preservation of our democratic life. They are the test of the democratic process and the democratic philosophy.

This is why it is to the interest of labor and the Negro to oppose the totalitarian twin evils of communism and fascism, since both are committed to a monolithic political system which provides for a monopoly of the total power in the national community by a dictatorship even if it is wreathed in the smiles of the cult of a collective dictatorship as against the cult of the individual. And since no dictatorship can exist where civil liberties and civil rights obtain, it is obvious that the rights of neither labor or the Negro can be realized under the aegis of the Soviet Union pattern of the state or its satellites.

Because of the comparable problems and similar, if not identical types of enemies, moral cooperation between the forces of organized labor and the Negro and other minorities has high promise of fruitful yield.

For without the support of the trade union movement, it will be increasingly difficult to effect the implementation of the United States Supreme Court decision for the desegregation of public schools of May 17, 1954. And, by the same token, without the support of the Negro and other minorities, the problem of labor amending the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act and repealing the sinister right-to-work laws that are designed to hamstring labor unions in their development of union security contracts with management, will be increasingly difficult.

The grounds for the moral cooperation between the labor community and the Negro and other minorities' communities does not obtain with respect to

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the business community or the communities of the two political parties, Republican and Democratic.

Whereas the AFL-CIO has a definite and sound civil rights program which it seeks to push, neither the United States Chamber of Commerce or the National Manufacturers' Association, which represents big business, has now or has ever had, any position for the enactment of civil rights legislation of any kind. These organizations represent the great employers of labor of the nation.

As for the community of political parties, inflexible adherence to either one, in the light of the history of the failure of either the Republican or Democratic Party, despite control of the Congress, to support and fight for civil rights legislation, does not seem to make sense.

While Negroes should be a part of the machinery of both parties, the masses should determine their alliance with and support of parties and candidates for public office upon a basis of their record and present position on civil rights and labor's rights.

Verily, not only will the cause of labor's rights and Negroes' and other minorities' rights be fundamentally served by organized labor and the Negro recognizing their common and mutual interests, but it will help make and keep America strong and free, and enable labor and the Negro and other minorities to join hands and march shoulder to shoulder toward a tomorrow of freedom, justice, equality and human dignity, democracy and world peace.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN RALLY
May 24, 1956

Public opinion is the most powerful weapon in a democratic society for the correction of social injustice, racial segregation, economic exploitation and the violation of the constitutional and moral rights of any section of the population.

Now, public opinion since ancient times is informed, awakened, aroused, shaped, molded and mobilized by two forces; namely, the spoken and written word.

Thus, we have come here tonight to employ the spoken word to warn the American people of the existence of a social sickness, racial segregation, which threatens the social health of the entire nation at home and abroad.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN CIVIL RIGHTS RALLY
May 24, 1956

Brothers, Sisters and Fellow-citizens:

We have gathered together this evening in this great historic rally of the people of New York City at Madison Square Garden for civil rights, freedom and human dignity, not only in the interest of the Negro but also to help give strength, force, reality and integrity to American democracy at home and abroad.

We are here to proclaim our commitment to and support of the Federal Constitution of the United States, the United States Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 for the desegregation of public schools, and the leadership for civil rights by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

We have come here from churches, trade unions, business offices, fraternal societies, railroads, hotels, steamships, theatres, schools and homes of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths to join in voice and spirit to express our moral horror and condemnation of the notorious and unspeakable practices of the new Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils, led by and composed of some fanatical racist terrorists that seek to destroy the political power of Negroes and the economic power of labor by driving the Negroes from the ballot box with the shotgun and with biased and ridiculous voting tests and by nullifying the rights of labor by the so-called right to work laws and police attacks upon labor organizers and picket lines.

We have come to reaffirm our dedication to the democratic society, for only within the framework of a democratic society can Negroes and other minorities, as well as labor, find the answer to their problems for progress, freedom and justice.

Because we recognize dictatorship to be a kiss of death to the aspirations, hopes and faiths of labor, the Negro and other minorities, we reject the new, deceptive look of smiles of Communists and Communism and the Russian Soviet Union's way of life as a major danger to individual liberty and human dignity.

We reject the support and cooperation of Communists in the fight for civil rights in any form, for Negroes cannot bear the burden of being black and red at the same time.

We are here to register our support of the Montgomery struggle of 50,000 Negroes in their historic walk for freedom against the insult of jim crow buses and to express our belief in the validity and effectiveness of non-violent goodwill, direct action and passive resistance to evil, and to renounce the use of violence against violence. For violence cannot win civil rights for Negroes nor can violence defeat the fight for civil rights.

Because of the long history of utter failure and refusal on the part of both the Republican and Democratic Parties to initiate and fight for federal civil rights legislation in Congress, we believe that Negroes should remain politically uncommitted before the coming presidential election in order that neither the Democrats or Republicans may feel that they can take the Negro votes for granted.

As for Congressmen and Senators, we believe in rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies on a basis of their position on civil rights, and determining our attitude toward both parties upon their record of deeds on civil rights in this Congress and the platform pledges in the coming national Republican and Democratic conventions.

Because of the great, spiritual and moral struggle now being waged by Negroes in the South for racial justice, equality and freedom, this vast assembly of liberty-loving people of New York take this opportunity to hail and salute the fallen and living heroes and heroines of the fight in the South, such as Reverend Martin Luther King, Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy and an humble Pullman porter, Brother E. D. Nixon, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' Montgomery Division, Gus Courts of Mississippi, Autherine Lucy and Rosa Parks of Alabama, and the unknown, unnamed, unsung and unheralded masses of little Negroes who are targets and victims of economic reprisals and social agony.

We, therefore, support the cause of the little Negro farmers, little Negro grocery storekeepers who are refused mortgages and credit of goods and also discharged workers and dismissed teachers who are victims of the fascist intolerance and bigotry of the White Citizen Councils only because they have displayed courage to become members of the NAACP, support the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court and insist upon exercising their constitutional right to register and vote as American citizens.

We hail and salute Brother George Meany, President of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations who has refused to vacillate or retreat from a position of opposition to the forces of racial hate and bigotry expressed by the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan, despite efforts at intimidation and threats by some southern unions to disaffiliate from the AFL-CIO.

We especially applaud the courageous and challenging position of the one outstanding white church leader of the South, Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel of New Orleans, Louisiana, near whose house the White Citizens Councils recently burned a fiery cross for his courageous, forthright and uncompromising opposition to the evil force and sin of racial prejudice by closing down a parish which refused ministry of a Negro priest and threatened to excommunicate Catholics of the Louisiana Legislation who vote to abolish public schools to evade the decision of desegregation.

Finally, we call upon the white workers and black workers, poor white sharecroppers and poor black sharecroppers of the South to join hands and build trade unions, credit unions and cooperatives on a basis of their common interests and go to the polls and throw out of office the political demagogues who ride into power every election on the issue of racial discrimination.

We believe that when the poor whites of the South, drugged with the opium of white supremacy, open their eyes and realize who their main enemies are, namely; the plantation semi-feudalistic oligarchy, city-business and industrial capitalists and parasitic, demagogic politicians, they will join hands with poor blacks and fight for the liberation of both groups from segregation, economic exploitation and social oppression to the end of eliminating illiteracy, disease and poverty.

Since we last met in Convention, we have seen labor, after 20 years of division, unite. We have seen the world swirl dangerously near the precipice of a third world war, only to move into a state of relatively permanent international tension and a cold war between the forces of Communism and Western Democracy. From the Geneva Conference of the Summit, we have seen the Russian Communist Bear take on a new look of handshakes and smiles, without changing her hunger for world conquest. We have seen amazing developments in the march of a second industrial revolution in the acceleration of the tempo of technology or automation, or the science of a machine controlling and directing a machine, with its consequent frightful displacement of labor, especially in the railroad industry.

We have seen the world of color in the flames of the revolution of nationalism on the march in fulfillment of its destiny for participation on terms of equality in the councils of the free world.

We have seen the mighty black giant, Africa, awakening to his power, prestige and position, destiny and dignity. We have seen our brothers in the West Indies, especially Jamaica, Barbadoes and Trinidad, become the responsible First Ministers of the governments of the British Commonwealth.

We have seen Negroes in America win Supreme Court decisions striking down jim-crow in education, transportation and recreation.

We have seen Negro workers move up into the highest policy-making echelons in trade union organization in the United States, in two brothers of color becoming members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

We have seen a worker of color, our Field Organizer of the Dominion of Canada, Brother Blanchette, become a full-ranking participating member of the Negotiating Committee of the Associated Railway Unions for the development of wage, hour, and fringe benefit settlements for the railway workers of Canada.

Yes, from the top of Mount Olympus of struggle and achievement, we have seen these things come to pass.

Verily, as we foregather here in our Triennial Parliament to review the past, assess the present and chart the course of the future, it is well that we seek a renewal of strength, deepening of faith and freshening of hope by the great particular, for the long pull ahead.

This is so, for the Brotherhood, along with all the great free trade unions, have eaten of the bitter bread of struggle, sacrifice and suffering.

Some of our brothers who are not long in our house of labor, the Brotherhood, and have not yet had their baptism of fire, of hardship, persecution and want, cannot and do not feel the nostalgic yen to return to our past for inspiration and wisdom.

Because some of our brothers do not have any roots in the blood and tears and sorrows of the yesteryears, they are sometimes, unfortunately, wont to decry, berate and deride our Brotherhood's history, insisting upon knowledge only of the present. But we may be assured that the very nature of our movement, with its battles and burdens, crises and crosses, trials and troubles, will teach all of us the priceless value of the lessons and treasures of our past.

How could modern man become attuned and enriched by the great spiritual traditions, religious doctrines and ethical systems of the past were we unable to sit and sup at the table of history with the prophets and saints and church fathers who labored by day and by night in the vineyard that man might know the truth and that the truth might make him free.

Yes, the glories of the past provide the pleasures of the present, the pleasures of the spirit, the book and the mind.

Thus, it were well that our generation of the Brotherhood, who witnessed its birth in pain and labor, keep alive the facts of life of this movement, that the generations to come may keep, love and cherish it with a burning passion of devotion.

May our generation guard and protect the Brotherhood as an holy grail of blessings to generations of black and white workers to come, everywhere, and keep its good name from the dishonor of ill-report.

Well has it been said that: Good name of man or woman or organization is dear, it's the priceless jewel of the soul. He who steals my purse steals trash; 'tis something, nothing; 'twas mine, 'tis his and has been slave to thousands, but he who filches from me my good name robs me of that which enriches him not but makes me poor indeed.

unsheath his dagger to do our great cause treachery. And that no Brotherhood brother may ever cry out that 'I am not my brother's keeper', let me briefly advert to the source of our being.

We have known the company union, sometimes known by the sugar-coated appellation of Plan of Employee Representation, though it represented no employees. We knew it in these United States. We knew it in Canada. This company union belonged to the Company; Pullman and the Canadian Pacific.

What did it do to the porter?

It filled him with fear; fear of the Company, fear of his fellow-worker, fear of the loss of his job, yes, fear of fear, itself.

It indoctrinated the porter with a morbid sense of his so-called inferiority. It automatically associated black with evil and white with good, by the wicked formula that the Company was always right and the porter was always wrong.

Following close of every case held by the Plan, a stock motion was made by one of the porter representatives on the Plan; namely, "I move that the contention of the Management be sustained." This motion was adopted whether the porter was right or wrong. This was how the porter was psychologically conditioned, not only to be content but to acquiesce in and defend his company union slavery.

Thus, the company union not only kept the porter's wages down to a pauper's level, but it degraded, demeaned and demoralized him.

Yes, company unionism robbed the porter of his labor. It robbed him of his sense of self-respect. It spawned swarms of stool-pigeons and the 'big house-big boss' Negro. Yes, it made stool-pigeons of our white brothers too. It put brother against brother; father against son.

What did the Brotherhood do for the porter?

First and foremost, it took fear out of his heart and made him get up off his knees and stand upon his feet and fight for his rights like a man.

It put the stool-pigeon, 'big house-big boss' Negro, and cringing slave to flight; there was no further use for him, for there were no secrets the Union wanted to conceal from Management.

Thus, the stool-pigeon was without a job.

of equality, for the first time in the history of the Pullman Company, the Canadian Pacific and other railroads.

It enabled the representatives of the porters to take issue with representatives of Management for the first time in the history of the vocational life of the porter.

It gave the porters economic knowledge and information.

It gave the porters the know-how, the techniques and understanding of making and maintaining agreements.

It gave the porters the tools and taught them how to use them for the determination and settlement of claims and grievances.

It established industrial governments on Pullman and Canadian Pacific property and made porters economic and industrial citizens therein, with the right of industrial suffrage.

It gave the porters courage and manhood.

It gave the porters a sense of equality with other men, regardless of race or color.

It built a sound wage structure and started them on the road to developing a decent standard of living.

It took them out of the line of beggars and made them depend upon the wages they earned.

It took the porter out of the category of relying upon some so-called good, rich white man to relying upon himself and his Union.

Now, this is but a sketchy and brief preview of the role of the Brotherhood in the life of the porter and his family.

You have only to observe the porter as a homeowner,since the Brotherhood took him off the dole of tips, to note the promise of the Union.

You have only to observe the porter in his hours of recreation with his family, with some of the finest of automobiles, to see the value of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

You have only to observe the porter improving the education for his children to note the image of the Union.

You have only to observe the porter's stature as a self-respecting citizen in his community to understand what the Brotherhood has meant to the porter.

I point these things out so that when a porter begins to feel sorrow for himself he will take time out and look at the record.

When the porter dusts his hammer off and begins pontifically to pay his respects to the Brotherhood, I bespeak for him to take a little time out and look at the record.

When and if the Brotherhood should lose a case of a porter, a case which the porter himself realizes there is no evidence on which it could be won, and proceeds to take the warpath to scalp Brotherhood officials, I bespeak for him to take a little time out and look at the record.

When and if rumor and gossip should seek to smear the Brotherhood and its local and international leaders and a porter feel disposed to lend an ear, I bespeak him to take a little time out and look at the record.

When and if a porter is approached by a fellow porter who is convinced that he and he alone has all the answers and presents a petition for him to sign, designed to correct everything that is wrong with the Brotherhood, I bespeak for the porter who has the petition, and also the porter to whom the petition is presented, to take a little time out and look at the record.

When and if a porter who has never written a rule of an agreement or even organized a clambake, should invite a fellow porter to participate in a rump meeting, in order to straighten out everything alleged to be wrong with the Brotherhood, if not start another Brotherhood by breaking up the existing one, I bespeak for the rump meeting-promoting porter, as well as the porter invited to the rump meeting, to take a little time out and look at the record.

Now, by the normal standards by which an organization should be judged to determine its value and use to a member, the Brotherhood has fully fulfilled and is in the process of fulfilling its mission to its members.

What are the standards by which a trade union organization should be measured as a condition of determining its utility to its members who are called upon to maintain and support it?

The standards may be set forth as follows:

1. Wage income secured.
2. Work and rest time established.
3. Claims and grievances adjusted

If a trade union organization has not developed a record,with respect to all of the aforementioned interests with which all members of any union are concerned, it can hardly claim justification for its existence, to say nothing of allegiance of workers.

With respect to wage income of porters, the record is clear. Briefly, since 1925 when the Brotherhood was born, when porters received $67.50 as a minimum wage a month, increases in rates of pay have gone forward until today the porter receives a minimum of $325.06. And, of course, the in-charge rates have been increased, although they are still inadequate. While the extra porter does not enjoy regular time, the Brotherhood has built up the rate per hour so as to provide an income for extra men today sometimes in excess of the wage received by regular men per month a few years ago.

Realizing that wages constitute the foundation of a more abundant life for a porter, since with his financial income he must purchase food, clothing, shelter, education and recreation, the Organization, from its very inception set its hand to the building of the porter's wage structure. It has foregone no opportunity to add to his income. Thus, from the status of the most pauperized of railway employes, porters have risen to the point where they possess a relatively decent wage standard, although by no means wholly satisfactory.

On the matter of work and rest time, significant changes have been wrought in behalf of the porter. Although there is still a lag from the termination of the basic work month to the time when the porter is paid time and one-half for overtime, the long work period to which porters were subjected when the Brotherhood came upon the property of Pullman and other railroads has been drastically reduced. From the old 11,000 mileage work month which represented almost 400 hours of work a month, the Brotherhood, as a result of the first conference with the Pullman Company, set up the 240 hour work month. Subsequently, the hours were reduced to 205. On the Canadian Pacific Railroad there were comparable conditions of work for the porters to those existing on Pullman, if not worse. But through negotiation, the Brotherhood introduced the 240 hour work month and, finally, the 208 for the Canadian men.

Before the Brotherhood regulated the work of porters with Pullman and other railway carriers by rules of agreements, there was no definite rest period suitable place set aside for rest and sleep, the suitable place being either an upper, lower, roomette or room.

However, although wage rates and work and rest time are regulated by definite rules in the agreement, variations of interpretations of these rules as between Management and the Organization sometime occur. Sometimes employes are underpaid. Sometimes, either by design or mistake, a porter is denied his regular turn on the extra board. The result may be a loss of a line and the consequent loss of money. Hence, the adjustment of claims is a normal procedure in the life of a railroad organization. Without rules governing the handling of claims, railroad employes would have no assurance of securing wage rates set up in the agreement. Similarly, their work month could be juggled so as to give them less hours of rest, either at home or away from home, than provided in the scheduled rest allowance structure. Therefore, a railroad union has the problem of protecting and adjusting the claims of its members, claims that may run into the thousands of dollars in a given year. The Brotherhood can proudly point to an enviable record of handling claims for its members on all the carriers with which it holds contracts.

But claims are not all. There are also grievances which involve discipline that may result in the loss of jobs. This is one of the most difficult areas of the railway employe's vocational life, for the government agencies set up to handle problems involving discipline of railway employes are always biased in favor of the carrier as against the employe. These agencies openly indicate that the Management is responsible for the operation of the railroads and hence, where discipline is assessed against an employe by Management, it is the responsibility of the Organization to establish that Management is guilty of arbitrary action or abuse of discretion in the case. Needless to say, this is difficult to prove. Therefore, one of the major problems of the Brotherhood has been the handling and settlement of grievances and claims. Its record has not been 100 per cent successful but it has been creditable, in fact, praiseworthy.

But even were an organization so strong and efficient as to gain for its members adequate wages, decent work hours, and developed a splendid record in the handling of grievances and claims, it would not have fulfilled its complete mission to its membership were they victims of inhumane treatment by the employer. In fact, unless a worker receives treatment comparable to that expected by his employer from his associates and friends, he is more of an automaton than a human being and thus, falls short of the status of a man. Verily, the very purpose of a trade union is to give workers human dignity. The long struggle of the great masses of mankind from the ancient days of slavery has been not only for bread, but human freedom and dignity; freedom from insult as well as from oppression and charity. This is why the Brotherhood places stress and emphasis upon unjust treatment by Management as constituting a legitimate grievance.

While the fight for human treatment for porters is a continuous one, the record is replete with evidence to the effect that signal and laudable progress has been made in this regard. The very fact, in contrast to the old order under the company union, when a porter had no rights Management was bound to respect and never enjoyed the opportunity of sitting down and discussing a question with Management upon a basis of equality, that he can now face his employer, not as a porter but as a representative of his union in conference to handle a problem of Labor-Management relation, is an indication of the great strides forward by the porter to the level of dignity.

Now, modern industry, on account of the march of science, technology and industrialism, is undergoing fast and violent transformation. Labor, as well as Management, is affected by this change. At the dawn of the industrial revolution, only one thing was uppermost in the mind of the worker; namely, more wages with which to buy bread, clothing and shelter. But it was not long, under the stress of the factory system, before the worker became aware that his labor was his life and his life was his labor and that he needed time off out of the mines and the factories for rest. But the workers of those days never dreamed of vacation with pay. The idea of a health and welfare plan paid for by the employer never entered their minds. But then Industry was young; it was chaotic. It is different today. Industry is vast; it is powerful; it is extensive. Thousands and thousands of workers are involved in various crafts and classes of employment. While their work time is shorter, their work pace has been accelerated, with consequent depletion of nervous energy which tends to push them toward early retirement and a vocational old age. Thus, Labor, in this era of billion-dollar industrial and financial combines, developed the doctrine of fringe benefits that include vacation with pay and health and welfare plans. This philosophy rose out of the fact that Labor's life was involved in the commodities and services that it creates on the job and thus, Industry is responsible for the life and living of Labor. Since human beings cannot work without rest and since illnesses beset individuals involved in both the work and the management catagory, provision must be made by Industry for the wage earner's period to relax from toil, in the form of vacation with pay, as well as health insurance arrangements in the interest of medical care.

On the level of fringe benefits, the Brotherhood has given the porter the standard protection and consideration received by non-operating railway employes in the United States and Canada. But, probably the most important problem which confronts the Brotherhood, along with other railway unions, is job security.

Job security is, of course, tied up with rules regulating the adjustment of grievances. In addition to rules, unions have the responsibility for developing skills in the handling of grievance machinery. In this regard, the Brotherhood is not found wanting. All grievance rules in practically all of the contracts the Organization holds have enabled the Brotherhood to provide, in the main, protection to its members. But it is obvious that our grievance machinery must be periodically assessed, with a view to improvement. Even the most powerful railroad unions have this problem. With Pullman, the Brotherhood has developed a rule which provides that before the assessment of discipline, charges against a porter must be proven beyond a reasonable doubt. Needless to say, this rule has been the 'rock of salvation' for many an aggrieved porter, for it is not easy for even Management to prove a charge beyond a reasonable doubt. The word "reasonable" involves the concept of flexibility in the realm of opinion, which gives wide latitude for extensive argumentation on either side, by placing responsibility upon Management to dispel the slightest scintilla of doubt with respect to its claim against the porter. While this rule does not bring about a millenium in this area of grievance adjustment, it has given the porter a wide umbrella of security. Thus, this is the record by which the Brotherhood must be judged by porters and the public as the custodian of the interests and rights of its membership.

Now, what are the problems of today and tomorrow?

Our major concern is employment. This is the major concern of every railroad worker. The reason for this is that the railroad industry is sick. It is sick because of Management problems, government discriminations and competition in the field of transportation.

When the Brotherhood was born there were no airplanes in the field of commercial passenger transportation. Automobiles were not nearly so elaborate as today. Buses were few, crude and uncomfortable. Giant trucks were not in sharp competition with rail carriers in the transportation of freight.

But we are living in a new day. It is estimated that private automobiles carry practically 85 per cent of passengers in inter-city travel. It is a well-known fact that airplanes that roar out of airports in the big cities every hour or less, covering the nation and even the world, have become a basic competitor of railway passenger service. They cover more passenger miles than Pullman or any railway coach travel. Cost of transportation by air is less than by train; the period of travel from point to point is less by air than by train. Thus, the public, in a measure, has become air-minded. Railroads have not kept pace with this revolution in transportation. Railway carriers have sowed the wind and are reaping the whirlwind. It is a matter of common knowledge that railroads discounted passenger business in the past; passengers were considered of less importance than pigs; emphasis was placed on freight, then as now. Railroads sold the passenger service short, then as now. While billions of investment capital are put into railroad building and development, the concern is with the dieselization of the road, in the interest of economy. Today, it is radar and electronics that are displacing the human hand in the yards. Automation, in the revolution on the railroads, is now following dieselization. In this revolution of the rails, labor suffers most. Labor on the engines, as engineers and firemen, flagmen and conductors, porters and waiters. Labor in the yards and offices, as telegraphers and clerks.

What are some of the facts about this competition of varied forms of transportation with the rails?

Well, let us take the yardstick of revenue passenger miles of 1953. The great railw ay systems are gradually losing their primacy in this area.

For instance, the Pennsylvania Railroad covered 3,859,827,000 passenger miles; the American Airlines covered 3,210,483,000 passenger miles; the New York Central System covered 3,256,924,000 passenger miles; the United Airlines had 2,574,616,000 passenger miles; the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, 2,084,991,000 passenger miles; the Trans-World Airlines, 2,370,019,000 passenger miles; Union Pacific System, 1,562,489,000; Southern Pacific Company, 1,500,102,000; New York, New Haven and Hartford, 1,356,484,000 passenger miles.

It is obvious from these figures that the airlines are becoming the major passenger carriers of America.

What are some of the results of this condition?

Naturally, as passenger travel fall off, passenger trains will be discontinued. If passenger trains are discontinued, jobs for railroad workers on passenger trains will decrease. The 1953 report of the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commission, in cooperation with a study of the Interstate Commerce Commission, points out that 314 trains were discontinued up to that time and that they represented only one-quarter of the total number of trains reported in 1951 as earning insufficient revenues for continued operation, which indicates that there were about 1,200 scheduled for discontinuance.

Justification for the discontinuance of trains by railway carriers is the so-called passenger deficit, or loss of revenue, in the operation of passenger business which results in requirement of allocation of revenues from freight to supplement the said passenger deficit. It is estimated that the passenger deficit in 1953 soared to $704, 574,000.

Now, this problem of passenger deficit is adjudged to be the result of many unfavorable conditions, according to the railway carriers. The first and most outstanding complaint of railway management is against the so-called increased labor expense which is computed to represent, on a national average, about 62 per cent of the total operating expenses of the rail carriers. As usual, railway management levels its artillery of criticism against the standard operating railroad unions in contending that some of their rules in agreements are archaic, and are opprobriously referred to as feather-bedding rules, or rules that enable workers to receive pay for work not performed. Obviously, this is a biased interpretation of rules railroad labor has won for its protection. What on earth would happen to railway employes were they without these rules and left to the tender mercies of railroad management which is concerned primarily with realizing high profits? While Labor has no objection to Management securing a proper and fair return upon managerial ability and investment capital, its concern must never relax in giving protection to the labor of its members which, with Management, makes the operation of the railroads possible.

Of course, railway management assigns as a major factor for its financial and industrial troubles competition from other modes of travel aforementioned. It properly complains about discrimination by the federal government in favor of airplanes. While railroads must build and maintain its terminals, build and maintain its roadbeds, airplanes benefit from airports built by taxpayers dollars, in addition to which, ~~some~~ of their deficits are made up by government subsidy.

It is a notorious form of discrimination that the haulage of mail is being diverted from the rails to the air. The lack of revenue from mail transportation results, in some instances, in the discontinuance of certain trains. In addition to this, railroads suffer from a burdensome excise tax. This tax, now reduced from 15 to 10 per cent, was adopted during the war period to discourage passenger travel, in the interest of providing space for military servicemen but, today, this condition no longer obtains. Still the tax exists and continues to discourage passenger travel. It is a well-known fact that railroads have been victimized as the result of the establishment of highway truck post offices, resulting in the diminution of the number of railway post office cars.

No longer do railroads and Pullman receive their proportionate share of peacetime military travel. Although railroads represent the basic agency for the transportation of military forces and munitions during war periods and hence, should be supported by the government during peacetimes with contracts for the movement of military forces, they are losing this business and air travel agencies are profiting therefrom.

We, in Convention assembled, are in complete sympathy and accord with the complaint of railroads against these conditions and stand ready to support and cooperate with them, in the interest of getting Congress to give favorable consideration to the report of the President's Cabinet Committee on Transportation Policy and Organization.

But we oppose railway management's position on working rules of operating railway unions. Be it said, as a form of fair criticism of railway management, that it is partially responsible for a large part of its problems and troubles. It has made grave blunders in policy, with respect to freight and passenger business. For instance, according to the report submitted to the Senate on the railroad passenger deficit problem by the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commission, dieselization of railroads has moved at a high tempo. More than 85 per cent of all passenger operations in the country are now being powered by diesel equipment and over 75 per cent of the older and less efficient steam locomotives have been retired. It is agreed that large and extensive economies relulted from this industrial policy, which we consider sound and proper.

But what about equipment for the passenger-business side of the railroad industry?

It is a matter of common knowledge that practically all of the new standard equipment has been placed on the railroads' crack "name" trains, such as the Broadway and Twentieth Century in the East, and the Lark in the West, as well as the Super Chief, and the trains named after cities, such as the City of Los Angeles, the City of San Francisco, the City of Denver. This is a good investment; good returns are realized thereon. But trains, such as the Owl on the Pacific Coast and the General and other secondary trains are suffering from the lack of attractive equipment. Here is where the deficit problem is biggest.

Although, according to the Railway Age, official organ of the American Railroad Association, an attractive coach, known as Siesta, has been devised, and a slumber coach invented by Pullman, but no large amount of capital has yet been invested in the production of these types of cars. These cars are designed to meet the price competition of the Sky Coach of the airplanes, since it was provided that only a slight differential for sleeping accommodations would be required above the standard coach rate. Unquestionably, if the railroads would place adequate capital in the production of these cars, many new passengers will come to the rails and those that are now there will, no doubt, be inclined to remain.

We are unalterably opposed to the policy on the part of railroads all over the nation, especially the big ones, to reduce passenger service under the passenger deficit pretext while not carrying on a vigorous, industrial, statesmanlike program to develop attractive passenger equipment for the growth and expansion of this business. We also want to register our exception to the policy of separating the railroad industry into passenger and freight catagories which enables the railway carriers to point to the so-called passenger deficit as a reason for rejecting legitimate claims of labor and constantly boosting passenger and freight rates. Despite the formula developed by the Interstate Commerce Commission, no doubt upon the prompting of railway carriers, to provide for the separation of freight and passenger services, it seems difficult to justify a sound allocation of coat as between passenger and freight service when both of these services use the same roadbeds and other devices and gadgets in common.

It is the position of our Convention that the railroad industry should be considered as a unit. If this were so, there would be no passenger deficit problem since the industry as a whole is realizing a profit on its investments. If this were not true, the so-called passenger deficit could not be made up from revenues from freight.

Certainly, we concur that Management and Labor on the railroads have the responsibility of meeting the grave problems that beset them, in the interest of giving new life and vitality to this industry.

Unfortunately, because of the increasing eagerness and determination on the part of railway management to discontinue passenger trains, the feeling is abroad among railway wage earners that railw ay management wants to scrap the passenger business and confine its interest to the development of freight which is without the problem of deficit. However, we hold that the railroad business, though sick, need not die. It may not only live, but grow and expand. But it will need better public relations than some of the leaders of our railroad industry are now giving it.

For instance, the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads, especially, made petition to the Interstate Commerce Commission for a 45 per cent increase in inter-city first-class passenger fares and a 5 per cent boost in coach fares, following joint declarations by Alfred Pearlman and James Symes, presidents, respectively, of these two giant Eastern railroads, charging that: "It is in the Pullman, our luxury business, that we have had our hardest going...." and that the higher fares approximate the cost of operation of the first-class and coach service and that the passenger business, at present, is carrying a deficit of over 100 million dollars annually, as reported in the Sun-Times of Illinois, under date of August 11, 1956.

Now, it is obvious that the proposed fare increase for Pullman and coach, in comparison with airplane and bus travel cost, would promptly price coach, as well as Pullman travel, out of the competitive transportation market, thereby leaving the commercial transportation field to airplanes and buses, agencies that do not meet the travel preference of millions of Americans.

Fortunately, some railroad officials in the eastern, southern, as well as western parts of the country do not concur with the presidents of the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads in their statements of gloom and doom for first-class passenger business. This is noted by the following statements carried by Associated Press News Service in the Chicago Tribune of August 11, 1956:

President Robert S. McFarlane of the Northern Pacific reported: "In our case, this is the class of business which has increased in recent years and I am fully convinced that with suitable equipment, satisfactory schedules and adequate service ....there will be a continued satisfactory patronage of the long haul, transcontinental trains." For the Union Pacific, another line running transcontinental trains, President A. E. Stoddard replied: "A favorable trend to patronizing good trains would indicate to me that the passenger problem, at least as far as our railroad is concerned, should hold some possibility of a satisfactory solution."

Harry DeButts, who heads the Southern Railroad System, second largest in the South, states: "We do not believe that long haul passenger business is doomed. It is our thought that railroads should not attempt to run their passenger trains faster, but should concentrate on comfort and dependability." President C. McDavis of the Atlantic Coast Line, largest passenger carrier in the South, saw no doom for this traffic on his line.

Although some eastern railway executives predicted that Pullman would be obsolete in the next several decades, J. J. Nolan, vice president in charge of traffic for the Pullman Company, Chicago, which is owned by 59 railroads and operates their Pullmans for them, stated: "We forsee continued substantial volume of Pullman travel, particularly for trains giving a comfortable overnight run, without passengers losing any work time."

It is obvious that presidents differ radically in opinions about the future of the railroad passenger business, but most of them agree on certain steps to be made, some of which are reflected in the Cabinet Report aforementioned.

But, since Labor, including porters, have a basic stake in the railroad industry which their sweat, blood and toil have helped to build over the years, it is proper that we should express basic concern about the future of the railroad industry and take steps, in the interest of effecting its growth and expansion. For instance, it has been claimed by railroad management in the report made to the Senate on the passenger deficit problem, that one of the causes of this problem is discourtesy of passenger service employes on railroads. This question is of such prime significance to our movement that I think it pertinent to read two paragraphs of this criticism from the report. They are as follows:

> "In spite of avowed efforts on the part of railroad management to improve the situation, there continues to be complaint from the traveling public concerning inattention and discourtesy on the part of some railway passenger service employes.
>
> "Particularly irritating has been the attitude of many ticket-sellers in dealing with prospective patrons. Too often have such employes taken the position that they are doing the passenger a favor by arranging for the requested transportation,

> and the detached air of a number of these employes compares most unfavorably with the extremely pleasing reception given the traveler in an airline ticket office. It should be emphasized that one act of discourtesy can override 100 efforts of other employes to sell railroad service."

While this criticism may be an exaggeration and, no doubt, it is, all railway employes in the passenger service have the obligation of giving serious attention to the question of courtesy to all passengers. Lack of courtesy, unquestionably, will drive business away from the railroads and courtesy will attract business as well as hold that which railroads now have.

While I am distressed that such criticism would be directed at any group of railway employes, I am particularly happy that no such criticism has been directed against the porter. But this does not mean that the porter, too, should not give the best of himself, in the interest of removing the basis of any complaint for the lack of courtesy on his part to the passengers he serves.

Now, as aforesaid, while we share the concern of railway management in the solution of the problems railroad industry faces, since if the industry does not survive the jobs of the workers in the industry will disappear, Labor and Management have a common interest in the solution of the problems. Thus, we deplore and reject the declarations of pessimism and defeatism about the future of railway passenger business, including Pullman and coach, made by the presidents of the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads which, in our opinion, psychologically tends to condition the public mind against railroad passenger and Pullman preference among the commercial agencies of transportation, thereby resulting in increasing the so-called passenger deficit by discouraging first-class railway and Pullman passenger travel.

These comments of railway executives expressing hopelessness, with respect to the future of railway passenger travel, tends heavily to confirm or give cause strongly to suspect that railroad management is not acting in good faith with the standard railway labor unions whose interest and cooperation are sought to help get legislation through the Congress based upon President Eisenhower's Cabinet Report on Transportation Policy and Organization.

In this Convention we go on record as calling upon the Railway Labor Executives' Association, the collective voice and brains of organized railway labor, in view of the gravity of the problem of the passenger business and the tendency on the part of powerful railway executives, not only to discontinue trains but to make gloomy pronouncements concerning the future of the business, to give study to the idea of mobilizing a fund of $1 million dollars for the purpose of conducting a comprehensive, scientific, long-range, nationwide, public relations educational program, for the purpose of giving to the public railway labor's story of the meaning and significance to the workers on the rails, as well as the public, the following problems:

1. The so-called passenger deficit.
2. Consolidation of railways.
3. Abandoning of trains.
4. Automation in the railway industry.
5. Unemployment among railroad employes.
6. Lack of adequate railway service to certain communities.
7. Apportionment of government mail haulage by the railroads, airlines and trucks.
8. Value and importance of passenger business, railway and Pullman, to our American economy.
9. Value and importance of railroads and Pullman in passenger traffic to our country in time of war.
10. A study of a plan comparable to the Plum Plan, familiar to old railroad workers, which was designed to provide for a tripartite supervision, control and operation of railroads by a commission composed of the public, management, and labor. This plan would not provide for the divorcement of ownership from the present owners of railroads but would set up a general commission for a more effective regulation than now obtains by the Interstate Commerce Commission, which is largely confined to rates regulations.

Now, what of the program of the Brotherhood with respect to changes in rates of pay and working conditions?

With respect to the status of Brotherhood men on the Canadian Pacific, it is gratifying to note that substantial favorable improvements in rates of pay and fringe benefits were recently negotiated by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, along with other non-operating railway unions, through the Associated Railway Unions of Canada. Progress was made with respect to the achievement of fringe benefits, although employes on Canadian railways are required to pay 50 per cent of the cost of the said fringe benefits. But this is a long way from the time when there were no fringe benefits at all. Pay for holidays is now being received by Brotherhood members on the Canadian Pacific. This is a step ahead of the porters in the United States who have not yet received pay for holidays.

Thus, the immediate program of the Brotherhood consists in the negotiation of pay for holidays for porters in the United States and time and one-half for overtime for porters in the United States and Canada, although the term of the existing agreement in Canada does not permit of immediate steps in this direction.

But, far more important than any single proposal the Brotherhood has raised to railway carriers with which it has contracts in the past, will be a proposal for a reduction in the work month to 174 hours. Needless to say, this is a long-range plan of action; preparation for this struggle must be developed through education. In executing this maneuver it will be the purpose of the Brotherhood, so far as possible and practical, to develop alliance with other organizations that are concerned with this question of providing jobs for their members. Such organizations are the Dining Car Employes and Sleeping Car Conductors.

A reduction in the work month will be of basic and material benefit to porters in this period of increasing train speed, for on some lines a change in preparatory or release time of a half hour may effect an increase in the number of men in the operation of said line.

A word now about the broad aspects of development of the Brotherhood.

It is significant to note that our movement has become a part of the mainstream of labor in the United States and Canada. In Canada, as aforesaid, representatives of the Brotherhood share in the policy-making activities of the non-operating railway organizations through the Associated Railway Unions. This represents a long march of the workers in the service departments of the railroads of Canada from the days when they had nothing to say about changes in rates of pay, working conditions or hours of work. In the conventions of the newly-formed united labor movement of Canada, the Canadian Labour Congress, the Brotherhood is ably represented by our Field Organizer for the Dominion of Canada, as well as local officials.

In the United States, the Brotherhood, in addition to its membership in the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, is also a member of the Railway Labor Executives' Association which is responsible for the broad, basic policies in the interest of wage earners in the railway industry. It is this movement which placed the Railroad Retirement Act, Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act and the Railway Labor Act, from which porters, along with other railroad employes benefit, on the federal statute books.

Since grievances and claims of railway employes, not settled by direct negotiation with carriers by railway unions, are subject to final adjudication before the National Railroad Adjustment Board, a body of unions was set up for the purpose of both selecting and providing pay for the labor members of this body. Through this device, labor is able to exercise fundamental influence on the work of this Board.

Because cases of porters arising before this Board represent a large section of the total number of cases involved, the Brotherhood sought membership in this body so that it may have direct contact with the members that sit on this Board which serves as the Supreme Court handing down decisions affecting all railway employes relating to claims and grievances. Today, the Brotherhood is a member of this body and pays $5,000 or more per year as its share for the payment of the salaries of the railway labor members of the Board.

The Organization also pays its pro rata share of the cost of operation of the Associated Railway Unions of Canada and a membership fee, along with its pro rata share of expense for cases handled involving the interest of the Brotherhood, to the Railway Labor Executives' Association. Of course, the Brotherhood pays a per capita tax to the Canadian Labour Congress on its membership in Canada and a per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in the United States. We consider it a notable achievement that the International President of the Brotherhood sits as a member of the Executive Council, the highest policy-making body of the American labor movement; namely, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Nor has the Organization been inactive on the civil rights front. It was the spark-plug of a massive demonstration for civil rights in the Madison Square Garden in New York City, May 24, 1956 , as well as a tremendous public gathering, September 25, 1955, which overflowed in the streets of Harlem in protest against the lynching of 14-year old Emmet Louis Till of Chicago, in Mississippi. The Organization has not only actively and financially supported the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, but is now requesting its members to contribute one hour's pay for the cause of relief to the hard-pressed little Negro farmers, discharged workers and dismissed teachers and persecuted leaders, white and black, in the South, because of their advocacy of civil rights.

The Brotherhood is responsible for the establishment of a trade union committee to provide relief for the aforementioned groups, the said committee being headed by AFL-CIO President George Meany, with David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, serving as treasurer.

While the Brotherhood is non-partisan politically, it is attempting to give its complete and full support, financially and morally, to Railway Labor's Political League, the political arm of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, and the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO, in the interest of the fight these agencies are making for legislation for the benefit of labor and against legislation which is unfavorable to labor.

Nor is our movement unconcerned about the state of the world.

We support the United Nations as man's present best hope for a durable and just world peace.

We endorse and back the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions as the most effective international instrumentality labor has yet devised for the advancement of the cause of free trade unionism and to halt the advance of the communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions.

We look forward to the day when the satellite countries of eastern and southern Europe will be free from the domination of the Kremlin.

We hail the revolt of the workers of East Germany and Poland against communist tyranny and their fight for bread, freedom and democracy.

We applaud the awakening of the mighty black giant, Africa, as he begins to tear down the rotten and evil system of colonialsim and makes his bid for a place in the sun of the free world. To the African natives of Tunisia, Morocco, Algiers, Gold Coast, Nigeria and other areas, forward to freedom and self-governing status!

The Brotherhood is proud of its role in the fight against communists and communism, as well as racism and fascism. We never had any illusions about the danger of both of these totalitarian movements to labor and the Negro.

We hail the unity of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations and the unity of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada and the Canadian Congress of Labour.

We are grateful for the able, resourceful and courageous leadership of George Meany, the chief architect of the new House of Labor.

We hail the leadership of the Brotherhood, international and local.

We are happy for the leadership of the Ladies Auxiliary, international and local.

Now, all labor is at the cross-reads. So are we.

We have entered an era of a second industrial revolution. It's the era of atomic science and automation.

Changes in the world of work are so vast, amazing and bewildering they are sufficient to sweep a timid man from his feet. The revolution of the machine makes one wonder - what of tomorrow?

Predictions are being made of the coming age of manless factories, manless mines, manless farms and manless railroads. Boasts are made that this is the age of the automaton, the lever, the push button, and atomic power. If this is so, what of man? Who will buy the products of these manless agencies of production and exchange?

Man has, and man can, manage the problems of man.

But here is a great and grave challenge of the working man, oppressed and exploited since the ancient of days.

Though the future be unpredictable, may we be not afraid. Sustained by high moral purpose and nobility of vision, let us march forward to a fuller, richer and happier tomorrow.

May we never grow weary in the spirit or weak in our convictions on the great issues of human progress and freedom.

Let us summon the great moral and spiritual resources of our movement, with its history of struggle, suffering and sacrifice, to the supreme test in this hour of trial, that we march forward to a more abundant life, not merely of the goods of this world but of the things of the spirit.

We Brotherhood men and women will face the future in the best and finest traditions of our movement, firm in the unconquerable faith in the way of human dignity and destiny, for the spirit of our members and, yes, the spirit of our officials is the strength of our union.

Forward, and may we never falter.

Statement of A. Philip Randolph

Fifty-First Anniversary Luncheon
of the
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
Hotel Commodore
April 14, 1956

Mr. Chairman, my good friend Harry Laidler, director of the League for Industrial Democracy, and fellow citizens:

Let me first of all express my gratitude for this manifest interest in my humble labors in the vineyard for human dignity for all men in general, and persons of color in particular, especially by the League for Industrial Democracy, the philosophy and program of which have challenged, enriched and illumined the life and times of which it has been and still is a part.

Living, as it were, in a world where the power complex and materialism are the dominant notes in the life of men, it is fitting, meet and proper that persons of good-will, with a passion and courage to do the things they believe to be right even when they must stand alone, should gather together to give thought to the things of the spirit, without which the lamps of human decency may go out.

In our great country which destiny has chosen for leadership of the free world, a section of the great worldwide struggle for human rights is afoot.

This struggle is a Civil Rights Revolution. This revolution has reached a period of crisis. This crisis has been precipitated, sharpened, deepened and broadened by the rise, growth and spread of the White Citizens Councils, a modern edition of the Ku Klux Klan of white sheets and the fiery cross.

This Civil Rights Revolution seeks to complete the incompleted Civil War Revolution which left the Negro, despite the Emancipation Proclamation by Abraham Lincoln; the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Civil War Amendments to the Federal Constitution, and considerable progress in the domains of education, government, business, labor and religion, not yet fully free.

It is obvious that Negroes are not yet fully free by the fact that they are not free to attend the shcools they may wish to attend; they are not free to live in areas of various communities they may wish to live in; they are not free to work at some jobs for which they may be qualified; they are not free to enjoy the services of various community agencies in the form of transportation and recreation in certain areas of the country.

The reason why Negroes are not yet fully free is because the Civil War Revolution never completely fulfilled its mission.

What was its mission?

Its mission consisted of certain definite objectives, the realization of which was essential to its moral majesty, responsibility and integrity. These objectives consisted in:

First, the overthrow of the Confederate slave government following the defeat of the Confederate forces at Appomattox.

Second, the abolition of the slave economy.

Third, emancipation of chattel slaves.

Fourth, transformation of the former slaves into free workers and independent peasant proprietors.

Fifth, extension of a free ballot to the freedmen for their protection.

Sixth, establishment of a free public school system for their education.

Seventh, centralization of political power in a strong federal governmental system.

Eighth, economic unification of the country to provide a national market for the new industrial and financial forces of the North.

To what extent were these objectives met by the Civil War Revolution?

History is witness to the fact that the old slave Confederacy passed away; the slave economy was broken down; chattel slaves were freed; political power was centralized and consolidated in a strong federal system and the economic unification of the country was effected.

But this was not the complete aim of the revolution. A basic and primary interest of the liberal capitalists of the revolution was the transformation of the former slave into a free worker and independent peasant proprietor; the creation of a free public school system and the adoption and application of free suffrage. But these three objectives were never obtained. Instead of the former slave becoming a free worker, he was reduced to the status of a peon through vagrancy laws and a system of peonage.

Instead of a free public school system being established for the benefit of the freedmen, jim crow schools were spread throughout the South. Although he was theoretically and nominally a free citizen, he was never given the privilege of the free use of the ballot. Instead, white primaries, the poll tax, grandfather clauses and other political devices were invented and employed to divest the freedman of his citizenship status.

This policy of national indifference to the freedmen was largely due to the fact that the consolidation and expansion of a new free enterprise capitalist order was not any longer dependent upon the complete liberation of the slaves, for when once the new industrial and financial system gained control of the federal government and possessed the power of taxation, which was employed to establish a protective tariff in the interest of northern industry, the Civil War Revolution was completed with respect to the frame of reference of the new, dominant, national economy. Even Lincoln emphasized saving the Union above abolition of slavery.

Hence, although, as a result of the great spiritual force of abolitionism and the matchless advocacy of Thaddeus Stevens in the House of Representatives and Charles Sumner in the Senate; the Thirteenth Amendment of 1865; the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868 and the Fifteenth Amendment of 1870 had become a part of the Federal Constitution, there followed hard upon the heels of the war amendments, a counter-revolution, the purpose of which was the nullification of the aforementioned amendments and the restoration and re-establishment of the power of the former slave masters and their political henchmen, not only in the Southern states but in the exercise of great influence on the policies of the federal government and northern public opinion.

The counter-revolution won its greatest victory in the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876 when, as a result of manipulation of electoral college votes of various states, the election was conceded to Rutherford B. Hayes, but only after the Republican northern political forces had agreed to withdraw the federal army from the South, the sole protection of the freedmen. It was not long, in 1883, following this political victory of the South, when the Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Act of 1867 and the Reconstruction Act of 1870 unconstitutional.

The foundation was thus set for the famous Supreme Court decision of Plessy against Ferguson of 1896 and the doctrine of "separate but equal" was handed down and served as an official national declaration of the recognition of the racial inferiority of Negro citizens.

Within this political and judicial framework, the physical weapon of lynch law was employed by the Ku Klux Klan to strike fear into the heart of the freedman and break his spirit and will for the attainment of the status of first-class citizenship.

The new architects of southern segregation came upon the scene and played the role of major demagogues in building black jim crow ghettos all over the South, the waters of which even overflowed into the North.

These new leaders of white supremacy who preached the doctrine of black domination sold the philosophy of racial supremacy of the white man to the poor whites, which gave them a sense of importance in feeling they had a stake in the subjugation, domination and oppression of poor blacks. This was the role of Hoke Smith and Tom Watson of Georgia, Cole Blease and "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman of South Carolina and Vardaman of Mississippi. The hymn of racial hate they sang, upon which every politician in the South has ridden into office, is being heard again and a veritable hurricane of human hatred has broken loose in the deep South, not only to halt desegregation of public schools but to use violent racial prejudice as a smoke screen by southern politicians and plantation owners to make the South a haven of cheal scab-labor, in order that it may serve as an attraction to anti-labor, open shop industrial interests of the North to migrate South. Even industrial enterprises in the North that enter into collective bargaining contracts with bona-fide trade unions look with great interest and anticipation to an area which advertises itself as free of trade unions and high taxes.

Just as the old slave masters revolted against the expropriation of their property in human slaves, the economic foundation of the Cotton Kingdom, and sought to stop the process, even by the resort to arms in the Civil War, today the Civil Rights Revolution in the South is viewed and construed as a blow at the southern social structure of segregation, an essential prop to its economic and agrarian feudalism. Conscious of the fact that when Negroes are aware that they are fully free and hold the status of first-class citizens, that this new condition of freedom for the blacks will tend to disillusion the poor whites with the myth of white supremacy and result in strengthening the forces of unionization of the workers, black and white, for higher wages and improved working conditions they, in desperation and frustration, cling to their most powerful, psychological emotional weapon; namely, the racial inferiority of the Negro. The justification of which becomes increasingly as fantastic as it is scientifically unsound.

Although every advance of the Civil Rights Revolution against segregation, from the beginning of the first decade of the twentieth century, was bitterly fought by the forces of southern racial reaction, it was not until May 17, 1954 that a massive, monumental and momentous blow was struck upon the citadel of segregation in the South by the United States Supreme Court. In the wake of this decision, the shrill cry of the racial degredation of the white South by the politicians is heard ringing throughout the land. This outcry stems from the fear of southern leaders of the loss of the reins of power that rested partially upon disfranchisement of peoples of color in various southern states. This fear does not consist so much of envisaging the control of political forces in the South by Negroes, because in terms of numbers, this would be impossible since they represent but one-third of the population, but there is great desperation lest the crack-up of the old system of southern segregation may create a vital and vibrant liberalism in the South, under which and within which new, younger and more independent voices in education, government and organized labor among the white opoulation may demand a new deal.

Again, it is important for clear perspectives of the forces at work in the South to note that the same forces behind the White Citizens Councils for the preservation of segregation are also behind the fight for the so-called "right to work" laws that now obtain in practically every southern state. These mis-named "right to work" laws are recognized weapons to prevent the devolopment of bona-fide trade union organization in the South.

It is clear that this outburst of violent terrorism in the South, resulting from the incitement of illiterate and emotional white masses by politicians, pulpit and press, is an expression of the last gasp of a dying era, from the ashes of which a new South will be born.

While many of the southern white leaders are conscious of this trend against the old, rural, primitive, racial fanaticism against Negroes, which had its foundation in the feudalistic, agrarian economic arrangements, a strangely large number of Southern political leaders, many of whom possess high national and international stature, meekly bow before the tribal clamor of the Ku Klux spirit for the suppression of colored Americans by lending their names to such documents as the famous manifesto of 100 southern Congressmen and Senators, a declaration of open defiance of the United States Supreme Court decision on desegregation and the constitutional principle of the right of the Supreme Court to interpret the meaning of the Constitution.

But out of the darkness of racialism in the South a stream of light and hope is apparent. For while Lamar Smith and the Rev. Mr. Lee were shot down only because they sought to exercise their right of free citizens to vote, 50,000 Negroes in Montgomery, in the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, are not only achieving their internal, spiritual and moral freedom but whose philosophy of winning their rights through love and truth, good-will and faith, are teaching not only the South but our entire country a new lesson in the brotherhood of man. Instead of berating, deriding and decrying their enemies, they are expressing love for them and praying that the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob may same them from themselves and make them instruments in the achievement of the Kingdom of God on earth.

With the leadership of ministers of the church and an humble Pullman porter, the Rev. Martin Luther King and Brother E. D. Nixon, hope for a better tomorrow for black and white men of Dixie springs anew in their hearts. Even the casual observer of the changing scenes of American life cannot but understand and appreciate the meaning and the message of this great drama of human dignity and human decency now in the process of unfoldment in the headquarters of the old Confederacy of the South, Montgomery, Alabama.

Moreover, while the threatening clouds of racial violence hand menacingly over various areas of the deep South, the prospects are that the new spirit of passive resistance, non-violent, good-will direct action on the part of Negroes, victims of unspeakable oppression, exploitation and terrorization, Negroes who may see the passing of their little farms through sheriff sales because of inability to secure second and third mortgages under the pressure of the White Citizens Councils, will prevent riots and bloodshed for refusal to strike back with violence under any provocation.

Negroes are manifesting great wisdom in no resort to the impotent weapon violence in retaliation against the violence of White Citizens Councils, for just as violence cannot enable Negroes to win their civil rights, neither can violence on the part of White Citizens Councils defeat the struggle of Negroes to achieve their civil rights.

The hatemongers of the White Citizens Councils will make little headway in the long run against people who, instead of retaliating in kind, on a basis of violence, seek deliverance through prayer. This is a greater shock and blow to the old Ku Klux tribal spirit of racial fanaticism in the South than any army could inflict.

Thus, the struggle on the part of the citizens of color in America to achieve complete equality through the method of invoking the power of the moral order will strengthen the position of the United States among the free peoples of the world, black, brown, yellow and white, and give our great democracy the power to serve as a mighty bastion against the struggle for worldwide conquest of the international Russian communist conspiracy. It is without doubt that the realization of civil rights on the part of Negroes in this country is a great measure and test of American democracy and American Christianity all over the world.

For let us not forget that the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court did not give Negroes any new rights. It only served to give sanction and recognition of the rights Negroes already possess with other citizens of the country; namely, their human and natural rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

These rights are God-given and not mad-made. The Federal Constitution and Supreme Court decisions serve as implementation to enable Negroes to exercise these rights. But no government, no law, no constitution can give Negroes or any other group of citizens their human rights. Governmental legislation, however, is necessary to prevent agencies and even units of the government, as well as various groups of peoples from interfering with the privilege of the Negro, as well as labor and other minorities, in the exercise of their human rights. This is the reason for the Civil Rights Revolution which is necessary for the completion of the Civil War Revolution in the interest of the recognition of the first-class citizenship of Americans of Color.

Now, since Negroes believe in the moral justification of their struggle for equality, freedom and justice, they must reject the doctrine of gradualism.

Because segregation, which is based upon the negation of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, degrades, demeans and demoralizes the dignity of the human personality. It is a sin, as pointed out by Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans, and a sin should not be gradually accepted or gradually rejected. Obviously, a sin is in opposition to the moral order and hence should never be accepted but forthrightly and promptly rejected if our democratic society would face the world with majestic integrity and courageous humility.

Statement of A. Philip Randolph

STATE OF THE RACE CONFERENCE
Washington, D. C.
April 24, 1956

Negroes are in the midst of a grave civil rights' crisis, a crisis which is an inevitable phase of a civil rights revolution, a revolution which has its roots in the Civil War Revolution, a revolution which was never fully completed.

Now, a crisis is distinguished by the possession of two factors; one, danger; and the other, opportunity.

There is always danger that a crisis may involve the destruction of cherished and priceless values, such as the freedom of speech, press, assembly and thought, trial by jury, freedom from seizure and search, habeas corpus, right to vote and to be voted for, and so forth.

There is also opportunity to give a greater measure of meaning, force and effect to the values and institutions we seek to preserve and enjoy.

As to whether the former or latter condition obtains depends upon the human beings or social agents concerned.

Coming together at a time when the United States has been forced into the vanguard of the leadership of the free world against the totalitarian Russian Communist drive for world wide conquest, and when the world of color is in the flames of revolution for status, freedom and equality, Negroes whose vital interests and aspirations can only be advanced and find realization within the orbit of democracy, must not make the mistake of failing during this period of vast change and social dynamism, resolutely to make and press their bid for full and complete first-class citizenship, freedom and justice.

If in these times when peoples everywhere are raising the flag of freedom, Negroes do not insist upon their own country squaring its profession of democratic ideals with performance in the realm of civil rights, performance which will give strength, integrity and reality to its foreign policy, social crystallization may set in and lock up the Negro in a sort of twilight zone of half-men for a hundred years.

Now, since in this civil rights crisis the stake of first-class citizenship, freedom, equality and justice for Negroes are involved, which spelled out, relates to security of life and limb, person and property, and the freedom and privilege to exercise the right to register and vote; to employ his labor and skill, talent and ability, without regard to race or color, the question as to how we grapple with it is by far the most important question we have had to answer since the Civil War.

One big fact is fairly obvious; namely, that this crisis has been sharpened and broadened by the rise, growth and spread of the White Citizens Councils and the revival of the old Ku Klux Klan and other hate groups, together with the famous manifesto, signed by 101 Southern Congressmen and Senators, designed to bring about the nullification or reversal of the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court.

I want to emphasize the point that this crisis is an inevitable phase of the civil rights revolution, for it could be avoided or eliminated only by the existence of either one of two conditions; namely, refusual of Negroes to continue to press for full freedom or the voluntary concession of the Negroes' claims to first-class citizenship by the Dixiecrat South. Neither one of these conditions is likely to obtain.

When one recognizes the fact that social history shows no instance of a group which possesses power voluntarily surrendering said power over any people or any thing for any reason, the prospects of the South voluntarily recognizing the Negro as a first-class citizen is not remotely possible. The reason for this social principle is that the possession of power yields a sense of pleasure and satisfaction and no group or organism will give up a source of pleasure and satisfaction without a struggle.

Thus, the logical deduction is that freedom, equality and justice for any people at any time, anywhere, must either be ceaselessly fought for or these conditions will not be won and enjoyed.

Therefore, the fact that the civil rights crisis is becoming increasingly threatening to the racial peace in some southern communities is neither strange, unusual or unique.

Nor should this fact be the occasion for a policy of appeasement or retreat on the part of the Negro; for appeasement and retreat will only whet the appetite of southern racial reaction for more reaction and further appeasement and retreat.

Moreover, it is the long, tragic story of history that no revolution has been developed and carried forward without some casualities and great labor and pain, if not bloodshed and death. The seed which is planted in the earth must die before a tree will grow and bear fruit. One must die if he would live. I have only to point to the Christian Revolution, the Revolution for Political Democracy and the Industrial Revolution. It is also a fact that terrorism in a revolution tends to increase and become more violent and threatening as the old system's position becomes more untenable and indefensible or when the progressive forces that seek to effectuate the revolution make the mistake of employing the social principle of violence against violence.

Now, it is well that we not only recognize but forthrightly accept the fact that a civil rights revolution is under way, involving the vast transition of the Negro from a status of a slave to that of a free worker and first-class citizen. The importance of this perspective with respect to the present problem of racialism in the South is necessary in order that Negroes who seek release from the bondage and prescriptions of color caste will not attempt to make a detour from the main highway of the civil rights revolution and sacrifice the basic principle of equality through integration involved in our fight for the elimination of segregation in all of its phases and aspects in order to avoid and escape varied and various forms of tensions, stresses and strains. It is obvious that while every effort should be made to eliminate violent conflict which can best be achieved through the principle of non-violent, goodwill, direct action and passive resistance; yet, the principle of equality in the economic, political and social areas of our national life must be inflexibly adhered to and never abandoned.

If Negroes are driven from the high ground of equality through fear, or lured to accept gradualism, in the interest of racial agreement, they will fail to achieve the goals of civil rights revolution, for racial and social justice and not racial gradualism or agreement is our goal.

In fact, such a betrayal of the principles of the revolution will result in giving force and effect to the counter-revolution of reactionary racialism which is now under way, and which will tend to breed and foment violence and more violence.

It must be remembered that our over-all strategy must include not only the clear projection of our aims but the weakening, undermining and destruction of the moral struction of the counter-revolution which seeks to negate, crush and neutralize the civil rights revolution.

Strangely enough, the development of the pattern of the counter-revolution against the great desegregation decision of the United States Supreme Court of May 17, 1954 has much comparability with the pattern of the counter-revolution which set in and developed during, and immediately following, the Civil War.

It is a notorious fact that the nullification of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments that had been won by the matchless and courageous fight of Thaddues Stevens in the House and Charles Sumner in the Senate followed the concession by the southern Democratic Party forces of the election to Rutherford B. Hayes over Samuel Tilden in 1876 for agreement by the northern Republican forces to withdraw the Federal Army from the South, the sole protection of the freedmen. This was a sacrifice of the principles of the Civil War revolution; namely, the abolition of slavery and the transformation of the slave into a free worker and independent peasant proprietor, and the extension to him of a free ballot and free public school system.

But while the crisis in the civil rights revolution is inevitable and inescapable because of the march of the Negro for total freedom which involves conflict with the intransigeant and adamant South, it does not follow that this fact points toward an evitable stalemate or an unchanging deadlock or statu quo of race relations. No, not at all. The position of the South on race can, and will be, changed.

But both the rate and direction of the change will be conditioned by the recognition and application of certain principles of social action.

First of all, we are a part of democratic society in which there are plural sources of power, authority and responsibility expressed in various areas of our national life, such as the labor community, business community, church community, farm community, educational community and communities of various minorities. Far different from conditions that obtain under a totalitarian monolithic state where all power resides in the dictatorship, and dissenting opinions and divergent movements are prohibited, under our democratic society, our various social forces are involved both in the maintenance of their autonomy and competition for concessions from the state. It is important to note that the demand or claim or struggle of any single social force in the community always meets with challenge and opposition from some other social force. For instance, whenever the National Manufacturers' Association introduces bills in the Congress or state legislatures for changes in the tax structure or the restriction of the rights of labor, the labor community promptly challenges and opposes these bills. If farmers seek a bill for 90 percent parity for the support of the price structure of farm commodities, this bill is immediately attacked by various chambers of commerce and boards of trade. By the same token, when Negroes seek civil rights legislation designed to make them fully free, bills that are introduced to achieve this objective are viciously fought by the forces of reactionary Southerners. When the southern business and agricultural leaders introduced the so-called and mis-named right to work laws in the various state legislatures, that are clearly designed to stifle, handicap and throttle trade unions, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations promptly organize a campaign to defeat them. Not much progress has been made by labor, however, in the fight for all the southern states now have right to work laws.

Now, history is replete with evidence of the fact that in this competitive struggle among social forces in the national community for support and concessions from the state to redress wrongs against any group, the state invariably moves in the direction and confers its favor upon that social force such as labor or business, prohibition or temperance, Negroes or the South, which, in the context of the times, constitutes the greatest challenge to the stability and power of the state. The philosophy behind this historical fact is that government only moves when it is moved by pressure from social forces. It never initiates action in behalf of any groups of its citizens on a basis of sympathy, mercy or justice.

If this analysis is correct then our task is clear.

Thus, the purpose of this conference should be to go on record with the following purposes:

1. Seek and urge unity among Negroes who have the primary responsibility of winning civil rights behind the United States Supreme Court Desegregation Decision of May 17, 1954 and May 31, 1955. This

mandate is obvious in the face of the unity of the South against the decisions.

2. Because the National Association is ably leading the fight for civil rights and the strategy of the high command of the Southern Segregationists is to encircle, outlaw and isolate the Association from the Negro by legislation, intimidation and violence, Negroes have no alternative save to back and support the NAACP morally and financially.

In a supreme effort to discredit and break the Association, another form of strategy of the pro-segregation forces is to polarize the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with the White Citizens Councils and brand both as agents of racial trouble, strife and conflict; both as extremists and then pose the proposition that since the strategy of gradualism, moderation and the middle of the road is the only way the racial problem can be solved, neither the White Citizens Councils or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, can further serve any constructive purpose and hence should not be supported.

Let us not labor under any illusions. This viewpoint is gaining weight and strength among some of our so-called northern liberal friends, friends who are well-meaning, if misguided. I recall an instance of a top-flight newspaper man on one of the great liberal American dailies coming into a room on a train enroute to New York from Chicago, spending an hour or more trying to maintain this position with me and three other Brotherhood officials. He described himself as being a friend of the Negro and as not opposed to desegregation.

Hence, this conference should express its position on the NAACP by calling for a million Negro members for the Association in the next two years with a fund of two million to fight for civil rights.

Negroes can neither accept the doctrines of gradualism, moderation or the middle of the road for the gradualism is based upon the assumption that either Negroes are not ready for desegregation and civil rights or that the Federal and state courts' decisions can not be enforced. I need not belabor the fact that neither one of these assumptions is true or acceptable.

Moreover, if an integregated school life is psychologically constructive for both white and colored children in the United States, then its benefits should not be indefinitely postponed.

Since segregation demeans and degrades the dignity of the human personality, it is not only a form of aggression against individual liberty, a major corner-stone of democracy, but it is also in conflict with the basic Judeo-Christian ethic which emphasizes the worth of every individual human being.

Thus, segregation is not only an abomination against humanity, but is a sin, and a sin should not be gradually accepted or gradually rejected. It is paradoxical to think of one gradually accepting the law of God or the law of the State.

May I submit that dispite much discussion by some southern leaders about the practicality of gradualism, I know of no instances where southern leaders advocate gradualism, if it is construed to mean eventual racial and social equality with white men, even in astronomical time. This position of the South is understandable in the light of its belief in the racial inferiority of the Negro. Thus, the Negro and the South, in the terms of the logic of their positions on racial equality, are required to oppose gradualism, but for different reasons.

Second, the theory of the middle of the road is equally unacceptable since it implies either a cowardly recourse to a compromise of "plague on both your houses", which gives aid and comfort to the pro-segregationism by refusing positive affirmation of support of desegregation, or avows elements of value in both camps, which is a hypocritical attempt to reconcile two irreconcilable positions.

Third, moderation can be no Gospel of liberation for the Negro who almost a century following the Emancipation Proclamation, is still the victim of discrimination.

Fourth, realizing that in our American System, the Federal and State Governments, elected by the votes of the people, may, through legislation, Executive or Judicial action, affect the destiny of individuals and groups, in order that the Negro may defend and advance his interests economic, educational, social and political, a practical block by block, door to door, crusade should be projected in every Hamlet, village and city, South, North East and West, to raise the level of registration and voting to the maximum political potential of the Negro population.

In such a crusade, every adult, and especially, housewives and youth in the homes, schools, churches, social groups, fraternal and Greek Letter Societies, YM and YWCA's, and trade unions, should be inspired to dedicate themselves to serve as unselfish pioneers in this great enterprise to develop mass registration and voting by Negroes with no concern with partisan political alliance.

This will be a basic answer to the proposal by Senator Lindon Johnson of Texas for southern political leaders to build a political block of the South for the purpose of negotiating deals with other political groups in the interest of the South which means opposition to civil rights.

Thus, today we have the problem of not only gaining new allies for the decision and civil rights but to hold the allies we have and prevent them from weakening and losing their convictions for human brotherhood.

When one notes the trend in the dailies and magazines to water-down editorial opinion on desegregation and the increasingly milder comments by radio commentators and columists, it is clear a conter-revolution against the decision and the whole civil rights revolution is in the making.

It must be remembered that one of the major reasons why the Civil War Revolution was never completed, leaving the Negro today not yet fully free, is because he lost many of his northern friends. This is evident in the fact that in the Tilden-Hayes election in 1876, Tilden backed the old confederate slave forces of the Democratic Party, received a quarter of a million more votes than Hayes of the Republican Party of Lincoln, which proves that some Northern Republicans deserted the freedmen.

Is the Negro facing a comparable situation today in terms of losing his Northern allies in the fight to uphold the Constitution and the Supreme Court decision?

Of course, following the Civil War, the freedmen lacked both organization and education effectively to push his cause.

Fortunately, today Negroes have not only organization and education but determination to fight for civil rights.

But in order that Negroes today may be able to present a more formidable challenge to racism, some formula should be developed in this conference to provide/that the best judgement of the race through the various organizations, churches, business, educational, fraternal, Greek Letter, labor, women and youth be available for consultation in the crucial periods ahead with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

I suggest a sort of consultative committee which would meet with the Secretary of the NAACP upon his request to discuss problems of policy and strategy without the right or power to impose its opinion upon the Association.

Only the Secretary would be expected to publicize either the time or subject matter or trend of discussions of the conferences with the said consultative committee.

This arrangement might help to develop a greater measure of coordination of organizational efforts in the fight for civil rights and tend to eliminate conflicts, duplications, cross-purposes, confusion, waste notions, if not ill-will.

While this conference has no concern with the formation of any permanent organization, it may not be amiss to suggest that the stakes involved in getting out the vote are of such great magnitude to Negro freedom that thought should be given by the NAACP, Women's Organizations, fraternal societies, church and labor groups to the question of developing a specific National Independent Movement which may serve as the instrumentality of this enterprise.

This is the warp and woof, the flesh and blood, and the mechanics of power. It is a well-known fact that power is the only thing most politicians, who seek either to stay in office or to get in office, respect. Now, since the Presidential Campaign is in the immediate offing, this conference ought to indicate clearly and unmistakeably that Negroes are politically uncommitted to either the Republican or Democratic Party, and will take their attitude towards both parties on a basis of their platform pledges, together with their deeds and records in the past and the present Congress on Civil Rights.

This seems to be sound strategy since it is a matter of general recognition that no one puts bait on the hook for fish already caught. Moreover, in view of the fact that both the Republican and Democratic Parties have woefully recreant to their duty in upholding and enforcing the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, and guilty of a "do nothing" policy in the interest of Federal Civil Rights Legislation since the Civil War, a policy of rigid adherence to party label on the Negro does not make sense.

With respect to Congressmen and Senators, Negroes may find it effective to employ labor's policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies, regardless of party destination; the friends being, of course, those who support and fight for civil rights legislation, and the enemies, those who oppose said legislation.

Now, it is well-nigh self evident that a system can only be beaten by a better system; an Organization by superior organizations; public relations by more efficient public relations; error can be overcome by truth, but only if truth is continually presented to the public mind, for the human will accept error as readily as it will truth.

Thus, in the great battle between the ideas of segregation and desegregation now raging in the South and throughout the nation, the idea of desegregation will only prevail if it can meet this test.

Since we will profit by this conference only if we, as realists, take a look inwardly, and re-examine, re-appraise and re-evaluate our policies, stategy and tactics in this civil rights crisis, I suggest that if a gallop poll were taken today on the state of the question of enforcing the Supreme Court Desegregation Decision, it would probably reveal that, although Negroes still have the ball in the courts, and are making significant touchdowns, the decision has lost ground in the frame of reference of public sentiment.

In my opinion, there are several reasons for this situation.

1. Negroes have not effected the coordination of organizations in the interest of developing the necessary unity back of the decision, comparable with the White Citizens Councils and other Southern hate groups.

2. The violence, intimidation and economic boycotts of Negroes by the White Citizens Councils, together with the hysterical statement by William Faulkner, Noble Prize Winner, as a great American novelist, who states that desegregation is ethically, morally and legally wrong and yet he would take his stand with Mississippi against the U. S. and go into the streets and shoot down Negroes, if a show-down should come, have had tremendous effect upon Northern public opinion.

3. In addition to this, the signing of the famous Manifesto by 101 Southern Senators and Congressmen, which openly expresses defiance of the Supreme Court Desegregation Decision on the grounds of its evasion of states' rights, have tended to create a climate of defeatism, pessimism if not synicism, concerning the implementation of the decision.

Inasmuch as the "Declaration of Intentions" issued by the Rev. Dr. J. H. Jackson of Chicago, Illinois, President of the National Baptist Convention, is a sound, moving and powerful statement of the moral and religious affirmation of and justification for the struggle of the Negro for freedom, justice and human dignity by the implementation of the desegregation decision and enactment of civil rights legislation, I recommend that this "Declaration of Intentions" be accepted and adopted as the "Declaration of Intentions" of this conference. This statement provides the moral frame-work within which the fight for a better tomorrow for black Americans may be carried forward with assurance and faith in the ultimate triumphant of truth.

May I further suggest and recommend, because of its manifest political significance and value that the splendid statement by the Pittsburgh Courier on the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment, concerning apportionment of representatives in Congress entitled the Negro Manifesto, which reads:

> "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the WHOLE NUMBER of persons in each state excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being 21 years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the BASIS FOR REPRESENTATION THEREIN SHALL BE REDUCED IN THE PROPORTION WHICH THE NUMBER OF SUCH MALE CITIZENS SHALL BEAR TO THE WHOLE NUMBER OF MALE CITIZENS 21 YEARS OF AGE IN SUCH STATE."

be accepted and adopted as the sentiment and judgement of this conference.

Verily, out of the darkness of racialism in the South a stream of light and hope is appearing. For while Lamar Smith and the Rev. Mr. Lee were shot down only because they sought to exercise their right of free citizens to vote, 50,000 Negroes in Montgomery, in spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, are not only achieving their internal, spiritual and moral freedom but whose philosophy of winning their rights through love and truth, good-will and faith, are teaching not only the South but our entire country a new lesson in the brotherhood of man. Instead of berating, deriding and decrying their enemies, they are expressing love for them and praying that the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob may save them from themselves and make them instruments in the achievement of the Kingdom of God on earth.

With the leadership of ministers of the church and an humble Pullman porter, the Rev. Martin Luther King and Brother E. D. Nixon, hope for a better tomorrow for black and white men of Dixie springs anew in their hearts. Even the casual observers of the changing scenes of American life cannot be but understand and appreciate the meaning and the message of this great drama of human dignity and human decency now in the process of unfoldment in the headquarters of the old Confederacy of the South, Montgomery, Alabama.

Moreover, while the threatening clouds of racial violence hand menacingly over various areas of the deep South, the prospects are that the new spirit of passive resistance, non-violent, good-will direct action on the part of Negroes, victims of unspeakable oppression, exploitation and terrorization, Negroes who may see the passing of their little farms through sheriff sales because of inability to secure second and third mortgages under the pressure of the White Citizens Councils, will prevent wide-spread riots and bloodshed for refusal to strike back with violence under any provocation, for they place their reliance upon truth, love and labor in the vineyard for the Brotherhood of man.

Negroes are manifesting great wisdom in not resorting to the impotent weapon of violence in retaliation against the violence of White Citizens Councils, for just as violence cannot enable Negroes to win their civil rights, neither can violence on the part of White Citizens Councils defeat the struggle of Negroes to achieve their civil rights.

Finally, let this conference go on record as advocating that funds be raised for the legal cases of the NAACP, the Montgomery Boycott of the Jim Crow Bus and Negro farmers under boycott of White Citizens Councils in Mississippi and South Carolina, and that the funds be sent to the NAACP and the Montgomery Improvement Association.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH ON CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE NEGRO AT ORCHESTRA HALL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

May 17, 1956

Mr. Chairman, distinguished platform guests and brothers and sisters.

God is our refuge and strength, an ever present help in trouble.

Therefore, will not we fear, though the earth be removed and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea.

This declaration of deathless faith in deliverance from destruction by the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, by the Psalmists 700 years before Christ, will sustain us in this hour of troubles, tears and tragedies.

Despite the raging and devastating hurricane of human hate sweeping over the land, especially below the Potomac, our belief in the ultimate triumph of righteousness is unshakable.

Our dream of and concern about a better tomorrow for all men, regardless of clime, country or color, is deep in the great religious tradition of the prophets and our Judeo-Christian heritage. The history of ancient times is replete with memorable expressions by the old prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and many other Psalmists, indicating dedication to the concept that relationships between men should be righteous, in order that their relations to God might be acceptable to Him. In our Christian faith it is a cardinal principle that every individual is sacred to God; that he has intrinsic worth. It is upon this Judeo-Christian ethic and philosophy that our democratic society is built. Thus, if we accept the concept of the fatherhood of God, it logically follows that we must agree to the validity of its corollary, the brotherhood of man, and if we honor the idea of the brotherhood of man, the recognition of the equality of the children of God is

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mandatory and inevitable.

Thus, if the children of God are equal before Him, segregation of God's children on account of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, is not only artificial but constitutes a rejection of the idea of the fatherhood of God and is, thus, sacrilegious. It is the negation of the principle of human solidarity which springs from the doctrine of one Creator of all mankind.

One cannot accept the idea of the sacredness of the dignity of the human personality and also sanction segregation of individual human beings because of differences in the color of skin or the possession of varied superficial physical characteristics; for such segregation attaches stigma and inferiority to peoples and serves to degrade, demean and demoralize their human dignity.

This, then, is the moral philosophy and religious foundation of the struggles on the part of Negroes and their allies for civil rights. It is pertinent to observe that civil rights are attributes of citizenship. Without these attributes of civil rights there can be no citizenship. Civil rights, provided for in the Federal Constitution, specifically the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, are designed to give the basis of implementation for the recognition of our human rights. In fact, civil rights stem from human rights; human rights that set forth man's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Now, human rights are natural rights. Human rights arise as a result of an individual being human. No government, constitution or legislation can give an individual his human rights, but constitutions and legislation may interfere with the recognition of one's human rights, of one's ability to enjoy his human rights. While civil rights are

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created by governments, human rights are God-given, not man-made. Since Negroes' human rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness have been denied and withheld by the interposition of jim-crow laws, Negroes are required, through the process of the courts and government agencies, to strike down these legislative measures for the maintenance of segregation in order that they may be fully free. This is why it was necessary to form and develop the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This is why it is necessary to inform, awaken and arouse public opinion to injustice and wrong through discussion and debate in meetings of this sort.

In very truth, we are witnessing a great battle of ideas between segregation or racial serfdom and integration or racial freedom. The schools of thought that support segregation and integration must, therefore, convince public opinion of the justice of their cause. This will require ceaseless and effective presentation of the truths of integration, not in the spirit of hate and hostility but of love and good-will.

Let us not forget that the public mind will accept error as readily as it will truth. In view of this psychological principle Negroes, despite the possession of a good case, have a responsibility of waging a relentless war against the errors, fallacies, myths and fictions of racial superiority and racial inferiority - the South's justification for the whole vicious system of jim-crow.

It can be clearly seen, by the 101 Congressmen and Senators signing the notable manifesto of constitutional principles as an open declaration of defiance of the United States Supreme Court decision for the desegregation of public shcools, and the rise and spread of White Citizens Councils lead and

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composed of fanatical racist terrorists, that the South is making its supreme effort to maintain segregation as a permanent way of life.

What can the Negro do to meet this challenge?

A measure of guidance and understanding may be secured from the State of the Race Conference, composed of 73 Negro leaders, which, in addition to endorsing and adopting the Declaration of Intentions, a statement of moral inspiration and dedication to the cause of human dignity, drafted and issued by Dr. J. H. Jackson, President of the National Baptist Convention, gave discussion and sanction to the following courses of racial action:

One: Unity of support of the United States Supreme Court decision for the desegregation of public schools, for the deep South is a unit in opposition to it.

Two: Unity back of the leadership for civil rights by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which southern racial reaction seeks to encircle, outlaw and isolate from Negroes by bias legislation, intimidation and violence.

Three: Cooperate in membership drives to secure a million members and build a two-million civil rights fighting fund for the National Association, the Montgomery boycott of jim-crow buses and

Four: Relief for Negro farmers, business people, discharged workers, dismissed teachers and militant leaders in Mississippi, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama who are victims of economic reprisals on account of their attempt to register and vote, membership in the NAACP or known support of the cause of civil rights.

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Five: Because neither the Republican or Democratic Party has made any serious attempt to secure the adoption of any civil rights legislation in the Congress since 1870, it is the part of wisdom and common sense for Negroes in the coming presidential election, to remain politically uncommitted in order that they may no longer be taken for granted by Democrats or Republicans.

Moreover, the attitude of Negroes toward the Republican and Democratic Party should be determined by both their record, in terms of deeds for civil rights legislation in the present Congress, and their platform pledges on civil rights that come out of the coming Republican and Democratic national conventions.

With respect to Congressmen and Senators, those who support and fight for civil rights legislation should be rewarded with our vote as our friends, and those that oppose civil rights legislation, or who remain silent on same, should be punished by refusing them our votes on the grounds that they are our enemies.

Six: Since politicians are naturally timid and respect nothing but power, which is indispensable sucessfully to combat the southern forces of racial reaction, Negroes are confronted with the challenge of developing their maximum political potential upon a basis of their population. This can only be done by a nation-wide Register and Vote Crusade, on a block by block, door to door basis in every hamlet, village and city.

Because the South is using its political power as a block against civil rights, Negroes have no alternative except to build a powerful political block for civil rights.

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Thus, housewives, youth, fraternities, fraternal societies, churches and labor unions should be involved in this crusade, probably through an independent national organization, but with no political party alliance.

Seven: Support the 50,000 Negroes in Montgomery in their gallant walk for freedom in protest against the jim-crow bus.

But, not only should this memorable demonstration of the Negro masses of Montgomery against insult, abuse and terrorism under the splendid leadership of a minister, the Reverend King, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, and an humble Pullman porter, Brother E. D. Nixon, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' Montgomery Division and treasurer of the Montgomery Improvement Association,be supported but Negroes may profitably follow the strategy of social action made historic by the Montgomery bus boycott and Mahatma Gandhi's historic struggle against British imperialism in India; namely, non-violent, non-cooperative, good-will direct action and passive non-resistance with and to evil.

In this great fight for freedom, Negroes should not permit themselves to be provoked to the use of violence against violence under any circumstances. For just as violence cannot win civil rights for Negroes; violence by the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan, by the same token, cannot defeat the fight by Negroes for their civil rights.

If Negroes continue wisely to shun the use of violence like a plague and keep the fight against segregation upon the high level of discussion, debate, argument, reason, fact and evidence,on the public platform, in the press, on the television and radio, our cause of integration will ultimately prevail because history is on our side.

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Finally, may Negroes ever remain steadfastly committed and loyal to our democratic society as against the totalitarian state, communist or fascist, since only within the framework of democracy can minorities, including Negroes, hope to win freedom, justice, status and dignity. In view of the problems incident to color, the obvious fact is that Negroes cannot bear the burden of being black and red at the same time. And if Negroes would win the fight for equality and decency, they cannot afford to be black and yellow.

And thus, our answer to the old South, now in the throes of death, which lost slavery but, like a dying wounded beast, strikes out violently to hold on to its old system of segregation, white primaries, poll tax, vagrancy laws, peonage, convict labor and all forms of jim-crow, is in the words of the great prophet Amos:

> But let judgement run down as waters,
> and righteousness as a mighty stream.

and the counsel of another great prophet, Micah:

> He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good;
> And what doth the Lord require of thee,
> But to do justly, and to walk humbly with God?

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
TO
CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
OCTOBER 28, 1956

THE FIGHT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS IS ALSO THE FIGHT FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

The fight for civil rights in the United States today is the fight for democracy and the fight for democracy is the fight for our country against the totalitarian forces of communism, fascism and racism.

Civil rights are designed to give validity to human rights and human rights are God-given and not man-made

Because the White Citizens Councils in the South are taking the law into their own hands and are resorting to violence and mob rule to nullify the United States Supreme Court desegregation decision of May 17, 1954, as well as to intimidate Negro citizens who seek to exercise their constitutional right of suffrage, they, the White Citizens Councils, constitute a grave threat to American democracy and constitutional government.

I wish to express commendation for the high moral statesmanship of such Catholic leaders as Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel of New Orleans, who, in supporting the principle of school integregation, condemned segregation as a sin. Segregation is a sin because it demeans, degrades and discounts the dignity of the individual personality on account of race and color.

The struggle for first-class citizenship in the United States by Negroes is of central importance to the world-wide conflict between the forces of democracy and communism and the victory of the struggle for civil rights represents the victory of democracy over totalitarian communism which is waging an international campaign to win the minds and allegiance of the peoples of color and the laboring masses of the world.

I wish to express my high appreciation for the constructive and fundamental work for racial justice which is being carried on by the Catholic Interracial Councils of the country. While this is a dark hour upon the civil rights front in the South, the future belongs to racial and social justice for all men regardless or race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry because, in the end, justice and righteousness will prevail.

Because all men are a part of the family of mankind, even the members of the White Citizens Councils being a part of this human family, may be expected eventually to see the light of truth and recognize the worth and value of every individual human being whether he be a Negro or Jew, Catholic or Protestant, employer or worker.

The individual human rights of men and women cannot be permanently rejected since they are natural rights and have their existence in the laws of our moral order. Under the laws of our moral order there can be no superior human being or inferior human being because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry. And if men regardless of race or color are equal in the moral order and before God, they should and will become equal before the laws of the land.

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE Speeches

Statement by A. Philip Randolph at
Conference on Migratory Labor and Low
Income Farmers - Sheraton-McAlpin Hotel,
November 13, 1957.

Dr. Graham, one of the truly great liberals of our times, and friends of the Conference:

First of all, permit me to express congratulations to Mrs. Fay Bennett upon so representative a conference. I account it a success.

In these crucial times one must be brave indeed to even plan to conduct any kind of conference if it be not directly related to the physical survival of our country. The projection into outer space of the first and second Sputnicks of the Soviet Union has spread and engendered fears and frustrations among the people and made the public extremely physical security conscious. Now, this is as it should be, because it would be tragic were the Russian communist state to out-distance our country in technology and the means of war and defense.

It is well and timely that we realize that the world is divided into two camps; the free world of democracy and the slave world of communism. Since it is also apparent that the Russian communist system is bent upon world conquest and domination, it is imperative that the American people have a sense of urgency with respect to the power of the country to hold its own against the Russian communist forces.

But there are other strengths aside from technology, industrialism and science that a country needs. These strengths are spiritual and moral; they stem from the system of values we believe in and live by and are willing to fight for. At the top of this system of values is the concept and belief in the essential worth and value and the sacredness of the dignity of the personality of every human being, whether white or Negro, Jew or Gentile, Protestant or Catholic, native or foreign.

But in our national community there is a large segment of people known as the migratory workers and farm hands for whose personality there is little respect and practically no reverence. In fact, they are the forgotten laborers; they have been practically forgotten by Government, as shown by little, fragmentary and ineffective protective legislation. They have been almost forgotten by organized labor. Even today, concern about and financial support of agencies such as the National Agricultural Workers Union and the National Sharecroppers Fund and other farm and labor movements are quite obviously inadequate. These movements need positive, long-range financial assistance in considerable proportions in order appreciably and effectively to grapple with the farm labor and migratory worker problem.

A major part of the financial support of these movements in the interest of migratory laborers and low income farmers should come from organized labor which benefits from the elimination of this economic sickness in our body politic.

The migratory workers have been forgotten by the public. No doubt, the reason for this is that the revolution involving industrialization and urbanization has brought about a shift in interest and concern on the part of the public from the rural farm areas of the country to the urban and highly industrialized centers. The migratory and low income farm laborers are the victims of this condition.

Another reason for the plight of the migratory workers is that they have no permanent economic stake for which to fight, or base from which to fight; they are practically a rootless segment of the population. The great mass have no organization and the organization of the few farm laborers is relatively weak; weak in numbers and weak in financial resources.

In addition to this, these workers are usually illiterate or semi-illiterate and are easy marks for deception on the part of designing employers. Moreover, their wages are low and make possible only the most miserable social conditions under which they live.

Hence, this is why we are assembled here in this conference. We are looking for a cure for this social and economic problem of exploitation and oppression.

An effective remedy will lie in the following steps:

1. A bona-fide trade union organization of migratory farm laborers, in order that they may be able to fight for decent wage rates and working conditions.
2. Coverage of migratory farm workers by protective social labor legislation.
3. Mobilization of public opinion back of the farm workers' union and other agencies seeking to improve their economic and social lot.

Thus, it is the hope of the National Sharecroppers Fund that the various participants in this conference will become active and dynamic agents in not only helping to inform and mobilize public sentiment back of the farm workers but also to help build up the necessary financial resources which will make an effective fight for the elimination of this deplorable system of exploitation of farm laborers possible.

Some points that Mr. Randolph may wish to make in his statement to The Southern Negro Leaders' Conference on Transportation and Nonviolent Integration to be held in Atlanta, Georgia, January 10th and 11th, 1957.

1. This is a period of great social revolt throughout the world -- a time of crisis for mankind. The struggle is historic because:

   a. its aim is for human dignity and total freedom from dominance and oppression;

   b. its method is nonviolent and opposed to the degrading reliance on force. It seeks to demonstrate that man can achieve justice by moral means.

2. The Negro's struggle for dignity is a part of this worldwide trend in both aim and method.

3. All over the South today you are leading men who are proclaiming dignity and freedom. In fact, in Montgomery, in Tallahassee, in Birmingham, you are carrying on the great and peaceful revolution that Gandhi began at the opening of the 20th century in Africa -- and which he later employed so magnificently to win not only Freedom for India, but also the hearts of the British people.

4. A struggle so squarely based on moral imperatives cannot fail. Already it has shifted the center of gravity ~~of~~ to the South, where, indeed, justice must triumph if the American Negro is to be free.

5. And so as you gather today to share views on moving ahead, I wish to express the deep affection that our people, and millions of white people all over America, have for you, who have, by your deeds of valor, become the first line of defense from Virginia to Texas. We are with you in spirit; we are with you financially. And we want you to know that we shall resolutely try to carry on our part of the burden of thought and action wherever we are.

6. We know that yours is the more difficult task; We know the violence and coercion you face; we sense that as you press on the immediate future will not be easy.

7. Therefore, we are elated that you have chosen to gather to explore ways and means of meeting that challenge. Those who oppose us will take advantage of any disunity or division. But they finally will be won over by resolution and perseverence. Thus we hope that you can devise strategy of such common direction and purpose that not only will our freedom be advanced, but also the mental health of the white South and the spiritual growth of America and the world. Our greatest task is to help this nation reclaim her integrity - to help her practice what, in God's name, she preaches -- freedom and justice for all.

8. To whatever your deliberations lead, know this:

We who reside outside the South will do all in our power to help in anyway that we can. We have faith in your future judgment just as we glory in your past deeds that have brought honor upon all people of good will in this nation and in the world. If you have need of us, call - and we shall answer. For North and South we have much yet to be done that this nation's honor under God shall be fulfilled.

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Southern Leaders Conference on Transportation
and NonViolent Integration.
Rev M L King Sr,
Ebenezer Baptist Church
407 Auburn
Atlanta Ga
2 P.M. Thur Jan 10th + 11th

Monday

Memphis – V [illegible]

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Eastern Mu 8-8000

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8:25 – Am La Guardia 1:11 Pm

9:24

4:35 – Pm

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AIR MAIL
The Mayflower
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Rev. M. L. King Sr.

Ebenezer Baptist Church
407 Auburn
Atlanta, Ga

In this period of great social revolt against tyranny and wrong a moral and political crisis of mankind throughout the world - the struggle being waged in Montgomery, Birmingham, Ala. and Tallahassee, for human dignity and first-class citizenship with moral means in the great and noble tradition ~~without resort to violence is historic~~ of Gandhi ~~is historic~~, without resort to violence even when you are the victims of violence, is historic.

As you and your co-workers and brothers come together today to share views on moving forward and onward, I wish to assure you of the deep affection and faith of our people and millions of liberty loving white people all over America pray for you and your dedication and courage in waging the great moral and spiritual offensive against the sin and evil of segregation of God's children upon a basis of race and color. Be assured we are with you in spirit and we are with you financially. It is written in the stars that love will conquer hate - justice will overcome injustice and truth will triumph over error and this our great crusade for the brotherhood of man cannot fail.

A Philip Randolph

Statement of A. Philip Randolph,
AFL-CIO Representative at the
Ghana Independence Celebrations
March 2-10, 1957, Accra, Gold Coast

The Honorable Mr. Prime Minister, distinguished government officials and friends of Ghana:

Being a descendant of Africans who came from this great continent, I consider it an honor and delight to have been invited to participate in the fellowship of the celebration of independence of the Gold Coast. From this day onward, it will be known as Ghana. I have the inexpressible joy upon this occasion of serving as the delegate of the largest free trade union center of the world: the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations of the United States of America. I, therefore, in the name of 16 million wage earners of the free trade union movement of the United States of America, bring greetings, felicitations and goodwill to an independent Ghana.

Verily, this is an historic occasion, not only of great potentiality for growth and development in the economic, social and political spheres for the people of this country, but of tremendous significance to the entire world.

In very truth, the peaceful transition of the Gold Coast from a colony under British rule to independence, is not only a modern miracle but a great tribute to the intelligence, integrity and courage of its leadership.

In these perilous times, when the Soviet rulers use brute terror to crush the will to freedom of the Hungarian people, you may count it among your many blessings that, as a part of the free world, you have escaped such an unhappy and dreadful fate.

Emerging, as it were, out of the dark night of colonialism, as a free, independent government in these times of trouble, yours is the opportunity in the councils of nations of the world to help bring a just and durable peace to mankind.

The free world needs you to help make it completely free and to keep it free.

The free world needs you to help make it strong, strong in the things of the spirit, the book and the mind.

It needs you to help make it invincible and unconquerable against the forces of Racism, Communism and Fascism.

It needs you to help bring the great continent of Africa within the orbit of the free world.

As a result of the raging fires of nationalism sweeping over the world, and your own strong and determined bid for a place in the sun of national self-determination, independence is yours.

Fired and inspired by your march to a self-governing status, the first nation south of the Sahara Desert, your brothers and sisters of color in the great republic of the United States, who are not only fighting for, but steadily achieving the status of first-class citizenship, hail and salute you. I bespeak the sentiment of black Americans when I express great pride that our Government, the United States of America, which once was a colony itself, pays you the great honor and respect, which you merit and deserve, of sending its Vice-President, The Honorable Richard Nixon, second in command to President Eisenhower, to bring you friendly greetings and goodwill. And this is as it should be; for, contrary to propaganda, the United States has no colonial tendencies or ties but shares the aspirations and hopes of peoples for freedom and independence everywhere who are the victims of colonialism as a result of western imperialism or Russian communism.

Now that independence is a reality, it is well to recognize that instead of being an end, it is a means to an end. The great problems of a free-governing people will continue to exist despite independence; these are the problems of building and developing a sound and free industrial and agricultural economy which must constitute the foundation of your national society.

In order that this task may be progressively and constructively carried forward, your country must not only be free of external domination but free from within. Freedom and democracy do not inhere in independence per se, nor do they automatically follow therefrom. All of the moral, spiritual and intellectual resources of the leaders and people of Ghana will be required to hammer out and maintain free democratic institutions and a free way of life that are basically implicit in the mandates of nationalism. But I need not tell your great leaders that the job of building a sound, free economy will be no less challenging and difficult than winning independence.

Certainly, the independence of no people is secure unless the life of the people has promise of happiness and growth and development; unless the country moves toward the building of a literate and educated citizenship, free from disease and poverty. But, a people who have won the priceless jewel of independence in the jungle of international politics are less in need of counsel than assurance, cooperation and support, in their struggle for stability, domestic and international.

Though a young and new nation, you have come into an era of advanced science, industrialism and technology. Your very survival will be based upon your success in understanding and manipulating these great forces. Your national stability and progress will depend, not only upon the progressive improvement of the skills and technical training of the wage earners who must man your industrial and agricultural machines, but also upon their future orientation toward the free trade union movement of the world and the ideologies of democracy and communism. This is so because the world is riven in twain ideologically, with a few non-committed countries in between.

In the camp of democracy are the people committed to the institutions of a free press, free assembly, and free speech, the right of habeas corpus, freedom from search and seizure, freedom of thought, freedom of worship, freedom of association.

Not so with the totalitarian societies. Here, all authority and power reside in the hands of one centralized entity, a dictator, whether under the cult of the individual or the cult of collectivity.

Thus, yours is the grave necessity and responsibility to choose the path of your social, political and economic commitment or non-commitment.

I need not tell you that the Negro community and the labor community of the United States not only welcome, but urge your commitment to the great moral values of freedom and human dignity that only have meaning, force and reality within the framework of a democratic society.

You may be assured of understanding, cooperation and support, in your struggle to follow your star of destiny for independence and freedom, from the great movement of free labor in the United States; a movement which has been, historically, the adversary of colonialism and a slave society. From this position it will never swerve, for the future belongs to free men fighting for a free world.

And, may God grant that the day will soon come when all the peoples of Africa will be free, and live together, without regard to race or color, religion or national origin, in the spirit of brotherhood and peace.

Statement by A. Philip Randolph
to the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom
at the Lincoln Memorial, May 17, 1957

My honored colleagues and co-workers, the Rev. Dr. King and the Hon. Mr. Wilkins, Ministers of the Church and fellow Prayer Pilgrims for Freedom:

In the pattern of good American traditions, Negroes and whites, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, trade unionists, professional and educational leaders have assembled here in a great pilgrimage of prayer for freedom at the monument of Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, to tell the story of our long night of trial and trouble and our renewal of faith in and consecration to the sacred cause of a rebirth of freedom and human dignity.

Thus, we have come to memorialize the third anniversary of the historic United States Supreme Court decision for the desegregation of public schools, a veritable Emancipation Proclamation of the mind and the human spirit.

We have come to demonstrate the unity of the Negroes and their allies, labor, liberals and the Church, behind the civil rights bills now before Congress, in order that they might not be strangled to death by committee maneuverings and the filibuster.

We have gathered together to proclaim our uncompromising support of the fight of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for civil rights and democracy under the able, resourceful and constructive leadership of Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary. This is the agency which has been chiefly responsible for civil rights decisions in the courts of our land to eliminate second-class citizenship based upon race or color.

We are here to tell those who worship the false gods of white supremacy in the South to keep their evil hands off the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

And we have come to warn the liberal, religious, educational, labor and business forces of the North of the grave danger of a spreading sentiment in some sections of the South to deny the right of existence to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is a matter of common historical knowledge that the denial of free, voluntary association for the achievement of lawful, social, political and economic objectives of a particular group in our national community will, like the contagion of disease, spread to other associations of citizens which, for the present, may not be the objects of persecution. In very truth, it may be the NAACP which is banned by irrational racial legislation today, but the ban may come to the Knights of Columbus, B'nai B'rith, the AFL-CIO, and some of the sections of The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., tomorrow.

We are here to make known our unqualified sanction of and cooperation with the magnificent, challenging and successful struggle against segregated buses in Montgomery, Alabama, the cradle of the old Confederacy, under the inspired leadership of a great church leader and prophet of our times, the Rev. Mr. Martin Luther King. This is one of the great sagas of the struggle for human decency and freedom, made effective by a veritable miracle of unity of some fifty thousand Negroes under the spiritual banner of love, non-cooperation with evil and non-violence.

We are assembled here to express our righteous indignation against and condemnation of the notorious Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils. The revival of these agencies of hate and violence constitute a grave threat, not only to law and order in the South but to the democracy of our country, as well as a shock to the faith and confidence of peoples everywhere in the integrity of our moral leadership of the free world.

We have come to call upon President Eisenhower, our great national and world leader, who is undoubtedly possessed of a high sense of humanity, to speak out against the lawlessness, terror and fears that hang like a pall over the hearts of citizens of color in the South as a result of devastating bombings of their homes and churches, shooting and killing of citizens who have the courage to assert their constitutional rights, and the intimidation of white and colored people by cross burnings and the parades of hooded men and women.

As the highest expression of the moral and political authority of our country, we urge the President to help rebuild the shaken and shattered hopes of millions of Negroes and white peoples of the South, by raising his voice of counsel to the people to obey the laws of the land.

We have come to state our unshakable belief in the principles of human solidarity and the worth, value and dignity of the personality of every human being, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, and to point out the fallacy and mythology of the doctrine of white supremacy.

It is written in the Declaration of Independence of our country that all men are created equal and possess the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These are natural human rights. They are God-given, not mad-made. Every organ of Government and official of State are required by constitutional fiat and the moral law to uphold these rights, not to conspire with anti-democratic forces to deny, nullify and destroy them.

Thus, civil rights have a moral and spiritual basis, for they are designed to implement and give reality and force to our human rights that exist as a result of our being human, and we are human because we have been created human beings by God. Since all men are the children of God, they are equal before God and should be equal before the laws of the state.

We are here to assert that the issue in the crisis of civil rights in our nation today does not involve opposition of Negroes to whites or whites to Negroes. There are leaders in certain circles who would like to make this the issue, but the real issue involves conflict between certain basic social and moral values, such as freedom against slavery, truth against error, justice against injustice, equality against inequality, love against hate, good against evil, the right to vote against disenfranchisement, law and order against mob rule.

One has only to witness this great demonstration of prayer pilgrims for freedom to note that they have come from various creeds, colors, countries, classes, callings and crafts.

We like to think that God is on the side of our American way of life but this will only be true to the extent that our American way of life is on the side of God, who said: "I am the way, the truth and the light." Hence, in the eyes of God there is neither black nor white, nor red nor yellow, nor Jew nor Gentile, nor barbarian nor Scythian, but all are brothers in Christ Jesus. "By this will all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for another."

We have come to assert our rejection of the promise and pattern and path to freedom by communists and communism as an illusion and a snare; a fraud and a menace, which can only lead to the dead end of chaos and confusion, frustration and fear, dictatorship, slavery and despair.

Finally, we have come to reaffirm our belief in and devotion and allegiance to the American constitutional system of government, within which citizens, though not fully free, are possessed of the priceless right to fight for their rights.

But, to the end of achieving these civil rights and giving strength and integrity to our democratic order of government, it is the obligation and responsibility of every citizen of color, wage earner and lover of liberty to exercise his constitutional right to register and vote. We suggest no party or person to vote for, but we call upon every Negro, especially, not only to register and vote himself, but to serve as a missionary to get his neighbors in every house, in every block, in every hamlet, village, city and state of our country to register and vote, that we may build the power to help save the soul of America and extend and maintain the free world for free men.

Be not dismayed by the frightful wave of violence and persecution against persons of color now sweeping the South. It is written in the stars that the old order of southern feudalism, with its remnants and vestiges of lynching, peonage, vagrancy laws, mob violence, Ku Klux Klan, anti-labor union practices expressed in right-to-work laws, widespread illiteracy, low wages, dying; its death will come as a result of the emergence of the dynamic impulse for freedom surging in the hearts of Negroes, together with the march of industrialization, urbanization, labor union organization, extension of education and the modernization of government through the spread of the ballot. These new forces will create and build a new South, free for the white and black masses to pursue a life of dignity and decency.

In conclusion, in the words of David, "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my help."

Yes, we have set our hands to the cause of a better and happier tomorrow for all men, and though we be beset by setbacks, persecution and trouble, the lot of all peoples who have won liberty and justice, may God grant that we may never falter.

* * * * * *

TO BE INSERTED ON PAGE 4 AFTER THE FOURTH PARAGRAPH:

We reject the support and cooperation of communists in the fight for civil rights because we are opposed to the use of immoral means to attain moral ends. Further, we know that communist have no genuine interest in the solution of problems of racial discrimination but seek only to use this issue to strengthen the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

STATEMENT OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
RECIPIENT OF I.B.P.O.E.W. LOVEJOY AWARD
PHILADELPHIA, PA., AUGUST 26, 1957

Grand Exalted Ruler, the Honorable Mr. Robert H. Johnson, Judge Hobson R. Reynolds, Grand Director of the Elks Department of Civil Liberties, officers and members of the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World, brothers and sisters and friends:

Permit me to take this opportunity to express my deep and sincere appreciation and gratitude for the signal honor you have bestowed upon me in granting me the annual Lovejoy Award.

May I assure you that I shall ever treasure this fine token of regard for and interest in my humble efforts, as a priceless symbol of the struggle of the peoples of color in our country for human dignity and equality and racial and social justice.

I am greatly delighted and intrigued with this distinction of being a recipient of this outstanding recognition for service from an organization of the noble and great traditions of the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World. You have merited and won the acclaim and admiration of the Negro community, as well as the respect of the citizens of our country by the notable record of service you have given to your membership in particular and the people in general.

Not content with providing the regular benefits incidental to a fraternal institution, you have wisely elected to make as one of your major concerns, the Negro's fight for full first-class citizenship in the country. This admirable and constructive position of yours on the Negro liberation movement has its roots in the challenging and forward-looking leadership of the lamented champion of the cause of the common man, J. Finlay Wilson.

I need not tell you that the civil rights revolution is the stronger and richer by virtue of your participation in it.

But, of course, all of us are aware of the fact that we are now in the grip of a civil rights crisis; a crisis which has resulted from the failure and collapse of the Civil War Revolution which was designed, not only to free the Negro slaves, but to transform them into free workers and independent citizens. All of us are familiar with the story. The three War Amendments, the 13th, 14th and 15th, were enacted by the Congress and they were promptly nullified by the southern states as they were taken back into the Union.

During Reconstruction, and following hard upon the heels of this period, all of the devices for the nullification of the Emancipation Proclamation were brought into existence. Not only did the legislatures of the various southern states enact legislation in the form of poll taxes, grandfather clauses, white primaries, vagrancy laws and peonage to reduce the Negro to the status of a serf, but the Ku Klux Klan arose, with the terror and cruelty of night-riding, cross-burning, lynch and mob law, to break the spirit of the freedmen.

Thus, following the enactment of the 15th Amendment in 1870, the counter-revolution for the reenslavement of the former slaves got under way.

It is still strong and defiant.

But, stirred by the great struggles, traditions and ideals of the Abolitionists and Congressman Thaddeus Stevens and Senator Charles Sumner, together with the fighting spirit of the Negro leaders of the liberation movement, the Negro masses are on the march toward complete equality.

Outstanding symbol of this renaissance of the spirit for complete racial and social justice is the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, which struck down segregation in public schools. Following close upon this notable victory was the epoch-making and victorious struggle of Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama, against the jim-crow bus, with the weapon of non-violence and non-cooperation with evil, under the great leadership of the Reverend Martin Luther King.

Now, at this hour, a great battle is under way in the Congress, in the interest of the enactment of the civil rights bill. Efforts are being made to emasculate the measure by all sorts of crippling amendments, such as the jury trial. Both political parties are more concerned about making political capital out of the fight for the civil rights bill than the securing of a sound, bona-fide civil rights law. Out of the struggle, some basic benefits will emerge even if no civil rights bill is enacted.

First of all, the rivalry between the two parties to secure credit for efforts in behalf of civil rights is an evidence of the recognition of the political power of the Negro. Politicians, regardless of which party they are in, are not unaware of the fact that 450 thousand Negro votes in New York, 350 thousand votes in Illinois and 385 thousand votes in Pennsylvania, to say nothing about the growing political strength of Negroes in strategic states, such as Ohio, Michigan, California, New Jersey and Missouri, can be decisive in any Presidential campaign.

Thus, while it cannot be said that the Republican and Democratic politicians have changed their heart with respect to Negro civil rights, it is quite evident that the growing political power of the Negro is changing their mind.

This great organization deserves commendation and praise for the fine role you have played and are playing in this great drama of the peoples of color in the United States to win the status of human dignity, equality and justice.

The fight for civil rights is the fight for democracy and the fight for democracy is the fight against autocracy of Fascism on the right and Communism on the left.

EXTRACT FROM DEBATE ON WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AT ICFTU FIFTH WORLD CONGRESS - TUESDAY, 9th JULY, 1957

Mr. A. Philip Randolph (United States, AFL-CIO): Since the ICFTU is concerned about the extension of the boundaries of the free Trade Union Movement it necessarily is concerned about the development of a free world, because in the nature of things free trade unions can only survive in a democratic, free society. A democratic, free society can only exist if the members of that society continue to be free. Since that is true, it is important that the question of human rights be recognized as a basic feature of every national community, because human rights represent the hall-mark of a free citizen.

Today the meaning of human rights is that they are natural rights. My right to life, my right to liberty, my right to the pursuit of happiness are natural rights. No government can give me the right to life or the right to liberty. Governments can give recognition and sanction to those rights, and governments should give protection to individuals in the exercise of their human rights. But human rights exist prior to governments. They are God-given and not man-made. In other words, God creates human beings and my human rights exist as a result of my being a human being. Since all men are created out of one blood, then all men are brothers. If all men are brothers, all men are equal before God, and they ought to be equal before the state, and, of course, in the house of labour.

But we know that all men are not recognized as equal. I refer now chiefly to the free world, because in the totalitarian Communist slave world there is no such thing as human rights; the individual is a cog in the giant wheel of the state machine; he is the creature of the state, made for the state, and not the state for the individual. In the free world it is different. The individual is regarded as the master of the state, and consequently in the system of values of the free world the element of human dignity is significant and important. In other words, every individual has worth, has value, has virtue, has significance, whether he be in the mines of Johannesburg, whether he be a don at Oxford, or whether he be in the United States Senate. He represents importance in the society, and therfore should be given all the rights, all the freedoms that are essential for the complete expression of his personality. But we know that not to be fully true today. Why is that? In the early stages of world imperialism, when Africa and Asia were being parcelled out by the great power nations, racial discrimination and racial prejudice were invented as a means of providing rationalization, if not justification, for the subjection of millions of people in Africa and Asia, - in other words, the doctrine of the superiority of the race was fabricated. The idea that there are inferior races became a cardinal article of faith of the imperialist powers. The object was to get the people in these lands themselves to agree and acquiesce in their own inferiority - alleged inferiority - in order that exploitation and oppression might be advanced and consolidated.

AS WE SEE IT (ABC) October ~~20~~ 13, 1957

An AFL-CIO Public Service Radio Series

Subject: Human Rights for All

Guest: A. Philip Randolph, President of the
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO

Moderator: Harry W. Flannery

Time: 13:15

FLANNERY: As We See It -- ladies and gentlemen.

The Little Rock integration difficulties and other aspects of the racial equality program in the United States bring into news perspective a speech made at the ICFTU Congress in Tunisia, North Africa.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters, vice president of the AFL-CIO, member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and one of the outstanding Negro leaders in the U.S., made this address at the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions Congress.

Randolph spoke with optimism about the progress being made in this country.

RANDOLPH: In the United States of America, the achievement of human rights is moving at a high pace. Of course, there is a long road ahead, but racial discrimination is steadily, though slowly, fading away.

FLANNERY: He noted the progress being made in labor.

RANDOLPH: The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, under the able and resourceful leadership of George Meany, who is dedicated to the idea of the elimination of racial discrimination, with the vigorous and able support of Walter Reuther and other vice presidents of the AFL-CIO, is making an able and constant and vigorous fight to eliminate discrimination in all forms, not only in the labor movement, but in all areas of American life. The Negroes themselves are united behind the civil rights fight, and they have the cooperation of organized labor and also the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious communities in the interests of making the idea of the brotherhood of man a reality.

At the same time, the job is far from complete. I would not stand up here and pretend that all forms of discrimination have been eliminated in the various areas of American life, because that is not true. But the fact is that more so than at any other period in the history of the country the conscience of the people has been aroused to the fact that racial discrimination is against sound Americanism, it is against sound Christianity, and against sound trade unionism.

FLANNERY: The concept of human rights is basic. It goes beyond the laws enacted by a state or nation, Randolph declared.

RANDOLPH: Today, the meaning of human rights is that they are natural rights. My right to life, my right to liberty, my right to the pursuit of happiness are natural rights. No government can give me the right to life or the right to liberty. Governments can give recognition and sanction to those rights, and governments should give protection to individuals in the exercise of their human rights.

But human rights exist prior to governments. They are God-given and not man-made. In other words, God creates human beings, and my human rights exist as a result of my being a human being. Since all men are created out of one blood, then all men are brothers. If all men are brothers, all men are equal before God, and they ought to be equal before the state, and, of course, in the house of labor.

FLANNERY: But, said Randolph to the ICFTU, we know that this is not fully true today. Why is that?

RANDOLPH: The early stages of world imperialism, when Africa and Asia were being parcelled out by the great power nations, racial discrimination and racial prejudice were invented as a means of providing rationalisation, if not justification, for the subjection of millions of people in Africa and Asia--in other words, the doctrine of the superiority of the race was fabricated.

The idea that there are inferior races became a cardinal article of faith of the imperialist powers. The object was to get the people in these lands themselves to agree and to acquiesce in their own inferiority--alleged inferiority--in order that exploitation and oppression might be advanced and consolidated.

Hence the exercise of human rights by these people was interfered with by organized groups, by the state, and the concept of this historical fallacy of racial superiority, this fiction, this fantasy, this myth, became a dangerous factor in the life of the world, and because of its existence great masses of people were denied the right of self-rule. It was said that the non-white people were incapable of self-rule, and only the superior race was entitled to rule the world. This was the pernicious and destructive doctrine that prevailed in the early stages of world imperialism.

FLANNERY: The findings of science have negated this position, Randolph told the ICFTU.

RANDOLPH: Now we know that the findings of science have negated this position. There are Africans who are superiors to some Europeans; there are some Europeans who are superior to some Africans; there are some Asians superior to some Americans; there are some Americans superior to some Asians. But there is no such thing as a superior race or an inferior race.

You will have individuals in a particular group more competent than some other individuals. There are some Africans more competent than some other Africans. Some Europeans more competent than other Europeans.

But this superior competency is not the result of any mental and moral qualities; it's the result of superior environmental conditions and educational opportunities.

All people are basically qualified to master any situation providing they have the opportunity for the acquisition of equipment and knowledge and education and understanding.

The findings of science show that no child is born with race prejudice. African children, American children, European children, have no prejudices against each other. Prejudices are not inherent, they are acquired, they are learned in the home, in the church, in the school, in the union, in the press, in the theatre, in the literature. Just as prejudices are learned they can be unlearned, and this should be the mission of the ICFTU.

FLANNERY: The Congress of the ICFTU was held in Africa for the first time. It was held in one of the new free independent nations of Africa--Tunisia, whose President is Habib Bourghiba. Not many months ago, another native state that had been a colony became a new independent free nation, Ghana. The heads of these two states were at the Congress.

Randolph declared that other parts of Africa also will be free. He asked the Congress to give these Africans their support.

RANDOLPH: I hope that nobody will be offended by the remark I am about to make. Western man bears the mark of guilt and responsibility for the tragic plight of Africa today. Western man has all to gain. Western man's contributions to Africa must not be considered a charity, because Western man has taken out of Africa treasures of wealth and millions of workers.

That is not true of any other continent of the world. During the period of the slave trade, millions of black men and women were carried to the four corners of the world as slave labor, and upon a black pillar of flesh the wealth of great cities was built.

Hence I plead with this Congress to give its support to the African workers in the building of a free trade union movement in order that they may not be lured into the orbit of the Soviet Union, which stands against the freedom of the worker, against the dignity of the human personality, and makes for a slave world of all men regardless of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry.

FLANNERY: This, in part, was the address given by A. Philip Randolph, president of Sleeping Car Porters of America, to the 5th World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, held in Tunis, Tunisia, North Africa. Randolph is a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, vice president of the AFL-CIO, and one of the outstanding Negro leaders of this country.

The ICFTU, before which he spoke, represents 55 million workers in 93 countries. Among its members is the AFL-CIO of the United States. The ICFTU is, as the name implies, an international confederation of the free trade unions of the world.

This is Harry W. Flannery, speaking for the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, and inviting you to be with us next week at this same time for the next program in this series, As We See It.

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ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH **SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE** Speeches 1958

STATEMENT TO THE LABOR CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

LOS ANGELES COUNTY CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL

OCTOBER 3-4, 1958

BY

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Dear Friends and Fellow Workers:

First of all, let me express my great pleasure for the invitation to participate in this Labor Conference on Human Rights under the auspices of the Los Angeles County Central Labor Council.

Human rights is essentially and fundamentally a moral question. It is highlighted in the Declaration of Independence as the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These are the basic value premises of our American creed. These basic rights are recognized and sanctioned in the Federal Constitution and specifically in the Bill of Rights, including the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments.

But it must be remembered that the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness was not created by the Constitution, nor by Government or any law. Our basic human rights preceded the state; they are prior to law. One's human rights exist as a results of one's being human. Thus, human rights are God-given and not man-made.

While every human being possesses human rights, every human being does not possess the privilege of exercising his human rights. Man-made laws, man-made institutions, man-made conventions and customs sometimes intervene, because of prejudices, passions and violence, to present some groups of human beings from exercising their human rights.

Therefore, human rights need implementation in order that they be given effect, force, reality and integrity. Because of man's inhumanity to man, it is imperative that the social conscience of the community, through law, through education, through building and employment of certain institutions, prevent any anti-social force to deny any individual the privilege of exercising and enjoying his human rights. Such is the reason for the fight for civil rights and civil liberties.

Powerful groups in the national community, in the interest of gain and advantage, the accumulation and exercise of power, satisfaction of prejudices, whims and caprices, move to suppress, oppress and exploit unpopular weaker groups. Such is the reason for the opposition to the integration of schools in the South, discrimination against Mexicans and Orientals on the Coast and in the Southwest, increase in anti-Semitism in various areas of the country and the development of anti-Catholicism, anti-foreignism and anti-laborism.

Sometimes the question is asked; But what can civil rights legislation do to eliminate racial and religious prejudices? The answer is: Perhaps legislation cannot do much to correct prejudices since they are inner attitudes of one individual towards others or towards various groups, racial, religious and national, but legislation may be effective in preventing discrimination against various groups of people because of race or color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

This is so because whereas prejudice is an inner attitude which may not be directly reached by legislation, discrimination is an overt act subject to prevention by law. Moreover, although laws cannot make individuals love one another, the process of securing legislation is itself a fundamental educational process. It may have distinctive and definite influence in helping to change attitudes or prejudices.

Again, when, as a result of legal prohibition, an individual or even a municipality or state is prevented from perpetuating discrimination upon individuals or groups, the cessation of discrimination to any degree has psychological value of tending to lessen the incentive and tendency for discrimination.

If this were not so, the whole mission of education would be futile. By the same token, the whole system of laws, constitutions and administrative proceedings would be of no avail.

Moreover, it is a scientifically established fact that race, religious and nationality prejudices are not inherited but acquired, like the measles. Prejudice against the Negro, Jew, Catholic, Mexican, Chinese, Japanese or any individual, nationality or religion is neither inevitable or eternal.

In fact, these prejudices are taught and learned. Just as racial, religious and nationality antagonistic attitudes or biases and various forms of discrimination may be fostered and spread, developed through propaganda, through various media such as schools, churches, press, books, radio, television and other eviromental conditions, so may they be neutralized, negated and eventually eliminated by sound and scientific propaganda, education, moral and spiritual, and also through organization, agitation, legislation and massive social demonstration committed to the expression of the revolutionary Christian teachings of the brotherhood of man.

The aforementioned media may be effective in giving strength to the American creed and ethos, and American dream set forth in the Declaration of Independence, Federal Constitution and to our ideals and values stressing and emphasizing the equalitarian concept of citizenship and mankind.

Because we know there is no innate aversion, prejudice or hatred of any kind between Negro and white children; Jew and Gentile children; Protestant and Catholic children; or native and foreign-born children; that children regardless of race, color, religion, nationality or ancestry are vessels of pure, unadulterated human attitudes, there need be no doubt about the fact that all human beings are made of one blood and are members of one human family whose father is God and whose redeemer is Christ.

There is no doubt, nor can it be gainsaid that all men are truly brothers and that the recognition of human solidarity is basic to the acceptance of the Judeo-Christian ethical tradition that every human being, regardless of the texture of his hair, angle of his eyes, shape of his nose, contour of his face, structure of his head, physiological plan of his body, geographical home, religion or no religion, has worth, value, importance and dignity and his personality is sacred before God; they are equal before God and ought to be equal before the law of the land.

Thus, the personality of every human being is entitled to respect and reverence, both from the individual and the state. Because of the sacredness of the human personality any law, social practice or custom which demeans, degrades or demoralizes the personality of any human being is sinful.

It is a matter of common knowledge that segregation which separates human beings from others on a basis of alleged racial inferiority is a form of aggression by one group of human beings against another group of human beings, merely on account of the accident of race, color or religion.

The fight for human rights involves legislation for civil rights and civil liberties for the implementation of human rights.

Much has been said about the limitations of laws and court decisions to lessen or eliminate racial discriminations because, as it is sometimes held, laws cannot make a person of one race to love a person of another race. While this is true, it does not follow that laws cannot affect the manner in which individuals and groups behave towards one another.

If laws have been enacted by southern states to establish jim crow schools, buses and railroad transportation, residential segregation of parks, hotels and theatres, then it is logical to assume that laws can disestablish these racially segregated schools, buses, rail travel, homes, parks, hotels and theatres.

The very fact that southern politicians found it necessary to adopt legislation to segregate Negro and white people in the South proves that the separation of citizens upon such a basis was not a natural but an artificial arrangement, for there is no more reason why Negro and white children cannot attend the same school in South Carolina than in California.

Moreover, white boys and girls from the Deep South, Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina, are presently attending public schools and colleges in the North, East and West and are sitting in classes with Negro boys and girls without incident.

This proves that Negro and white youth can get along without any unusual trouble if the White Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan and the John Caspers leave them alone.

Since psychologists pretty generally agree that children are born with only two sensations, one is fear of noise and the other is fear of falling, there is no natural tendency for hatred because of race or color among children.

Thus, just as children learn to hate a person because he is a Negro, a Jew, a Mexican, a Catholic, a Chinese or Japanese, they can unlearn prejudices or learn not to hate, or to cease to continue to hate, and to respect, if not love, members of all races, nationalities and religions.

Further, because laws against murder and arson have not stopped murder and arson is no good reason why they should not be maintained or others enacted.

While laws may not fully eliminate crimes, they may tend to eliminate criminals that are a menace to society and, in time, measurably lessen the commission of crimes.

By the same token, civil rights legislation will tend to discourage and prevent, by persuasion or punishment, persons poisoned by the passion of prejudice from interfering with any citizen or individual from exercising and enjoying his human rights.

If legislation was wholly without virtue and value, the bankers, industrialists and merchants would not spend millions to maintain powerful lobbies in Washington and the state, where federal and state legislation is made, unless some laws were considered helpful and others harmful to their interests.

Look at the nation-wide massive movement today to enact so-called right-to-work laws. What are the forces back of this movement? The answer is clear. They are the National Manufacturers' Association and the United States Chambers of Commerce. They are the voice of big business.

What do they want? They want big profits and big power. But this is not all. They fear big labor. They deplore the unity of the AFL-CIO. They would pull its teeth. To this end, they seek to limit, if not abolish, the right of labor and management to sit down for collective bargaining on proposals for union security agreements, such as the union and closed shop, on the grounds that the union shop is an invasion and limitation of personal liberty. Why, they ask, should a wage earner be required to become a member of a union as a condition of continued employment.

The answer is for the same reason that a citizen must pay taxes as a condition to enjoyment of the major rights and privileges of a citizen in a metropolitan community, such as public schools, parks and playgrounds for children, clean and lighted streets, police and fire protection and many other advantages.

For the same reason that doctors must join medical societies as a condition for full, effective and efficient practice of medicine.

So must preachers, priests and rabbis join clerical associations and conferences as a condition to following their calling.

Even industrialists, bankers and merchants must join the National Manufacturers' Association and United States Chambers of Commerce as a condition to receiving the services of these two powerful spokesman of big business. And, be it known that individual manufacturers, merchants and bankers must pay a fee and dues for membership in these giant economic and industrial associations.

ADDRESS OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT
THE CHICAGO DIVISION'S THIRTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY
August 24, 1958

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

Was it worthwhile?

This question is timely since seldom following a conference are there any positive benefits apparent for those who sought the conference. But, of course, failure of appearance of immediate beneficent results is no reliable and sound test of the value of a conference.

The fact is, in our modern society, conference is the major if not basic method of communication for the discussion, examination and resolution of problems; economic, social, political, educational, business, labor, religious, and international.

But while conference usually is the method and mechanism for the initial approach to a problem and also for the formulation of its final adjustment, it is not, however, the only method for dealing with a problem. Sometimes, the only way to get a conference for the purpose of attempting to solve a problem is the method of direct action. Direct action may take the form of public demonstrations such as high public mass meetings; marches by the people on government officers; great parades, with propaganda banners; civil disobedience and non-cooperation; boycotts; strikes; and even wars between nations and peoples.

These forms of mass, direct action possess the value of dramatization of an issue which arouses, awakens, stirs up, and focuses the mind of the people on the problems of injustice.

Mahatma Gandhi used massive civil disobedience and non-cooperation with the British in India as a major weapon for the breakdown of colonialism and British rule.

On a smaller scale the March on Washington Movement was the social technique and method which effected the dramatization of the discrimination against Negroes securing jobs in Government defense plants during the beginning of the second World War. The methodology constituted the pressure which exacted the Executive Order 8802 from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the outgrowth of which was the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice of which M. P. Webster, international vice president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Earl Dickerson of the Liberty Insurance Company of Chicago, were the Negro members.

Following the example of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, some ten or more states and a number of cities have set up Commissions on Fair Employment Practice.

There is also the non-violent boycott of the segregated buses in Montgomery by the Montgomery Improvement Association, headed by Martin Luther King, which was a form of direct action, and it won its objective

Sometime in the historical experience of under-privileged groups it has been necessary to break off conference communication, walk out of the confab, and take the issue to the streets before a settlement of the dispute or a resolution of the problem is achieved.

In fact, it is the record of history that practically all forms of direct action, including mass public demonstrations, labor strikes and wars, grow out of the failure of conferences. When stalemates between the parties of a conference are reached and no form of mediation, conciliation or arbitration can resolve them, some form of direct action is inevitable unless there is the absence of moral and material resources, in which event, frustration and an unorganized, hysterical outburst form of reaction may follow. Wildcat, guerilla-type warfare strikes usually plague an industry where the workers are inhumanely exploited and oppressed and are without a strong trade union to provide representation.

While exploratory conferences have value, the most effective conferences are those in which the party seeking concessions, such as minorities, including

Negroes and trade unions, are prepared to bargain from a position of strength - a position of strength which may be described in the frame of reference of an ad hoc nation-wide moral, psychological and organizational mobilization of the masses for some form of organized non-violent direct action.

Without possessing the capacity to bargain from a position of strength, minorities and trade unions can look to no definitive, specific results to come out of the conference except, perhaps, securing certain psychological and moral values and benefits that, of course, are not to be ignored.

This is why trade unions sometimes take strike votes before entering a conference with employers for collective bargaining on their demands. By the same token, this is the reason why some employers serve labor unions with demands for wage cuts and threats of lock-outs and lay-offs before entering conferences with labor.

VALUE OF PRESIDENTIAL CONFERENCE

Since the conference with President Eisenhower was not set up within the framework of collective bargaining or where the committee of colored citizens possessed the capacity to bargain from a position of strength, the question may be raised - why was it sought?

Sometimes, when the mobilization of a minority behind its demands reaches considerable proportions, their representatives may be invited into conference by the White House. This was the case, with the March on Washington Movement campaign for jobs in defense plants for Negroes, with President Roosevelt, in 1941 .

The mobilization of the masses and leaders of the minority must be sufficient to threaten the stability, prestige and influence of the existing administration in order to win concessions. It is this sort of movement which is certain to move an administration, Republican or Democratic, to action on the demands for civil rights justice and freedom of the Negro and civil liberties and economic justice to trade union organizations.

Effective mobilization of the masses and leaders of Negroes, or any minority or labor, is indispensable as a basic reason and excuse for action by an administration on the demands of a minority. Where there is great pressure on an administration for action on social or racial problems, concessions are sometimes made as a condition of social harmony and peace and the good name of the Government throughout the world to strengthen public opinion in its fundamental sense of goodwill, social and racial justice.

The mobilization of the masses of Negroes is one of the methods which can provide the dramatization of the problems of civil rights on such a scale and with sufficient intensity and force, amidst the multitude of demands and proposals made upon and to the Government by various groups, business, labor, religious, educational, sectional and political, as to be able to win attention and interest.

This sort of big scale approach to the problem is the only type of action which can survive and withstand the massive counter-attacks from the enemies, the Dixiecrat facists. Moreover, in our democratic society where a government must listen to the appeals, proposals and demands from varied and various groups in the national community, it will inevitably move in the direction of the group and make concessions when, as one of two opposing and competing forces, it constitutes the greater challenge and threat to its prestige, power and position.

And it is practically an axiomatic condition that no social economic, political, religious, educational, labor or business group can put forth a proposal or demand upon the Government without provoking opposition from some group in the national community which considers and claims that the granting of concessions to that group is an invasion of and an attack upon its interests. I have only to enumerate a few instances: The Negro's demand for civil rights is opposed by the South and the demands of the South for legislation affecting civil rights is opposed by the Negro. In the economic field, the demands of labor are always fought by capital and the demands of business are practically always condemned by labor.

Thus, in this highly competitive national community with numberless well-organized, powerful groups seeking concessions from the Government, only those groups will win which can effect sufficient mobilization of its forces on a broad scale as to achieve the dramatization of its cause and focus the mind of the public upon it.

In this era of startling and bewildering technology, the mind of the public will not take notice of any cause which cannot stimulate and excite it and no movement or event can stimulate and excite it unless it is massive, unique, original and challenging.

Such movements or events were the United States Supreme Court decision for the desegregation of public schools, May 17, 1954, the Montgomery bus boycott and Little Rock.

And such an event was the historic conference of Negro citizens with President Eisenhower at the White House on June 23, 1958.

WHY CONFERENCE

Now, why did we seek the conference?

First of all, the crisis of the Civil Rights Revolution was deepening and sharpening with violence and a veritable reign of terror; violation of rules of law and order, shattered hopes, fears and frustrations; a crisis which was steadily waxing into a dangerous counter-revolution against the memorable United States Supreme Court desegregation decision of public schools.

We sought the hearing with the President for the following reasons:

Under our system of government, the President, different from the King of England who reigns but does not rule, or the President of France who neither reigns or rules, reigns and rules and is recognized as the most powerful ruler in world today.

Indeed, the President is the symbol and source of power and authority in the country and, with the weight of presidential leadership, a program of civil rights, foreign aid, school construction or reciprocal trade has a far greater chance of acceptance by the Congress, courts or the people than with the support of any other institution in the Government.

While the Congress, by the Constitution, can only declare war, by historical precedent, the President can make war.

Because of the great power of the President all of the rulers of the free world and the non-committed Afro-Asian countries seek conference with him. Within the nation, railroad monarchs, financial tycoons, industrial giants, great farming interests, political bosses, educators, church and labor leaders journey to Washington to seek a conference at the White House with the President.

But the President never journeys outside the country to seek a conference with any other power.

Thus, it is only a mark of common sense that the most under-privileged group in the country should seek to establish communication and relations with the President, the most powerful voice in the nation, with a view to placing their problems before him to enlist his leadership in efforts at solution.

Conference at the White House with the President gives status, prestige and influence to the cause of any group in the nation because it implies White House concern about it, but a White House conference about a cause is not the "be-all" or "end-all".

Even if the President is favorable to the proposals and demands of a group, it does not follow that a solution of the problems will result from a conference. No, not at all. The conference may serve as an effective and dramatic presentation of the question of the oppressed group to the country, but it must be followed up with systematic, methodical and organized struggle in the communities of the country, in Congress and at the ballot box, as well as in the courts, to consolidate and strengthen the ranks of the aggrieved group to win the approval and support of public opinion.

The powerful rulers of the railroads, representing 30 billion dollars of values, went to the White House on their knees seeking an audience with the President in order to tell him their story, with a view to securing his favor and support. While he created a Cabinet Committee to study and help the railroads, it took them three or more years to get action favorable to their proposals.

It follows then that while a conference with the President is desirable and valuable, it will come to nought unless Negroes, or any group who seeks and gets a White House Conference, mobilize their forces to effect the necessary pressures on the White House, Congress, and other social, economic and political agencies to achieve the desired results.

Only recently, the representatives of Hawaii, who seek statehood along with Alaska, despite the demand of the President that Hawaii be granted statehood by this Congress, could not make headway for victory in this Congress.

Knowing something about the mechanics and techniques by which things are done in the Congress, Vice President Nixon, who favors statehood for Hawaii, advised its leaders to keep the heat on.

Hence, it is well that a group which has a great cause such as the Negro and labor possess no illusions about the power of a conference with the President, even when he favors the cause, to solve a grave problem.

The President can help us but he cannot save us; we must save ourselves.

Now, when we assess the progress of civil rights under various administrations and the position of Presidents of the United States personally on civil rights, within a period reaching back to Woodrow Wilson, we may note the following picture:

CALVIN COOLIDGE

In a conference with a committee of Negro citizens led by Monroe Trotter, militant editor of the Boston Guardian who had been virtually thrown out of the White House by President Woodrow Wilson of aristocratic Southern tradition, on account of an alleged affront by Trotter, President Coolidge was practically silent except for his almost inaudible greetings to the members of the committee as they were presented to him.

It was veritably impossible to determine, because of the absence of statements of any kind, whether he was for or against civil rights or, rather, lynching and mob law, for violence against the Negro's person and property was a major issue at that time. However, one highlight of his character was revealed in a homey exchange between himself and Trotter, following the breakup of the conference as he stood alone behind his massive desk pensively, if not austerely, observing the members of the committee disappear through the door of his office. In a friendly and cordial tone of voice, without a smile, he said to Trotter: "How's everything back home, Trotter?" This comment caused Trotter, who was taking his leave of the President, to come sharply to a halt and to look around rather suddenly and reply, just as prosaically, "Alright, alright, Mr. President." He promptly resumed his quick short steps away with the committee out of the spacious office.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, on the contrary, with charm, a friendly smile and an anecdote, promptly took over the committee and, generally, did all the talking, apparently seeking to convince the committee that they didn't need what they wanted; leaving them, as it were, virtually in the air while they escaped from the conference scene with the feeling that they had gotten something, when in reality they hadn't gotten a thing.

Under the Roosevelt conversational skill and spell of his infectious laughter, one could seldom discern what position he really took on a question, including civil rights. You got the impression that whatever concession he made to a committee on a controversial issue such as civil rights was chiefly because it was not politically good strategy to withhold it. With him, politics was truly the art of the possible.

And yet, I should adjudge him a great President and a great man. It is probably fair to assess him as being neither for or against civil rights. But Negroes made progress during his administration chiefly because he was the architect of the Welfare state which benefitted the common man.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

I was a part of two conferences with President Truman in the White House. He was friendly, gracious, and cordial, as well as firm and frank. He was neither silent or talkative. While he made no promises or commitments in the conference, he listened--sometimes breaking in with a question or expression of a negative viewpoint, or a nod of understanding.

He not only set up the Civil Rights Commission and issued an Executive Order banning segregation and discrimination in the armed forces, but he made the country understand that he was definitely on the side of civil rights. However, it must be added that the Executive Order against jim crow in the armed forces which he issued was a concession made under pressure of a nation-wide campaign against Negro youth serving in a jim crow army. He probably talked more openly and consistently for civil rights than any other President who had sat in the White House.

DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

It was generally agreed by the members of the committee of Negro citizens who held a conference with President Dwight David Eisenhower in the White House, June 23, 1958, that although he made no promises or commitments, the conference was fruitful and constructive. Indeed, since he had never seen the proposals presented to him by the committee it was well-nigh impossible for him to make an intelligent reply to the proposals during the conference.

My impression of the President is that he is a man of unquestioned good-will, sincerity and integrity. He listened to the statements by the members of the committee with a definite intelligent awareness of the importance and significance of the problem of civil rights, and indicated a sympathetic interest, in manner, if not speech. Yet I earnestly hope that were another situation comparable to the Little Rock crisis to arise, the President would uphold the law of the land and the Constitution of the United States in meeting the crisis. However, I believe that the Nation's Chief Executive has the administrative responsibility, both in moral and spiritual persuasion, to make clear now his determination to enforce the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision and to uphold the Constitution.

Because of his failure to make any statements about civil rights, pro or con, it is not easy to determine his position on the question, except that his administration sponsored the Civil Rights Bill which became law in the Congress of 1958, the first in a period of eighty or more years. But, under our system of government, Presidential leadership of any great social or moral issue requires pressure from without, even though there be goodwill from within. For even the President cannot achieve all of his objectives without an aroused, awakened, and informed public opinion.

Thus, the Negro and the liberal and labor forces of America have the moral responsibility to have the President feel and understand now that human rights and civil rights are the major and paramount issues of our land today, if not the world, and that his vigorous Presidential leadership for the achievement of civil rights is a sine qua non to the integrity of American democracy and the good name of our country abroad in the world.

From my experience with conferences with various Presidents in the White House in the interest of civil rights, I have come to the conclusion that, even though a President may be friendly to the cause, it is utterly impossible to get any tangible. forthright, constructive action unless the committee of Negro citizens are bargaining with the President from a position of strength.

It would appear that in terms of progress made by Negroes in the area of civil rights under various presidential administrations that they have done best under the Eisenhower Administration.

The record reveals the following achievements:

1. United States Supreme Court decision affirming the desegregation of public schools, May 17, 1954.
2. Elimination of discrimination in public places, including hotels, restaurants and theatres, etc.,in Washington, D. C., capitol of the nation.
3. Enactment of civil rights legislation by the Congress of 1958.
4. Continued job of abolishing segregation in the Armed Forces.

In terms of personal position of Presidents on civil rights, President Truman would head the list in being the most outspoken and uncompromising on civil rights for Negroes.

During his administration, the following advancement on the civil rights front was made.

1. Appointment of Civil Rights Commission composed of prominent Negro and white citizens.
2. Issuance of Executive Order banning segregation and discrimination in the Armed Forces.

In terms of progress of Negroes on the economic front in extending areas of job opportunities, they did best under the administration of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt who was the architect of the welfare state which advanced the well-being, economic and social security of the common man of which Negroes are a part.

Under the Roosevelt Administration, the first Fair Employment Practice Committee was set up, on a basis of which 11 states and a number of municipal commissions on fair employment practice were established.

Hence, on a basis of economic and labor porgress, Negroes did best under the Roosevelt Administration. Negro workers made pronounced progress in the field or organized labor because organized labor made its greatest progress during the Roosevelt Administration, as a result of the Wagner Labor Dispute Act and the amendment of the Railway Labor Act of 1934.

Address of A Philip Randolph AT Chicago [illegible] Anniversary

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

Was it worthwhile?

This question is timely since seldom following a conference are there any positive benefits apparent for those who sought the conference. But, of course, failure of appearance of immediate beneficent results is no reliable and sound test of the value of a conference.

The fact is, in our modern society, conference is the major if not basic method of communication for the discussion, examination and resolution of problems; economic, social, political, educational, business, labor, religious, and international.

But while conference usually is the method and mechanism for the initial approach to a problem and also for the formulation of its final adjustment, it is not, however, the only method for dealing with a problem. Sometimes, the only way to get a conference for the purpose of attempting to solve a problem is the method of direct action. Direct action may take the form of public demonstrations such as high public mass meetings; marches by the people on government officers; great parades, with propaganda banners; civil disobedience and non-cooperation; boycotts; strikes; and even wars between nations and peoples.

These forms of mass, direct action possess the value of dramatization of an issue which arouses, awakens, stirs up, and focuses the mind of the people on the problems of injustice.

Mahatma Gandhi used massive civil disobedience and non-cooperation with the British in India as a major weapon for the breakdown of colonialism and British rule.

On a smaller scale the March on Washington Movement was the social technique and method which effected the dramatization of the discrimination against Negroes' SECURING ~~by denying them~~ jobs in Government defense plants during the beginning of the second World War. The methodology [redacted] constituted the pressure which exacted the

Executive Order 8802 from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the outgrowth of which was the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice of which M. P. Webster, international vice president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Earl Dickerson of the Liberty Insurance Company of Chicago, were the Negro members.

Following the example of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, some ten or more states and a number of cities have set up Commissions on Fair Employment Practice.

There is also the non-violent boycott of the segregated buses in Montgomery by the Montgomery Improvement Association, headed by Martin Luther King, which was a form of direct action, and it won its objective.

Sometimes in the historical experience of under-privileged groups it has been necessary to break off ~~the~~ conference ~~method~~ communication, walk out of the ~~conference~~ confab, and take the issue to the streets before a settlement of the dispute or a resolution of the problem is achieved.

In fact, it is the record of history that practically all forms of direct action, including mass public demonstrations, labor strikes and wars, grow out of the failure of conferences. When stalemates between the parties of a conference are reached and no form of mediation, conciliation or arbitration can resolve them, some form of direct action is inevitable, unless there is the absence of moral and material resources, in which event, frustration and an unorganized, hysterical outburst form of reaction may follow. Wildcat, guerilla-type warfare strikes, usually plague an industry where the workers are inhumanely exploited and oppressed and are without a strong trade union to provide representation.

While exploratory conferences have value, the most effective conferences are those in which the party seeking concessions, such as minorities, including Negroes and trade unions, are prepared to bargain from a position of strength, — a position of strength which may be described in the frame of reference of an ad hoc nation-wide moral, psychological and organizational mobilization of the masses for some form of organized non-violent direct action.

Without possessing the capacity to bargain from a position of strength, minorities and trade unions can look to no definitive, specific results to come out of the conference except, perhaps, securing certain psychological and moral values and benefits that, of course, are not to be ignored.

This is why trade unions sometimes take strike votes before entering a conference with employers for collective bargaining on their demands. By the same token, this is the reason why some employers serve labor unions with demands for wage cuts and threats ~~with~~ of lock-outs and lay-offs before entering conferences with labor.

VALUE OF PRESIDENTIAL CONFERENCE

Since the conference with President Eisenhower was not set up within the framework of collective bargaining or where the committee of colored citizens possessed the capacity to bargain from a position of strength, the question may be raised - why was it sought?

Sometimes, when the mobilization of a minority behind its demands reaches considerable proportions, their representatives may be invited into conference by the White House. This was the case, with the March on Washington Movement campaign for jobs in defense plants for Negroes, with President Roosevelt, in 1941.

The mobilization of the masses and leaders of the minority must be sufficient to threaten the stability, prestige and influence of the existing administration, in order to win concessions. It is this sort of movement which is certain to move an administration, Republican or Democratic, to action on the demands for civil rights justice and freedom of the Negro and ~~- civil rights,~~ civil liberties and economic justice to trade union organizations.

Where there is great pressure on an administration for action on social & racial problems, concessions are some times made

Effective mobilization of the masses and leaders of ~~the~~ Negroes, or any minority or ~~trade unionists~~ LABOR, is indispensable as a basic reason and excuse for action by ~~the~~ An administration on the demands of ~~the~~ a minority, AS A CONDITION ~~in the interest~~ of social harmony and peace and the good name of the Government throughout the world, ~~as~~ TO STRENGTHEN PUBLIC OPINION IN ITS ~~reflecting of~~ fundamental sense of goodwill, ~~and~~ social and racial justice.

~~Only~~ the mobilization of the masses of Negroes IS ONE OF THE METHODS WHICH can provide the dramatization of the problems of civil rights on such a scale and with sufficient intensity and force, admidst the multitide of demands and proposals MADE upon and to the Government by various groups, business, labor, religious, educational, sectional and political, as to be able to win attention and interest.

This sort of big scale approach to the problem is the only type of action which can survive and withstand the massive counter-attacks from the enemies, the Dixiecrat facists. Moreover

~~Moreover~~, in our democratic society where a government must listen to the appeals, proposals and demands from varied and various groups in the national community, it will inevitably move in the direction of the group and make concessions when, as one of two opposing and competing forces, it constitutes the greater challenge and threat to its prestige, power and position.

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~~In the economic field~~, the demands of labor are always fought by CAPITAL ~~Business~~ ~~unions~~; and the demands of business are practically always condemned by labor.

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Why Conference?

Now, why did we seek the conference?

First of all, the crisis of the Civil Rights Revolution was deepening and sharpening with violence, and a veritable reign of terror; violations of rules of law and order, shattered hopes, fears and frustrations; a crisis which was steadily waxing into a dangerous counter-revolution against the memorable United States Supreme Court desegregation decision of public schools. ~~This is the~~

R[illegible]

We sought the hearing with the President for the following reasons:

Again ~~One~~, Under our system of government, the President, different from the King of England who reigns but does not rule, or the President of France who neither reigns or rules, reigns and rules and is recognized as the most powerful ruler in the world today.

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The powerful rulers of the railroads, representing 30 billion dollars of values, went to the White House on their knees seeking an audience with the President, in order to tell him their story, with a view to securing his favor~~ed~~ AND support. While he created a Cabinet Committee to study and help the railroads, it took them three or more years to get action favorable to their proposals.

It follows then that while a conference with the President is desirable and valuable, it will come to nought, unless Negroes, ~~xxgxx~~ or any group who seeks and gets a White House Conference, mobilize their forces to effect the necessary pressures on the White HOUSE, Congress, and other social, economic and political agencies to achieve the desired results.

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Hence, it is well that a group which has a great cause such as the Negro and Labor, possess no illusions about the power of a conference with the President, even when he favors the cause, to solve a grave problem.

The President can help us, but he can not save us; ~~We~~ we must save ourselves.

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REINHOLD NIEBUHR
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NATHAN CHANIN
ALICE B. PARSONS
Executive Director
BEN DAVIDSON

March 26, 1958

Mr. Philip A. Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

For the convenience of the press and purposes of publicity in connection with the 80th Birthday Party for Herbert H. Lehman, we would appreciate having a copy of your toast to the guest of honor.

As we wrote you previously, your toast, and that of the others, is not to exceed two minutes.

You have undoubtedly been giving thought to what you plan to say about Herbert H. Lehman. May we ask you to send it to us by special delivery or by messenger.

With appreciation

Sincerely yours,

Ben Davidson

BEN DAVIDSON
Executive Director

BD/sa

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STATEMENT TO THE NATIONAL NEGRO PUBLISHERS SUMMIT MEETING

MAY 12-13, 1958

By

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

My dear Friends:

First of all permit me to say that I am honored for the privilege to share in this occasion.

We are here because Negroes are not yet fully free. Negroes are not yet fully free because the civil rights revolution was never completed. The civil rights revolution was never fully completed because the new industrial and financial rulers of the North considered it unnecessary since the union had been saved.

Because of the fact that we are in the midst of a crisis in the civil rights revolution now underway, it is well for us to look back to note and evaluate the crisis which followed the close of the Civil War Revolution, during which time the major rights of Negroes were systematically nullified and virtually cast into the ash can of history.

It is important to point out that in every crisis there are two major forces: 1. Danger. 2. Opportunity.

There is always danger that the cause may be lost and there is opportunity that it may be won. Whether it is lost or won depends primarily upon the policy and action adopted and carried on by the people who have a stake in the cause of freedom and human justice.

Though the Negro, during the period of reconstruction following the Civil War, labored under grave limitations, the record of their leaders in government was not inglorious. Be it said to their eternal credit, they stood for basic principles of free public education and the free ballot.

But, the storm of the counter revolution broke upon the South and the freedman even before the war amendments had been adopted; and in 1876, during the Hayes-Tilden election, the counter revolution had not only set up Black Codes for the virtual re-enslavement of the freedmen but their former friends of the Republican Party in the North were turning against them.

Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican candidate, won the election solely because of a bi-partisan deal to withdraw the Federal army from the South.

The Freedmen Bureau, set up to help, protect and guide the hapless former Negro slaves, was dismantled and the wild winds of racial hatred swept over the land. The Ku Klux Klan was invented and with rope and fagot sought to break the spirit of the former slaves.

Despite the uncompromising voices of Thaddeus Stevens in the House of Representatives and Charles Sumner in the Senate thundering, in season and out of season, for full, first-class citizenship for the Negroes, a new voice of compromise was raised from within by the Negroes' most outstanding Negro leader, Booker T. Washington, who at the Exposition of Atlanta in 1894, made the famous statement that, "In America one can be as the hand in all things industrial and as separate as the fingers in all things social."

Following this memorable statement came the famous Plesy vs. Ferguson decision of the United States Supreme Court in which was handed down the doctrine of separate but equal in 1896.

Thus, the engine of the counter revolution which sought to tear down the constitutional framework of protection for the emancipated slaves lumbered ruthlessly forward until checked by the United States Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, for the desegregation of public schools.

Just as the counter revolution against the Civil War Revolution nullified the 13th Amendment to the Constitution of 1865, the 14th Amendment of 1868 and the 15th Amendment of 1870, the second counter revolution has begun in massive and ominous dimensions to nullify the monumental, momentus and marvelous decision of the United States Supreme Court to free Negro Americans of the stigma of "half-a-man."

Fortunately, contrary to the plight of the Negro who was let out of slavery landless, jobless, moneyless, voteless and friendless, today, the men of color in America have the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with its able and brilliant leadership, a nationwide and articulate press, an influential church and some prestige in party politics and government. Negroes are not voteless, landless, jobless, moneyless or friendless. But it is well for us to be realistic and objectively appraise the forces at our command with which to face the future.

When we look at today and yesterday, the counter revolution of 1876, was designed to re-enslave the Negro. The counter revolution of today seeks to re-establish the doctrine of separate but equal. There are many comparabilities between these two periods that require analysis and appraisal.

When the counter revolution set in, in 1876, there were few men in Congress upon whom the freedmen could depend upon to champion their cause. Today, there are but a handful of men in the Congress to whom Negroes may turn for support. Outstanding among these few are Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell, William L. Dawson and Charles C. Diggs.

Just as the spirit of abolition manifested by William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglas, Lovejoy and others died; just as the northern anti-slavery press of the years before the Civil War began to dilute, soften if not weaken the fight for emancipation; just as the stalwart champions in the government like Daniel Webster backed away from his former position for the anti-slavery cause, shook hands with Henry Clay and espoused the movement of compromise which gave recognition to the validity of the fugitive slave law; so today, the northern press, including the great dailies and magazines, is not only making a fetish of "moderation" with respect to the enforcement of the Supreme Court decision of 1954 but is definitely in retreat from the cause of the desegregation of public schools.

Just as the old liberalism which fought against slavery before the Civil War weakened and died, so today, liberalism is in collapse. It is in decline. Its voice is timid and afraid. There is little, if any, fight left in it for civil rights, North or South.

While the government has enacted a civil rights law, it is toothless and there is no will in the Administration to enforce it, weak as it is.

It is clear to him who reads and views our contemporary scheme, that the Negro today is not only not winning his fight for civil rights but the South, with its doctrine of white supremacy, its White Citizens Council and its Ku Klux Klan, is pressing, if not winning, the cold war against the Negroes' fight for freedom.

In this hour of trial by fire and terror, I wonder if we possess, in sufficient measure, the will to face the future with force and fortitude, without fear. I seem to sense from my travels around the country in various circles of Negroes a corrosive and deadening state of dejection, defeatism and despair; a sort of creeping paralysis of faith in our cause and faith in ourselves. This, I submit is a greater danger to the cause of civil rights than Dixiecrat South.

While this is not a reassuring and promising picture; while it is threatening if not alarming; it is nevertheless true.

To note another dark cloud upon our horizon in the struggle for first-class citizenship, we have only to look at the Negro and the ballot in the South today. The ink was hardly dry on the new civil rights legislation before preparations were being made to effect its nullification by prominent political leaders in the South. Legislation is now being proposed and enacted by various states in the deep South, especially in the states of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, which is designed to severely restrict and curb the registration of Negro voters and practically make a joke and a farce out of their efforts to exercise their constitutional right to vote.

It is also important to note, in this connection, that the movement to desegregate public schools has not yet gotten its feet wet in the deep South.

While the government sent federal troops to Little Rock to uphold the federal court's decrees on the desegregation of public schools, eight little Negro children have been virtually deserted and compelled to bear the heavy responsibility of enforcing the Supreme Court decision by the crucifixion of their little souls upon the cross of racial hate.

But this is not all to the counter revolution against the civil rights revolution. Realizing that the Federal Constitution and the United States Supreme Court constitute the bastion of Negro liberty and justice, a massive attack is now being systematically launched not only against the Supreme Court, but against the 14th Amendment to the Constitution as well, claiming that it was never constitutionally ratified.

In addition to this, there is a sly and subtle scheme to undermine the ancient rights of habeas corpus, chiefly to deprive the Negro of its protection in the South. Federal legislation is being proposed to provide that a citizen convicted of a crime must first exhaust the remedies of the state courts before making petition to the federal courts. Whereas, at present, he may exercise his right of habeas corpus originally in a federal court which is free from domination by the local mores, whether in the South or in other parts of the country.

I need not emphasize the great seriousness of this situation, for it is fully obvious to anyone who has the will to see. Where, may I ask, would the Negro be today if he had to take his case for the desegregation of public schools to the racist state courts in the South?

And let me warn you that even the United States Supreme Court is not unaffected by the election returns and the course of public opinion.

Remember the U.S. Supreme Court has changed its position before on great issues of public policy. It reversed its position on the income tax. It reversed its position on certain other social legislation. It can, and might change its position on the question of the desegregation of public schools.

Whether it does or not will depend upon the Negroes and their allies, but chiefly the Negro. Yes, we need our liberal allies and friends. We must continue to cultivate more of them. But, we must also remember that while our White liberal friends and allies may help us, they cannot save us. We must save ourselves. It is written in the stars that salvation must come from within; this is so and ever will be so. It is true of labor; it is true of the Jew; it is true of the Catholics.

In very truth, one of the Negro's most serious limitations and shortcomings is that he leans upon too many outside forces instead of leaning mainly upon himself.

While we seek help from our allies and friends, we should be ready and willing to give help to those groups in our national community who need it. We must help the Jews fight anti-Semitism. We must help the Catholics fight anti-Catholicism. We must help labor fight anti-laborism. We must help our government fight the evil forces of communism, colonialism, racism and fascism, at home and abroad, for they constitute a major threat to freedom, democracy and human dignity everywhere.

What then is to be done?

First, let us beware of the high-powered propaganda campaign not only to isolate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from the mainstream of public affairs by legislation in the South branding it as communist, but also to frighten the Negro away from it by violence and intimidation.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People must be supported by vigorous and uncompromising public advocacy and by dollars out of the pockets of Negroes. Yes, millions of dollars, for freedom is not free, it is costly. It must be paid for. It must be fought for.

Second, because of the vast dimensions of the problem of the Negro winning equal freedom and justice in this country, it is important that there be a re-evaluation of organizational and leadership strategy. It is practically obvious that this job of winning first-class citizenship is too big and too difficult for any one organization. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People cannot win this war alone. It does not possess the power. It does not possess the total necessary strategy. However, it needs to be the recognized leader in the fight for civil rights. It has earned this right.

But, in order that it get the vast weight and strength of the Negro population back of it, there is a basic necessity for coordination of the strength of the various major Negro organizations today, including the Church, fraternal societies, civic movements, women's clubs, labor and business groups. The fact that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People does not yet have five hundred thousand members and probably less than a million dollars in resources vividly highlights the fact that a very small proportion of the Negro's strength in terms of organization and leadership, have been put back of the movement for the desegregation of public schools and civil rights in general.

Third, in addition to the necessity for building organizational coordination in the interest of achieving greater power for use by the Negro in his fight for freedom, it is important that there be greater leadership consultation on strategy and policy, if not tactics, from time to time.

In times of storm and stress such as the Little Rock tragedy, the main forces of Negro leadership had little if any contact for basic consultation with respect to strategy, and hence, while the consequences may not have resulted any differently with respect to the Little Rock problem than now obtain, more extensive consultation in the realms of high levels of Negro leadership would, no doubt, have raised the morale among the Negro masses higher, being conscious of the fact that all of the resources of leadership strength of the Negroes were being brought to bear on the desegregation of public schools in this time of crisis.

Fourth, obviously, the total struggle of the Negro along the civil rights front has not been pushed with maximum force because of limited and inadequate financial resources in the hands of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as well as the Montgomery Improvement Association and the Tallahassee Civic Association and also the National Urban League.

The lack of financial resources is not due to the inability of Negroes to provide the funds for their fight themselves but a new type of strategy is necessary in order to mobilize the funds. This strategy must reach, arouse, awaken and deepen the Negro's faith in himself and in his power to achieve his freedom.

Fifth, because the ballot can change the basic status of the Negro in this country today, the ballot must be utilized on a nation-wide scale to its maximum potentiality. To this end, some national movement is necessary for complete concentration on the problem to effect registration of Negro citizens on a basis of block-by-block and house-by-house campaign in every community, village and township.

This is a job for young men and women. This job can only be done with the zeal of the crusader. It's too big a job to be paid for. Young men and women must be fired with the inspiration and racial devotion to develop the movement. They must go to the masses where the power is not only to get them to understand the value and importance of registering and voting but patiently to teach them how it is done. This is probably one of the biggest tasks for the Negro American today but it is not a task beyond his reaches.

While an increasingly larger number of Negroes are registering and voting, it is a matter of common knowledge that less than 50% of Negro voters in most communities register and vote. It must be emphasized that registering and voting is the fundamental aim, and not the question of the Negroes voting for either the Democratic or Republican Party. For, in the main, there is no essential difference between these two political groups.

It must be clear to Negroes that under any administration, Democratic or Republican, Negroes must fight for their rights. What is true of the Negro is true of labor. Who would be so bold as to claim there is a difference between a Republican and Democrat in Georgia, and for that matter in New York or Chicago. All politicians are fundamentally alike. The In's want to stay in office and the Out's want to get into office.

The only way by which Negroes and labor can get politicians, Republican or Democratic, to respond favorably to their demands, is to develop and keep the political propaganda pressure on them. This is the only language the politician can understand. This is true of the socalled good politician. It is a matter of historical record that politicians will not move in behalf of worthy and just causes unless the people move them and the people cannot move them without the use of the ballot or the threat of the use of the ballot to put them out or in public office.

Today, organized labor has its back to the wall and is fighting for its life. It realizes that a basic method for survival is to make use of the ballot on a big scale. By the same token, the Negro today has his back against the wall and he, too, must fight for survival and, to this end, he must make use of the instrumentality of his suffrage.

But in order that Negroes may develop the moral and social dynamism necessary successfully to grapple with this crisis of the civil rights' revolution, they must have a re-baptism in the strong waters of a fighting faith for freedom. Their needs must be a rebirth of hope and a burning passion for the status of freemen.

There must come a re-dedication and re-consecration of the Negroes' life and labor beyond the call of duty, to struggle, to sacrifice and to suffer for freedom, equality, human dignity and a better tomorrow.

It is written in Holy prophesy, "There is no remission of sin except through blood".

Thus, Negroes must bear the cross for a full and free life with faith and fortitude, with courage and confidence, and unshakable commitment to the everlasting human values of truth and righteousness, liberty and love for all mankind.

To the achievement of this goal may Negroes set their hearts and hands, and may God grant that they may never falter.

ADDRESS OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT
RE-DEDICATION AND RE-OBLIGATION CEREMONIES
JOPPA LODGE NO. 55, F. & A. M.
MAY 24, 1958

THE PHILOSOPHY OF FREEMASONRY

The philosophy and history of Freemasonry is the philosophy and history of the laboring masses' struggle to climb upward out of the long night and terror of slavery into the bright day of freedom, equality, and peace.

While, in the modern period, the leadership of Freemasonry was assumed by the wellborn, the patricians, royalty, and the nobility, its roots are deep in the human agony, social misery, and degradation of the slaves, freedmen, and plebian classes of the ancient world.

Throughout the traditions and legends of the Masonic philosophy two ideas have been ever dominant in the term Freemasonry--freedom and workman. This is so because since first the flight of historic years began, in the breast of man burned the passion for freedom; freedom from physical bondage, freedom from hunger, freedom from fear, freedom from injustice and inequality, freedom from prejudice and bigotry.

And that a Mason is a workman, a builder, an artificer, is too obvious to need comment.

Although legend and tradition represent knowledge handed down from one generation to another by word of mouth--and much of what we know of Freemasonry, and especially that which pertains directly to our ceremonies and rituals, comes down through the centuries precisely in that way--the meaning of the term "Freemasonry" has the virtue and merit of verification and reaffirmation by logic, history, and philosophy.

In very truth, Freemasonry is historically associated with architecture--the building of buildings--and these buildings necessarily must be built by the brawn and brain of workmen. Rude and imperfect must have been the first efforts of the human race, resulting in the erection of huts, no doubt clumsy in appearance, and ages must have elapsed ere wisdom of design combined strength of material with beauty of execution.

As geometry is the science on which Freemasonry is founded, architecture is the art from which it borrows the language of its symbolic instruction. In the earlier ages of the Order, every Freemason was either an operative mechanic or a superintending architect, both of whom were workmen. If we need further testimony of the working-class origin of our great Order, Freemasonry, we have only to refer to the first book of Kings, Chapter VII, Verses 13-14, which reads as follows:

> "And king Solomon sent and fetched Hiram out of Tyre.
> He was a widow's son of the tribe of Naphtali, and his father was a man of Tyre, a worker in brass: and he was filled with wisdom, and understanding, and cunning to work all works in brass. And he came to king Solomon and wrought all his work."

This workman of Tyre, sent to King Solomon by King Hiram of Tyre, was Hiram Abif who, according to Masonic tradition, formed with Solomon and King Hiram of Tyre, his ancient patron, the Supreme Council of Grand Masters, in which everything was determined in relation to the construction of the Temple and the government of the 200,000 craftsmen and laborers. Legend avers that Solomon appointed Hiram Abif, in his absence, to fill the chair as Deputy Grand Master and, in his presence, Senior Grand Warden, Master of Work and General Overseer of all artists, including those whom David had formerly procured from Tyre and Sidon, the seat of the celebrated Dionysiac, fraternity of artificers, a society exclusively engaged in the construction of edifices and of which, no doubt, Hiram Abif was a member.

There seems to be justification for the assumption that the beginning of the Temple Solomon in Jerusalem in 1015 B.C. marked the foundation of the noble Order of Freemasonry although the idea of the association of workmen or freedmen into associations of brotherhood for fraternity, the worship of the gods, the maintenance of a common table, providing of burial rites, and protection from oppression and persecution by tyrants probably antedated Solomon's Temple.

Labor Omnia Vincit, the Latin inscription on the charters and banners of the old American Federation of Labor and now the merged AFL-CIO, which means "labor conquers all things," has its historical roots in the ancient world of human slavery.

No wonder the working people, who comprise the large majority of every nationality, race or religion, take a modest delight in their triumph of survival as free men after thousands of years of a life of trial by fire and terror of human bondage of body and soul.

Throughout the long, hopeless, and bitter night of the ancient and feudal regimes of history, existence of the great names of men of labor was only tolerated since their work provided life for the wellborn patricians which included the kings and the nobility, the warriors and priests.

Not only were the working class the victims of the most rigorous inhuman exploitation, oppression, and suppression but they bore eternal and degrading stigma of slaves, or freedmen who were the descendants of slaves.

They were the plebians, the proletariat, "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

Although the workpeople were treated as the dregs, scum, flotsam and jetsam of the ancient world and fed, according to testimony by Horace, Herodotus, Lucanus, Livy, Pliny, and other historians, the worst food imaginable, such as nuts, pods, roots and skimmed milk; although the ranks of these wretched slaves were decimated periodically by epidemics like the Black Death, accompanied with great sufferings and privations, their patrician masters lived in constant fear of violent slave revolts and plottings of insurrections against their cruel despotism and the doom to perpetual servitude.

Because the stigma of labor among the Greeks was full of reproach, scorn, and contempt, descendants of the laboring masses carried the curse of their class in their blood.

While Galerius, Diocletian, Probus, Pertinax, Vitellius and Augustus had the good fortune to become Roman emperors, the highborn patricians pointed their evil fingers of accusation at them because of their plebian ancestry. They said to Galerius: You were a swineherd; to Diocletian: You were a slave; to Probus: Your father was a gardner; to Pertinax: Your father was a freedman; to Vitellius: Your father was a cobbler. And they went so far as to write on the marble statue of Augustus, the master of the world: Your grandfather was a merchant and your father was a usurer.

Despite the gloomy tradition of high antiquity some slaves, by sheer dint of talent and genius and the movement of manumission, insurrections and revolts which transformed slaves into freedmen, burst through the iron curtain of their lowly caste and attained the higher reaches of celebrities, indeed, great men and leaders in ancient society. But because of their proletarian ancestors they were branded reproachfully as earthborns and not heavenborns, the latter state of which was the exclusive privilege of the patrician or slave master by virtue of the law of entail primogeniture.

Some slaves became teachers, philosphers, poets, businessmen, master-builders, and some of them were the greatest sculptors and painters the world ever produced; but the taint of servility was, according to the mores of ancient times, in their blood.

Thus, freedmen or former slaves, for mutual goodwill, established secret societies, some of which were known in Rome As Collegias and in Greece as Thiasotes. These were some of the labor unions of the ancient laboring masses that were necessary counterirritants to the powerful Amphictyonic councils--the cooperative associations of the lords--the purpose of which was to defend their estates against the mass strikes and insurrections of the outraged slaves and freedmen.

These ancient labor associations, sometimes known as Brotherhoods, were sanctioned by the famous Law of the Twelve Tables and the Greek laws of Solon, the great law-giver.

Who knows that were it not for the ancient trade union Brotherhoods there might not have been a Freemasonry, the absence of which would have left the ancient and modern worlds culturally and spiritually poorer. For it is a matter of historical fact that some of the priceless jewels of the intellect and the human spirit were the gifts of humble slaves and freedmen whose chains of servitude were broken by manumission.

As an evidence of the fact that no color, country, creed, or class has a monopoly of talent, genius, and ability, Phidias, the most celebrated sculptor of ancient or modern times, was a descendant of slaves. It was his skill which fashioned the Parthenon, the most magnificent and imposing work of architecture of the ancient or modern world, at the behest of Pericles of Athens.

Not only do the historical roots of Freemasonry, like Christianity, reach deep into the ancient communes of working men, such as the Essenes, in which legend claims Jesus Christ, a carpenter, was a member, but much of its symbolism, metaphysics and history, like the Church, were developed in compensation for exclusion of the Ancient Lowly, or workmen, from the secret Eleusinian festivals, mysteries and rites, accessible only to the wellborn, the kings and lords, warriors and priests.

The workmen were denied participation in these social and religious carnivals because it was held by the nobility, including a great philosopher like Plato, that workpeople, slaves, and freedmen had no souls, an affront and insult which constituted a painful grievance of the lowly common people who worshipped the same gods of the rich and mighty. Thus, legends recount the poor, wretched, laboring masses in emotional agony, tears, and anger when the great, fabulous processions of the elect of Greece, every five years, began from Athens to Eleusis where the dramatic representations of the rape of Proserpine, daughter of Ceres, Goddess of the vegetable kingdom and wife of the mighty Jupiter, took place; a rape performed by Pluto, God of the Infernal Regions, who fell in love with Proserpine and carried her off to his nether world and in its emblematic mysticisms conveys the idea not only of procreation but of the immortality of the human soul.

Because of the high ethical system of Freemasonry there is a school of thought which views the interpretation of the symbols of Freemasonry from a Christian point of view. But while Freemasonry embraces within its scheme the great truths of Christianity upon the subject of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, the origin of Freemasonry and Christianity is different; their histories are dissimilar. Historically, the principles of Freemasonry preceded the advent of Christianity. Its symbols and its legends are derived from the Solomonic Temple and from the workpeople even anterior to that. Its religion comes from the ancient priesthood; its faith was primitive as of Noah. If Freemasonry were simply a Christian institution, the Jew and modern Brahman and Buddhist could not conscientiously partake of its illumination. Its universality is its basic claim and history. It is the language citiznes of every land and clime may speak; at its altar men of all religions may kneel; to its creed disciples of every faith may subscribe.

And, finally, as to the philosophy of Freemasonry: Fraternities of men have existed in some shape or form during every period of the world's history. Doubtless, in the primitive ages it became apparent that mutual protection would afford the greatest security against the violent forces of nature and the evil nature of man and secure sympathy, support, and protection to those whose bond of union was made a common cause. Hence originated Masonry.

The origin of Masonry, like other historical, social, religious and ethical systems, lies buried deep in the gloom of obscurity. Its philosophy may be traced to the remotest ages of the world's history. Its symbols are older than the Temple of Solomon and antedates the Pentateuch of Moses. Its ceremonies and rites were practiced in the ancient mysteries when Egypt stood as the first and the most enlightened power of the then known world. Its tenets were known by the nomadic tribes of the East and transmitted from father to son, generation after generation, so that even today the Bedouin of the desert recognizes the hail of the craftsman.

A Mason is at home in every country and with his friends in every clime. What society other than our own could make the proud boast that, philosophically, we know no foreign land? On the plane of Masonry we only know God and Man. We know no royal blood or peasant stock. Men of wealth and simple toil, philosophers and men of low degree, royal heirs and hard-handed sons of labor meet here upon a common ground as brothers and God is Father of them all.

Masonry is something more than a secret society, though secrecy is an element in its esoteric work; more than ritualism, though the ritual, simple in its dignity and quaint and rhythmic in expression, is a factor; more than symbolism, though symbolic teaching is significant and transfigures the commonplace; more than religion, but not greater than religion, yet discerning the divinity in humanity; more than mere landmarks, though these have their defining, historical and traditional place; more even than brotherhood for, as in the Pythagorean days, it is educational and intellectual as well as social and fraternal; more than constructive and practical philanthropy, though love crowns all.

Yet it is all of these, together with that something more, of which language is inadequate to express the subtle mystery, even to those few choice spirits who seek to penetrate to the heart of its often unconscious power, and the span of life too brief to enable those to endeavor to attain the ideal perfection of that living organism whose countersign is manhood, whose inspiration is the Godhead--that Masonic edifice of which love and truth form base and spire.

Let me end with this poem by Lawrence Nichols Greenleaf:

Live On, O Masonry

Live on! O Masonry, live on! Thy work hath
scarce begun;
Live on! nor end, if end there be, till earth's
last setting sun

Live on! thy work in ages past hath but prepared
the way,
For every truth thy symbols teach there's pressing
need today.

In cultured or unlettered age humanity's
the same
And evermore the passions rage whose furies
thou wouldst tame;

Would but the nations heed thy Plumb--war's
carnage soon would end,
Thy Level rivalries subdue, Thy Square to
virtue tend,

Thy Trowel spread that true cement which doth
all hearts unite
And darkness comprehend and glow with thy
immortal Light.

Live on! O Masonry, Live on!

SATURDAY
OCTOBER 25, 1958
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Telephones: UNiversity 6-1740
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YOUTH MARCH FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS
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October 25, 1958

After pointing out that youth, regardless of race or color, religion or national origin or ancestry, are the victims of segregation and discrimination, not only because of the loss of educational opportunity by the short-sighted policy of closing down public schools but also on account of the advocacy and spread of the false doctrine of racial superiority and inferiority, which flatters the white and insults the Negro, and stating that youth have the major responsibility to take the offensive in the spirit of sacrifice, suffering and consecration, in support of the Supreme Court decisions of 1954, 1955 and 1958 for the desegregation and integration of public schools, A. Philip Randolph, co-leader of the Inter-racial Youth March for Integrated Schools, issued the following statement for the press.

WHY THE INTERRACIAL YOUTH MARCH FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS?

By A. Philip Randolph

NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

The nature of the problem we seek to resolve is largely emotional, with roots deep in a morass of fears, frustrations, desperation and a guilt complex, born of a long history of conflict, contradiction and confusion over the irreconcilability of moral and religious profession and practice on the part of some southern politicians in the field of human and racial relations.

Therefore, not only are Federal law and court decisions needed, but Federal power is indispensable to back and enforce the law and court decisions to avoid social chaos, troubles, tensions and turmoil.

CONDITIONS BACK OF THE MARCH

This Youth March for Integrated Schools in Washington, D. C. was planned because it is apparent that, despite the notable, monumental victories in the United States Supreme Court and lower courts by the N A A C P for the desegregation and integration of public schools, the civil rights revolution is heading for a grave crisis of roadblocks. Negroes are passing through an hour of trial of faith by fire. The hot winds of persecution are rising. Only the tried, true to the cause of human dignity, will stand.

It is clear to him who runs and reads that the Supreme Court decisions of 1954, 1955 and 1958, striking down segregated schools, has precipitated a raging controversy. The country has been virtually split wide open into two major camps. One camp stands for, and the other against, the public school policy of desegregation and integration.

Though the South accepted the U. S. Supreme Court decision of Plessy v Ferguson of 1896, which handed down the notorious concept of "separate but equal", the doctrinal foundation of the system of segregation, it not only rejects the aforementioned decisions of the Federal courts but recklessly denounces them as communist-influenced and brands them as unconstitutional and illegal. Thus, Governor Faubus of Arkansas and Governor Almond of Virginia, slapped down by decision after decision by the Supreme Court and the district and circuit federal courts, in utter frustration and desperation, have projected a massive resistance movement of state power against federal power. Schools have closed down. Demagogic and inflammatory appeals by southern state officials, press and pulpit, to the passions and prejudices of illiterate southern masses have provoked explosive outbursts of violence in the form of bombings of schools, churches and synagogues, and homes of Negro civil rights leaders. A veritable reign of terror, in the form of mob rule, shootings and killings of Negroes, is sweeping the South.

Not only Federal court decisions, but the moderate and firm injunctions of our great President Eisenhower to the South, to obey and conform to the decisions of the Federal courts as the law of the land, have been arrogantly flouted.

It has been estimated that 196 laws have been enacted by southern state legislatures since the Supreme Court decisions, for evasion, if not nullification, of the court orders for desegregation and integration.

We must remember that the Supreme Court has reversed itself on great social issues before. Why? Because of the change and pressure of public opinion. Note the strange, amazing and incredible spectacle of a governor of a state appealing through a nationwide letter-writing campaign for public sympathy and money to establish and maintain segregated private schools for white children.

Thus, it is obvious that while the court decisions for civil rights are clear and forthright, they may not be final. Southern white supremacy leaders will not readily let up in their plots and conspiracies to subvert and evade decisions of the courts favorable to the abolition of segregation.

In the light of this fact, the country needs to be alerted to the fact that not only is integration of schools at stake, but our whole democratic governmental order, which rests upon the Constitution and the principles of the Declaration of Independence. If the court decisions for integration can be discounted, ignored and repudiated by any group in the national community, then a court order concerning any other social, economic or political issue can be ignored and disregarded. So it is evident that the attitude of the South toward court decisions on civil rights may lead to inevitable chaos and confusion and, perhaps, even civil strife.

But the only way to mobilize public opinion back of the great decisions on civil rights is to dramatize the question of integrated schools. This requires action. It must be action in the form of putting people into motion. No events in human history more deeply stir and capture the imagination of men and women than the marching of men. The marching of men is the basis of the grip of war upon man. Abolish the tread of the soldier down the streets of a city or village and the romance in war will pass.

Just as marches of citizens may be utilized sometimes for anti-social purposes, they may also be employed to advance constructive ideas. The basic ideal of our March for Integrated Schools is the unity of Negro and white youth in participation in this common enterprise for a great moral issue; namely, democracy in education through integration.

PURPOSE OF THE MARCH

First of all, because of some disquiet in the nation's capital concerning the purpose of the March, by intimating its partisan character to embarrass President Eisenhower, let me state definitely and positively that this Youth March is wholly non-partisan and is absolutely free from any form of control or influence from communists or communism. It is to our interest not to weaken but to strehgthen the hands of the President since we wish him to uphold the school decisions as the law of the land. Moreover, efforts to embarrass the President would only mar the moral grandeur of our noble cause and brand us unworthy of its advocacy. Our Youth March is designed neither to help or harm Republicans or Democrats in the campaign.

As to communists, the leadership completely rejects and unequivocally condemns communists and communism and their support, organizationally and financially, since we fully realize that democracy and freedom, which communists openly set aside and denounce as bourgeois prejudices, are the only framework within which the Negro and other minorities, including labor, can achieve their rights.

What then is its purpose?

The central and dominant purposes of the Interracial Youth March for Integrated Schools in Washington, D. C. are as follows:

1. To give dramatization to the God-given right of every child, regardless of race or color, religion or national origin or ancestry, to receive an education in the public schools,free from the insult of segregation and discrimination.

2. To build and demonstrate the unity of Negro and white youth in this historic struggle for the great moral issue of democracy in education through integration.

3. To help awaken, inform, arouse and mobilize the people to the realization of the patriotic duty of every American citizen to support the Supreme Court decisions for the desegregation and integration of public schools as the law of the land.

4. To point out and highlight the American way of life through democracy and Christianity, which seek to give every boy and girl an equal chance to build character and manhood.

5. To alert public opinion to the grave danger of the poison of Little Rock Faubusism infecting the bloodstream of American life.

6. To warn the American people of the peril of a growing trend, symbolized by Virginia's massive resistance to undermine, if not destroy the confidence of the public in the role and integrity of the United States Supreme Court in our system of government.

7. To indicate that the disease germs of Little Rock Faubusism, like the disease germs of tuberculosis, know no color line. Little Rock Faubusism must be curbed and cured lest it infect the entire nation with its sinister germ of human hate, violence, anarchy and terrorism.

8. To meet the cold war of half-truths, whole lies, incitement to violence and racial hate of little Rock Faubusism, which is attempting to brainwash the American people into rejecting and nullifying the Supreme Court decisions for the desegregation and integration of public schools, with the cold war of truth, righteousness, non-violence, good-will, love and Americanism.

9. To point out and emphasize that children are not born with, nor do they inherit racial or religious hatreds - but learn and acquire them in some homes, schools, churches, and from some books, newspapers, magazines, radio and television.

10. To indicate that children can learn to unlearn to hate other children and adults, solely because of race, religion, national origin or ancestry, by contact in the schools, by sound science, education and

Christian teachings, for contact between children of different races will help children to know the truth; namely, that all human beings are created by God and are children of God and are, therefore, fundamentally alike, which will help to make them free from, and immune to, the sickness of human hate.

11. To emphasize that the so-called massive resistance movement of Virginia and Little Rock Faubusism against the Supreme Court decisions is the last stand of the dying order of the old slave-plantation Bourbon South.

The reign of terror, violence and hatred now sweeping over the South, in the form of bombings of public schools, churches and homes, police brutality against Reverend Martin Luther King and the outrageous killings of Negro civil rights leaders, is the flush of the death, not life, of the old Bourbon Confederate South of white supremacy. In the grip of death throes, it is fighting hard not to die though it is impossible to live.

These violent outbursts of savage physical attacks of the bomb and gun and poisonous racial propaganda, together with judicial and legislative illegality against Negroes and labor unions and their organizers, is but a pathological manifestation of fears, frustration and desperation of the old South before the onward march of urbanization, industrialization, widening education, labor unionization of the workers, white and black, and the conflict and contradiction between the American creed and American dream of equality of opportunity with empty rationalizations of the southern social system of segregation.

WHY D. C.

Washington has been selected as the locale for this interracial demonstration of youth, against segregation in Little Rock and the policy of closing down public schools in some southern cities for the preservation of segregation, because it is the seat of the most sensitive system of public communication and circulation of events and happenings for the information of peoples in the U.S.A. and the world.

COMPETITION FOR PUBLIC ATTENTION

Because of the multitude of issues and events, such as wars, sputniks, revolutions, strikes, world series and political elections, clamoring for attention from the people and government leaders, any human cause, though great and imperative, must be given sharp picturization to secure attention even by those who will benefit directly from it,

No one can gainsay the fact that the world gives little attention to the run-of-the-mill event, though immensely worthy. Thus, it is historically and psychologically obvious and true that the propaganda of the deed is more powerful than the propaganda of the word. But the wisdom of the oppressed is to employ both the propaganda of the non-violent word and the propaganda of the non-violent deed against their oppressors.

Thus, the decisions of the courts for the desegregation and integration of public schools, in order to become a living force, must win allies such as youth, labor, church and schools and the broad support of public opinion. Unless this is done, the courts may even change themselves on the question; it has happened in the past. Even constitutional amendments have been added to the Constitution and then repealed.

The Wagner Labor Disputes Act, which was enacted in 1935 and upheld by the Court in 1937 was practically emasculated in 1947 by the Taft-Hartley Act. Labor never dreamed that such a change could come so soon, but it did.

What was responsible for the reverses by the Supreme Court; the amendments of the Constitution and their repeal; the emasculation of the Wagner Labor Disputes Act, called by labor it Magna Charter?

The basic cause for the Court changes was changes in public opinion, and public opinion is made and can be changed to suit various groups who know the techniques of propaganda.

Democracy in education through integration is a major challenge to the conscience of the United States and is meeting with emotional resistance. But the opposition can be overcome if the conscience of the country is kept perpetually disturbed by the conflict between the ideals and truths of Christianity and democracy and the practice of racial segregation and discrimination.

Certainly there is much that is dark and wrong in the world today and also in ourselves, such as meanness, anguish, brutality, greed, fear, frustration, despair, hate. Yet there is also order and goodness in the world and also in ourselves - love, courage, sacrifice, creativity, growth, dedication, regeneration.

Though we now pass through a long night of terror and trouble, may we ever remember that our night is not wholly dark nor is it endless. There is always a star - a star of hope, though dim. The dawn will break - the star is never far.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE Speeches Feb. 7 – Sept. 6, 1959

(1)

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH TO THE
TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP COUNCIL, INC.
GOTHAM HOTEL, DETROIT, MICHIGAN
FEBRUARY 7, 1959

THE ROLE OF THE NEGRO WORKER IN THE AMERICAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND THE PROBLEM OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Mr. Chairman, members of the Trade Union Leadership Council, and fellow-workers: First of all, permit me to express my great pleasure upon being honored with the invitation to address this body on this occasion. I want to congratulate you upon your organization and wish for you success in your efforts to achieve your objectives.

IMPORTANCE OF NEGRO HISTORY

I understand you are concerned about conducting an educational campaign among Negro workers to enable them to recognize the value of trade union organization and, also, to make Negro trade union members aware of their obligation and responsibility to participate in the activities of their union, to make it bigger and better, as members and officials, as well as to wage a vigorous and aggressive campaign for the elimination of discrimination, based upon race and color, in the trade union movement.

Let me also observe that I am appreciative of your arranging this educational meeting upon the occasion of Negro History Week. It is interesting to note that not since the turn of the century when Negroes were not far removed from the hot and bitter winds of the Civil War and the Reconstruction period have they been the object of such a violent, vile and vicious stream of propaganda as they face today. Thus, it is important and vital that Negroes become increasingly knowledgeable about their history, not only in the United States but in the West Indies, South and Central America and, especially, Africa.

FAILURE OF CIVIL WAR REVOLUTION

I need not tell you that practically all of our problems at this time have resulted from the fact that the Civil War Revolution was never fully completed; its objectives were never completely realized. It is a matter of common knowledge that the 13th Amendment of 1865 was followed by widespread peonage, a form of involuntary servitude, throughout the South. It is also obvious to him who runs and reads that the 14th Amendment of 1868 was never enforced for the protection of the freedman in the exercise of his American citizenship. Moreover, we are still compelled to struggle to fulfill the mandate of the 15th Amendment of 1870 providing the right of suffrage.

The fact is that when the Civil War ended and the period of transition set in of the Negro from the status of slave to that of freedman, the whole process of the Civil War Revolution was halted by the reaction of the restoration of the old slave masters to state power, or a Counter Revolution, designed to strip the Negro of his citizenship right.

Thus, today, here we are, developing a trade union propaganda movement, together with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Church, waging a memorable battle for civil rights, solely because Negroes are not yet fully free.

Now, it is highly important that Negroes direct their attention to the question of their status and rights on the labor and economic front. In this complex age of advancing science, industrialism and technology, only the fit and the strong can, or will survive. The fit and the strong, of course, are the educated and the organized. But it is not enough merely to be a part of an organization; a member of an organization has the responsibility to help make the organization move in the direction for which it was formed. In the field of labor, trade unions must develop and use the struggles of workers for economic, racial, and social justice, and help advance the improvement of all communities, believing that what is good for American communities is good for American free trade unions.

But, obviously, one wants more than survival. Slaves may survive, but only as slaves.

Negro workers want, and insist upon, survival with dignity, freedom, and equality. However, when the issue of survival is raised, it poses the question of the existence of a threat and danger to one's life; physical, labor, economic, social or political.

PROBLEM OF SURVIVAL OF NEGRO WORKERS

Since Negroes are essentially wage earners, not capitalists, who must work for a living, their survival involves two basic factors: (1) Employment. (2) Wages.

Without employment there can be no wages; without wages there can be no life. Life depends upon food, clothing and shelter, education and recreation, which, in our economy, can only be purchased with wages, interest, rent or profits.

Since one of the basic tenets of economics is that interest is the reward for the use of capital; rent, the price of the use of land; and profits, compensation for managerial ability - forces that Negroes command in no considerable degree - Negro workers must rely upon the sale of their labor for wages if they would live.

Thus, what is the problem?

The problem is the sale of the Negro workers' labor for wages. But in our modern industrial system, labor can only be sold and bought on the market - the labor market, at a price generally negotiated through the mechanism of collective bargaining by trade unions and industrial management. When collective bargaining is absent, wage rates are determined pretty generally under the influence of the law of supply and demand.

Since the major industries in which commodities and services are produced are under trade union agreements regulating rates of pay and rules governing working conditions, Negroes, like white workers, because of the union shop, can only secure and maintain the best and more desirable jobs under trade union rules. This is true on railroads; it is true in steel; in autos; in rubber; in public utilities. It is becoming increasingly an industrial and economic fact that membership in trade unions is a condition of employment, continued employment. Because of this fact, Negro workers, like white, Jewish, Catholic, Puerto Rican and Oriental wage earners, must build and join trade unions for their own economic salvation. There is no alternative.

TRADE UNIONS INDISPENSABLE

Craft union and industrial union organization is the law of the life of labor. This is so, not because it is right or because it is good but because it is a condition to the strength, health, and well-being of the worker. The cause of craft and industrial trade unions has its roots in the conflict between labor and capital for a larger share of the production of labor, capital, management, and land; the major factors of production.

Without powerful labor unions wages would tend toward a bare subsistence level. It is a matter of common knowledge that where unions are weak, wages are low, and the converse is also true; where wages are low, there either is no union or there are weak unions.

Moreover, the emergence of big, powerful labor unions are just as natural and inevitable as the rise of large-scale corporate capital. Our free enterprise, competitive economy created big capital and big capital was a motivation of big labor and, in the main, big capital and big labor constitute the raison d'etre of big government.

In fact, our mass production system, such as automobile, steel, food, clothing, building, and railroads are only possible with, and must rest upon, mass consumption. Mass consumption can only obtain where and when there is high purchasing power; high purchasing power can only stem from high wage levels: and high wage levels of the wage earners are only achieved through collective bargaining - through powerful, well-disciplined labor unions under sound intelligent, courageous, aggressive, honest leadership.

Since this analysis shows that Negro workers cannot live the good and abundant life outside trade unions, they face two problems:

(1) Joining unions.
(2) Becoming first-class members, or economic citizens of the union.

This involves breaking down the barriers to membership based upon race or color, including the elimination of the color bar from the constitutions and rituals - the general practice of discrimination and segregation by unions without the color clause, and the abolition of racially segregated auxiliary unions. It also involves Negro workers commanding and exercising the right of becoming a part of the policy-making machinery of their unions, and seeking appointments and election to various offices of national and international unions. It involves activity in the locals, as loyal and progressive members, with participation in the leadership. It also involves Negroes becoming delegates and officials to the central bodies, state federations, and the biennial conventions of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

SOME TRENDS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN LABOR

Discrimination in some of the trade unions do not only bar Negroes from membership but limit Negro members in exercising their democratic rights of full and free participation in the wide range of union activities.

Without the right to assume responsibilities and burdens, endure suffering, make sacrifices, and share in the struggles as well as enjoy the benefits and advantages of the union, Negroes are consigned to the ignoble status of second-class members. They do not bear the honor of full-fledged, first-class trade union citizenship.

Obviously, the joining fees, dues, and assessments paid by Negro members to a trade union which practices any form of racial discrimination do not secure, either quantitatively or qualitatively, union benefits comparable to those enjoyed by their fellow white members.

Now, it is a matter of common knowledge that despite the provision in the constitution of the AFL-CIO, which is much too fragmentary and nondescript and utterly lacking forthrightness and strength of commandment, discrimination and segregation on account of race have assumed the condition of a grave sickness, generally deplored and condemned by friends and foes of labor, alike.

The recent report by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People highlights this condition of discrimination and segregation in trade unions.

I need not emphasize to this audience the factuality of this comprehensive report by the NAACP on discrimination and segregation in national and international unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO. Some of these facts have been known for a generation or more but they were never organized and set forth in a definitive and challenging report, such as has been ably done by the Labor Secretary of the NAACP, Herbert Hill.

Delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Milton P. Webster, First International Vice President, and the speaker, have pointed to these conditions of discrimination and segregation in convention after convention of the American Federation of Labor for over twenty-five years, but to little avail.

The worst offenders have been unions among the building trades and the railroads.

But be it said to the credit of the railroad unions, there is not one union among the non-operating railway employes group with a color clause in its constitution, although practically all of them had such clauses in either their constitutions or rituals a generation ago. Be it also said to the discredit of the operating railway unions, engineers, firemen, trainmen and conductors, all of them still retain the color bar in their constitutions.

Among the building trades, Negro workers have always played a considerable role in the bricklayers, plasterers, painters and carpenters craft unions although, in some areas, they have great difficulty in getting into these unions and, therefore, in getting work at their trades.

Negroes are making encouraging progress in becoming active, responsible members in the electrical workers' unions in New York City and Chicago, but not in very many other cities.

In Chicago, a long step forward was taken by the Plumbers' union when a Negro plumber was recently elected business agent although Negroes represent less than ten percent of the membership. This is progress. But it must become more widespread.

There are still three unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO with the color bar. They are the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and the Air Line Pilots Association.

There are some national and international unions with locals that exclude Negroes by tacit consent.

In many areas in the North as well as the South, qualified Negro workers are either totally excluded or relegated to jim-crow auxiliary locals. The lack of a uniform pattern of racial practices in a number of national and international unions is largely due to recent progress in invoking state and municipal fair employment practices laws, and the firm action of President George Meany in setting a deadline to compliance with the AFL-CIO anti-discrimination policy by a union guilty of racial discrimination. But it is obvious to anyone that the lag between a Negro worker filing a complaint of discrimination against a union and AFL-CIO action against that union is much too uncertain and too long.

I have reference to a specific complaint by a Negro electrical worker of discrimination, in the form of membership exclusion, by an Electrical Workers' local union in Cleveland. Acceptance of the Negro electrical worker was refused by the local union for two years, more or less, despite the efforts on the part of the International President and International Secretary-Treasurer of the Electrical Workers' Union to get the local union to accept the Negro electrician.

Without indicating the unions, it is fair to state that racial discrimination is practiced by building trades' unions in practically every community of the country, varying in intensity and pattern from community to community and local to local, depending largely upon leadership and local racial mores.

Since union membership is generally a condition of employment in the railroad and building industries, the refusal to permit Negroes, because of race, to become members of the unions that hold bargaining rights, denies qualified Negroes the right to work at their chosen trades.

There are some unions that enter into collective bargaining agreements that maintain a rigid pattern of racially segregated local unions with separate seniority lines and lines of job progression, thereby limiting Negro employment to unskilled laborer job classification, denying Negroes their seniority and promotional rights, a recognized property right which can only be obtained through time of service and fitness and ability on, and for, the job.

Experience has shown that when Negro workers are confined to racially segregated auxiliary local unions they are not only denied equal representation but also the full benefits of trade union membership.

Auxiliary unions, based upon race or color, are an economic blight to Negro workers and an organizational anachronism to democratic, free trade unionism.

In further comment on Negroes in auxiliary and racially segregated or separate local unions, it is important to add that there may be separate local unions composed wholly of Negroes, if Negroes happen to hold all of the jobs in the industry the local union covers and represents.

This would not constitute an instance of segregation. There are many such locals among the Waiters, Redcaps and Sleeping Car Porters. It would be segregation if Negroes, as a part of a group of employees, Negro and white, on the same class of jobs, were forced to join a separate local union composed only of Negroes.

I understand there are local unions in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks whose members are all Negroes, based upon the fact that all of the workers of a given class or craft in a certain area and industry happen to be Negroes as, for instance, the Redcaps in the station at Dallas, Texas. All of the Redcaps are Negroes and, therefore, all of the members of the local union are Negroes. This condition was not created by the union but by the hiring policy of the railway carrier. The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks has also, in addition to separate all-Negro local unions, interracial locals with Negro and white members.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has, in addition to all-Negro locals of sleeping car porters, local unions in the Dominion of Canada composed of whites, Negroes, Japanese, Chinese, and many other nationalities. The reason why the large majority of local divisions of the Sleeping Car Porters are composed of all-Negro members is the direct result of the hiring policies of the Pullman Company and railroads.

These local unions of all-Negro members that are separate, in the sense that there are no white workers of the same class or craft on the job in the area or industry, should not be treated or given the status of auxiliary locals without direct representation in the convention of the international union and without power to exercise any influence on the policy-making body of the parent organization. These local unions do have representation in the international and national conventions and also have something to say about the making of policy. Moreover, when white workers come into a class or craft in a given area or industry which is represented by a local union composed of only Negroes, the white workers should be required by the international to join the local union of the class or craft of which they have become a part.

SOME NEGRO TRADE UNIONISTS DEMAND SEGREGATED UNIONS

But is must be recognized that some national and international trade unions have maintained racially segregated local unions at the behest and request of their Negro members. This attitude of Negro trade unionists is purely selfish and due to their desire to hold on to certain appointive and elective paid jobs in the segregated locals.

Former President James Petrillo, of the Musicians' Union, told me that he desired to integrate the Negro locals with the white locals, or abolish locals based upon race, but the Negro locals objected. Now, while I don't consider that the position of Negro locals in the Musicians' international union is a defensible excuse on the part of the international to maintain racially segregated local unions, it is obvious that we have an internal problem of carrying on sound trade union and workers' education among Negro trade unionists so that they will not agree to jim-crow themselves for selfish gain.

I recall that Negro freight handlers of Chicago, during the 1930's, demanded separate local unions in the Railway Clerks as a condition to affiliation. But, here again, an international union is not justified in establishing an undemocratic trade union membership system to satisfy a few workers, just as no group of workers can be permitted to maintain communist or corrupt auxiliary unions on the grounds that they wish to be separate. A church, for instance, would hardly permit a group of its members to establish a separate branch for the propagation of atheism and remain a part of the church. By the same token, a group of Negro members of a national or international union cannot be permitted to violate the spirit and letter of the constitution of the AFL-CIO by setting up a jim-crow local union on the grounds that they want to control and operate a separate Negro union.

VIOLENCE USED AGAINST NEGRO RAIL FIREMEN

The efforts on the part of some railroad unions to make some jobs lily-white by eliminating Negro workers has taken various forms.

It is a notorious scandal in the annals of railroad unions that the shotgun was used, a decade or so ago, to drive Negro locomotive firemen out of the engine cabs in the Mississippi delta. While a number of Negro firemen were shot and killed in the engine cabs, Negroes didn't run away from the job. They stood their ground until the law curbed this shameful wave of violence. They are still in the engine cab, although in smaller numbers.

Failing to drive Negroes off the railroads as locomotive firemen, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen negotiated a contract with the Southeastern Carriers' Conference Committee which contained the famous non-promotability clause, providing that no worker was eligible to become a locomotive firemen unless he was eligible to become an engineer. The trick was that no Negro fireman was eligible to become an engineer since this was recognized as a "white man's job". Thus, since engineers on railroads are recruited only from the firemen and since only white firemen were eligible to become engineers, therefore, only white workers were eligible to become railroad firemen. This bit of logical legerdemain, if it had worked, would have swept Negro firemen off the railroads. But the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters hailed the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Southeastern Carriers' Conference Committee before the United States Supreme Court and knocked out the contract in the notable Graham case.

Although Negro firemen are steadily disappearing from the engine cabs, since when they die, retire or are fired no Negroes are hired, those Negro Firemen who are left enjoy the consolation of holding down, on a basis of seniority, the most desirable jobs. The Negro firemen's seniority began with the old coal-burner engine, when it was a dirty, hard, back-breaking job which paid the proverbial dollar a day, a job which the white man didn't want. But today with the coming of the stoker and diesel power, the locomotive firemen's job, highly paid as it is, has become a white man's job which the white firemen's union seeks to secure for white men, by violence or contract.

TRAINMEN CLAIM TRAIN PORTERS' JOBS

Another outrageous attempt to run Negro workers off desirable jobs is the campaign of the white trainmen against the black trainmen. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen which has a color clause in its constitution which bars Negroes from membership, has sought to utilize the National Railroad Adjustment Board, a government agency set up under the Railway Labor Act, to replace Negro train porters who operate on the head end of the train, with white trainmen, on the grounds that the jobs that have been held by Negroes for over fifty years come within the framework of their jurisdiction. The fight to maintain some 90 train porters, more or less, on the Santa Fe Railroad alone, has cost the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in the Courts over $20,000, and the case is still not finally settled.

The Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen was admitted to affiliation to the AFL-CIO with a color clause in its constitution. This Trainmen's Union is spending thousands of dollars to secure the enactment of Full Crew Laws in Illinois, Colorado, Wyoming and several other states. These Full Crew laws would operate to displace the Negro train porters on the head end of the train, and some chair-car attendants, since they are not considered as a part of the train crew.

WHY SHOULD NEGROES JOIN UNIONS WITH RACIAL DISCRIMINATION?

With such a dismal and discouraging picture the question may be asked, why should Negroes join trade unions with racial discrimination in them?

Well the answer is: All trade unions don't have a color bar or practice racial discrimination. Moreover, if Negroes were to remain out of every institution in the United States which has racial discrimination in it, they would remain out of practically every institution because racial discrimination is in practically everything white people are in.

Thus, Negroes would remain out of the schools, churches under white people's control, the government, industry, and sports, for racial discrimination is in all of these institutions. The sounder policy is not to remain out of institutions and movements where racial discrimination is practiced, but to go into those institutions and fight to drive racial discrimination out.

PROGRESS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

While the night is dark, in terms of realities of the racial situation in the country at this hour, developments on the trade union and civil rights fronts indicate that the dawn of a brighter day is breaking.

It was not many years ago when Negro workers in trade unions were few and far between. Today, there are a million-and-a-half, or two million Negroes, more of less, in the trade union movement. They are business agents, presidents and secretary-treasurers of local unions. There are Negro international vice-presidents of the Packinghouse Workers and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union. Two international unions, the Transport Service Employees and the Sleeping Car Porters are headed by Negroes. The Sleeping Car Porters has an international membership, composed of white men, Filipinos, Japanese, Hindus, Koreans, and Negroes. Two Negroes have served as members of the highest policy-making body of the AFL-CIO, the Executive Council, Brother Willard Townsend and the writer. Only a few years ago some 25 or 30 unions in the American Federation of Labor had color clauses in their constitutions. Today, only three unions in affiliation to the AFL-CIO have the color bar.

To cleanse the house of labor of the virus of racial discrimination, machinery has been set up in the constitution in the form of a Civil Rights Committee and Civil Rights Department, both of which need activation. Regular meetings of the Committee should be held. A larger staff for the Department is needed. A more vigorous and definitive statement of policy should be made. Positive and forthright punitive action should be taken against a union which violates the constitution by practicing discrimination against a worker on account of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

A broad, national, frontal attack upon discrimination should be launched by the AFL-CIO, with a view to eliminating the racially segregated auxiliary unions and the color bar, as well as discrimination by tacit consent.

Unions now in affiliation with the AFL-CIO that have color clauses in their constitutions, in violation of the constitution of the AFL-CIO, should be expelled until they eliminate these clauses from their constitution.

ECONOMIC PLIGHT OF THE NEGRO WORKER

With the march of the revolution of automation marked by the advance in science, industrialism and technology, which is a threat to the unskilled worker, of which Negroes represent, proportionately, the largest single group in our work force, Negroes must acquire, along with white workers, new skills through apprenticeship and in-plant training systems, as well as enter approved schools for technical and scientific training, in order that they may constitute a vital and necessary segment of the productive machinery in this revolution of today and tomorrow.

Certainly, no form of racial discrimination should be permitted to stand in the path to prevent Negro workers from taking their place, upon a basis of equality and merit, in our expanding, dynamic and viable economy.

It is obvious that the manpower of the new scientific era our country and the world are entering upon will be highly qualitative. As technology changes and automation proceeds apace with the challenge of the space age, industrial job classifications will change and workers will have to be trained and equipped to fill these new industrial needs.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
A WEAPON OF COMMUNIST POWER

With Negroes constituting one-tenth of the manpower of the nation, the United States will not be qualified to meet the Russian Soviet challenge of trained manpower and scientific progress unless the total man force of the country is prepared with the necessary skills, but this is impossible with discrimination in unions and industry. Thus, racial discrimination, which would deny Negroes training and employment to play their part in industry with white workers, is committing national suicide.

COSTLY WASTAGE OF NEGRO MANPOWER

But the employment records will show that discriminatory policies toward Negro workers in some unions and industries constitute a tragic and monstrous and costly wastage of manpower, and possible skills and talents, that might serve America in its competition for survival with the growing material might of the Soviet Union.

The marked disparity in the comparable economic positions of Negro and white workers and their vulnerability in periods of economic maladjustment is clearly reflected in the facts of unemployment and income distribution.

In confirmation of this observation, it is sufficient to point out that during the week of March 9, 1958, 14.4 percent of the total non-white civilian labor force in the United States were unemployed. The comparable rate for white workers was 6.9 percent. It is significent to observe that although only one out of every ten persons in the labor force is non-white, more than one out of every five persons currently unemployed is non-white.

In 1954 the average wage or salary income of the Negro worker had risen to $1,589, while the average white worker earned $3,174, or twice as much as the Negro. In 1954, 17.6 percent of all white families in the United States were living on an annual income of $2,000 or less, but of non-white families, 42.3 percent were living on an annual income below $2,000.

During the Great Depression, according to the National Health Survey for 1935-36, 36 percent of the colored males and 28 percent of the colored females in the urban labor force were unemployed or were on emergency work. The corresponding figures for the white urban labor force were 21 and 19 percent, respectively.

RACE DISCRIMINATION AND RELIEF

Now, the extent to which various sections of the population are forced upon public relief is a fairly good barometer of their economic weakness or insecurity.

According to the Unemployment Relief Census of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, in October 1933 the relief incidence among Negroes of the country as a whole was 17.8 percent, or twice as high as the corresponding white rate of 9.5 percent.

Here then is but a sketchy indication of the dire economic and social ravages of racial prejudice upon the Negro worker, the wages of whom are the mainstay of the Negro population. Go into any urban community today and you will note the enormously higher incidence of relief grants to Negroes over whites which, of course, is the direct result of the lack of economic and industrial opportunity enjoyed by Negroes in comparison with whites.

COMMUNIST OPPORTUNITY

Unless Negroes acquire greater trade union protection, greater scientific and occupational training for new tasks, to help operate the American industrial and economic machine under the increasing tempo of the revolution of automation, their economic and social status will worsen, resulting in their possible transformation into slum proletariat and feudalistic peasants - fertile soil for Communist dogma.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Only when all workers, Jew and Gentile, Negro and white, Catholic and Protestant, native and foreign, work together in the same industry, on the same jobs, utilizing similar skills, solve their industrial and craft problems in the same union halls and build their unions together under the same leadership in the true spirit of unity and brotherhood, will the American trade union movement fulfill its historic mission, enrich our democratic heritage and uphold our Judeo-Christian traditions.

Though Negro workers possess faith and confidence in the soundness of the leadership of the AFL-CIO on the question of race, they do not consider this as any good reason for their not developing a national Negro labor committee to serve as a sort of watchdog over their interests, rights and problems in the American trade union movement since the present leadership, being human, is impermanent. It may change, or die, or be replaced by leaders with less vision, integrity, moral courage and sense of trade union brotherhood. Besides, it is unsound for Negro workers to rely wholly upon a force involving their vital interests of jobs, wages and life which they do not control.

Moreover, Negro workers in the trade unions need, as other disadvantaged groups in the economy, an instrumentality with which to defend and advance their interests and rights which they themselves control and which can and will serve their needs. For the formation and maintenance of such an instrumentality, Negroes must furnish the funds just as Jewish workers supply the funds for the maintenance of the Jewish Labor Committee, for you can only control that which you pay for.

Verily, it is the law of life that at the banquet table of nature there are no reserved seats. You get what you can take and you keep what you can hold.

With this instrumentality, which I shall elect to call, for convenience, a Negro labor committee, an effective job can be done, not only for the Negro trade unionists but for American trade unionism, if the leadership is honest, fearless, and intelligent, possessing not only a broad vision and abiding faith but also a sense of mission and dedication for the achievement of racial equality and human dignity for Negro workers in particular and the Negro community in general, as well as our American democratic system.

It is well-nigh axiomatic and is quite generally the lessons of history that under the most generous leadership an organization will only make concessions, to even just demands from within or without, when it is no longer possible or expedient to withhold the said concessions.

Let us not have any illusions about the dynamics of progress. Negro workers lag behind white workers, not solely because they are black but chiefly because they are weak, and they are weak because they lack sound self-organization. White workers are relatively strong, not only because they are white but because they have exhibited the common horse sense to build an organization and fight for their rights.

Now, as to specific steps:

First, there must be a declaration of a massive warfare against discrimination and segregation, based upon race or color, by the leadership of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, setting a mandate to every national and international union to move forthwith and forthrightly in assuming its moral responsibility to undertake the task of setting its house in order by establishing a Civil Rights Committee to wipe out all forms of discrimination and segregation in its local unions.

Second, civil rights committees should be set up in every central body and state federation, which should join in, if not initiate the fight to secure legislation for fair employment practice commissions in cities and states.

Third, the AFL-CIO should sponsor and support legislation for a federal Fair Employment Practice Commission. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Fair Employment Practice Committee set up by the late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt achieved significant progress in breaking down racial barriers in various industries against Negro workers.

Fourth, the Civil Rights Committee and Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO should enlarge its staff and employ its skills and resources, with the authority and prestige of President Meany, to resolve every single complaint from a worker about discrimination and segregation based upon race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry; and failing therewith in the process of mediation, conciliation or arbitration, finally place the case into the hands of the President and Executive Council of the AFL-CIO for disposition.

Fifth, the Civil Rights Committee and Civil Rights Department should also carry on a continuous educational program on civil rights, in cooperation with national and international unions, city central bodies and state federation, as well as with civil rights organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Jewish Labor Committee, Catholic Interracial Council, National Urban League and Southern Christian Leadership Council and any organization of bona fide, anti-communist trade unionists, churches and civic and educational groups, committed to a sound civil rights program.

Racially segregated lines of job progression and job classification must be alolished. Just as their exists a Code of Ethical Practices which has set forth standards of conduct for officials and members of trade unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO, there ought to be a Code of Ethical Racial Union Practices which would set forth standards of conduct for officials and members and also policies of international and local unions, to which they ought to officially subscribe and maintain.

REVOLUTIONS WITHIN THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

It must be understood within and without the labor movement that the gathering struggle against discrimination and segregation, in their varied and various forms, is a part of one of three revolutions that have shaken, but helped to purify and strengthen, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. This struggle against racial discrimination is as inevitable as the night follows the day.

The first of the three revolutions was ideological, involving the conflict between communism and free, democratic trade unionism. It shook the very foundations of the American labor movement. It was crucial because history has shown that whenever and wherever the recognized bona fide labor movement of a democratic country went communist, the democratic government either collapsed or lost its stability and orderly democratic procedure. For whenever workers turn to communists and communism they wind up as traitors to their own union, their own country, their own race, or their own religion. This is so because communists are patriotic to only one country, Soviet Russia; one organization, the Communist party; one religion, communism; and one race, the Communist race.

WAR BETWEEN FREE TRADE UNIONISM AND COMMUNISM

This ideological revolution, lead by William Green, late president of the A. F. of L.; George Meany, then secretary-treasurer; and two vice-presidents of the A. F. of L., Dave Dubinsky and the late Matthew Woll, culminated in a resounding triumph for free, democratic trade unionism. It was a long and bitter struggle, involving much labor and pain, with some unions wholly captured by communists, with others shattered and lying in ruins. But from the time warfare was openly declared against communists and communism there was no compromise or letup until this evil and menace was completely driven from the AFL or reduced to impotence and silence from within.

What happened to the communists and communism within the AFL also took place in the Congress of Industrial Organizations, under the leadership of Phillip Murray, president of the CIO, and Walter Reuther, president of the UAW.

Today, thanks to the vision, intelligence and courage of these leaders, and many others, in both the AFL and CIO, the American labor movement is free of the menace of communists and communism, and because of this fight by organized labor against the Kremlin Forces, communists and communism, throughout the nation, are no longer the danger they formerly were.

CONFLICT BETWEEN THE AFL AND CIO

The second revolution was Organizational.

When the American labor movement was riven in twain in 1935 over the issue of craft unionism versus industrial unionism, the very stability and continuity of organized labor was threatened. Intra-labor warfare was prolonged, venomous, violent and vicious; neither side asked for any quarter nor would it give any. The battle extended from the picket line, which was violated freely, to the courts, city councils, state legislatures, the United States Congress and World Labor Conferences.

But efforts to resolve this conflict began practically as soon as the split was effected, and they never ended until the collective good-will and good sense of the leadership and fellowship on both sides prevailed, and the AFL and CIO were finally united in 1955, after twenty long years of strife and conflict.

George Meany was, undoubtedly, the chief architect of this unity of labor, but not without the unselfish and able cooperation and support of Walter Reuther. The solution of this problem was not easy, but the leadership on both sides never ceased to work at it. They had the faith it could be done.

THE MORAL REVOLUTION

Now, the third revolution within the American labor movement is moral. The first phase was initiated and developed against corruption, racketeering and dishonesty in national, international and local unions by the American Federation of Labor, for while the CIO was plagued by communists it had no problem of corruption.

The impetus and momentum in the war declared by the AFL-CIO against crooked, double-dealing, selfish labor leaders was probably supplied but not initiated by the Douglas and McClellan Senate Committees that uncovered shocking and incredible cases of thievery, collusion and dishonest manipulation of the welfare, pension and regular funds of a half-dozen or more unions.

Be it said to the integrity, courage and understanding of the leadership of George Meany, backed by the Executive Council, when once the fight against corruption within the labor movement was begun it was kept up at a high tempo until the major offenders were routed, with their unions, out of the AFL-CIO. It is still under way.

SECOND PHASE OF THE MORAL REVOLUTION OF THE AFL-CIO

Now, the second, major and final phase of the moral revolution is not yet under way. It has to do with cleansing the house of labor of the virus of racial discrimination and segregation, which is an attack upon and insult to the sacredness and dignity of the personality of Negro and all non-white workers. Until this revolution runs its course and is fully completed, the American labor movement will be plagued with a guilty conscience of preaching free, democratic trade unionism while its non-white members are un-free in unions with racial discrimination and segregation, or unions with racial exclusion membership policies.

MORAL DILEMMA OF LABOR

Until the second phase of the moral revolution, relating to the elimination of discrimination and segregation based upon race, is completed, the moral revolution of the labor movement will remain unfinished.

Thus, the AFL-CIO is bound and obligated to face and grapple with the forces of the second phase of the moral revolution with the same resolution and uncompromising commitment to the values and standards of a free, democratic society that was employed in the ideological and organizational revolutions and the first phase of the moral revolution of corruption.

But, in order that this second phase of the moral revolution may not be too long delayed and, when started, maintained uncompromisingly, movements such as the Trade Union Leadership Council which you have set up here in Detroit, to fight discrimination and segregation in trade unions, are necessary.

NATURE OF POWER SYSTEM IN REVOLUTION

It is well-nigh axiomatic in the history of freedom and progress that the mechanics and dynamics of the power structure of an economic, political and social movement cannot be influenced for progressive change without the employment of some form of power system. No reform, no revolution comes into being or becomes an operational force automatically. Reforms and revolutions must be initiated; they must be nurtured; they must be maintained until they fulfill their mission, by those who are the victims of the evils the revolutions are intended to remove. It is also logical and natural that those who need and are to benefit most from a reform or revolution should project and develop it with, of course, responsible allies. Thus, in this civil rights crisis, both within and without the labor movement, Negroes, themselves, must push the fight to abolish all forms of discrimination and segregation. For it is written in the stars that our friends may help us but they cannot save us; we must save ourselves. It is still true that he who would be free must himself first strike the blow.

Recognizing the validity of this position, Jewish workers set up the United Hebrew Trades and the Jewish Labor Committee, Italians organized the Italian Chamber of Labor, and reports have recently come to me that the Puerto Ricans of New York City are planning the formation of a movement comparable to yours.

Now, let me add that your movement will be effective because it is being composed of only bona fide trade unionists. It can work from within trade unions on the local and international levels and, it goes without saying, that it must not and, I am sure, will not ever become anti-trade union or anti-white, but pro-Negro. Such a movement, in order to be worthy to live must be pro-AFL-CIO but anti-communist, and non-partisan while not non-political. I strongly advise against any racial or color, nationality or religion clause in your constitution. It is unsound in principle. Nor is it necessary to achieve your objectives.

Let me express my unqualified faith in the good-will, sense of moral righteousness and integrity of the leadership of the AFL-CIO, as represented by George Meany and Walter Reuther and all the members of the Executive Council. I have no doubt that these leaders, along with the leaders of the national and international unions and heads of departments, want to rid labor of all forms of racial bigotry, intolerance, discrimination and segregation. But they need help - your help, to inaugurate and carry through to success the second phase of the moral revolution.

It is important to note that, contrary to a communist or fascist state whose monolithic power structure places all power and authority in the dictator, in a democratic society the power structure is pluralistic. That is to say, there are many sources of authority and power, such as the business community, the labor community, the farmers' community, the church community, the school or education community. There are more specialized sources of authority and power in the state, such as the Jewish community, the Catholic community, the Protestant community, the Negro community and the white Southern community.

Now, each of these communities has its own major interests to advance and protect. Some of these communities are at various times in crucial conflict, such as the business and labor communities and the Negro and white Southern communities. Thus, each one of the communities seeks concession from the state to advance its cause.

But, whenever a community goes to the White House or Congress for concessions-for legislation, it is met with strong and relentless opposition from the community which considers its interest at stake and involved.

Hence, when labor seeks to amend the Taft-Hartley Act, it is opposed by the National Association of Manufacturers. When Negroes seek to strengthen the civil rights legislation, they are fought by the White Citizens' Councils

Then what happens?

In the conflict between two communities for concessions from the Administration, Republican or Democratic, the community will make the greater headway which constitutes the greater threat to the stability and power of the Administration in the White House or Congress.

Regardless of the merit and justice of the cause of the Negro or labor, neither will get far unless the Negro or labor can bring effective pressure and influence to bear upon the political party governmental power system. For inevitably, the government - a political party - yes, and a national or international trade union, and even the AFL-CIO, will not move voluntarily or automatically. They will only move on vital issues when they are moved. And only organization can cause another organization to move in a given and desired direction. This is why the Negro trade unionists need the Trade Union Leadership Council.

Even when the leadership of a movement is friendly and considers the demands of a group just and fair, pressure must sometimes be brought to bear upon it to give the leadership an opportunity to show to hostile forces that the demands are not only fair but irresistible and unavoidable. This is true with respect to the behavior of the power system of any movement whether government, political party, school, church, business or trade union.

Finally, let me make this distinction between the national and international unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO and the AFL-CIO as a federated body. While there are discriminatory practices in some of the national and international unions, the federated body; namely, the AFL-CIO, has never practiced any form of discrimination on account of race or color, religion, national origin or ancestry. This was true of the old AFL and the old CIO. While it may be said that the federated bodies have not been as vigorous and diligent in efforts to get the national and international unions to comply with basic anti-discrimination policies as might be desired, there is no record of any discrimination ever having been manifested against a worker on account of race or religion or national origin by either one of the aforementioned federated labor bodies.

The basis of our morality is that right makes might, not that might makes right.

We are fighting for the advancement of not only black labor but all labor.

Your movement must become national because the problem is national.

If we remain true to the basic values of the Judeo-Christian tradition; the ideals and principles of free trade unions; the doctrines of the democratic society and to the Negro worker, our cause for trade union racial equality and brotherhood will prevail.

May we never dishonor our cause with the slightest taint of corruption or the stigma of Communists.

White laborers who are seeking justice for themselves cannot in good conscience deny justice to their brothers in black.

Let us be not afraid not to do evil for evil. But let us do good for evil. This is the symbol of humility and humility is the mark of moral greatness.

Be it remembered that no success which is worthwhile and lasting is ever achieved without trials, troubles and tribulations.

It is written in holy writ there is no remission of sin except through blood. Not the blood of the sword but the blood of sacrifice; the blood of suffering; the blood of struggle. This has ever been so.

Verily, we must die if we would live. This is the law of the seed. The seed must decay and die before the tree can live.

In every age of human history, those who would be free had to bear the Cross. It was the lot of labor and still is. It was the lot of the early Christians. It is the lot of Africa and Asia. It is the lot of the Negro in our own land.

The night however dark is never endless. The star of the break of the dawn of day is not far. The hour of decision and action is now.

In the words of the Psalmist: "I will lift mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my strength."

Statement by A. Philip Randolph at the
National Advisory Committee Hearing on
Farm Labor, Mayflower Hotel, Washington,
D. C., February 5-6, 1959.

The importation of some four hundred thousand workers from Mexico annually to work on American farms, while four million or more wage-earners are unemployed, many of whom must seek relief, presents a major social and economic problem, if not a challenge, to our democratic society.

It is generally recognized that two million, more or less, farm laborers in this country are at the bottom of our economic and social ladder. They are not only victims of incredible economic exploitation, but are practically without any legislative protection such as other workers in our economy enjoy.

Let us hope that this conference of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor marks the beginning of a new phase in the tragic drama of migrant farm workers for a decent life and future. If there is any definitive mark of greatness of the civilization of a society, it consists in the capacity of the members of the society to experience a sense of righteous indignation against great social injustices. Thus, you who have taken the time to come to participate in and observe this conference on farm labor, when the mind of the people is not only caught up in a wave of startling scientific technological developments, but also by an era of wondrous materialism, deserve our great gratitude.

Like unto the lowly Nazarene, for whom there was no place in the Inn, migrant farm laborers of our nation are virtually without a place to lay their heads. In an economy of abundance which America enjoys today there need not be squalor, economic and social wretchedness, of any segment of our labor force such as is the lot of the migrant farm workers.

The plight of this group of laboring masses, regardless of race, color, national origin or ancestry, has not only become a major problem but a national scandal. This is so because the victims of this agricultural maladjustment are not only the adult laborers but their children as well who, in addition to being without adequate food, clothing and shelter, lack proper educational opportunities.

What can be done about this problem?

First, nothing can be done for a basic solution of the problem without organization; organization of the farm workers into a bona fide trade union, and the organization of public-spirited citizens into a movement such as the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, to help awaken, inform, arouse and mobilize public sentiment about this social and economic tragedy in our midst, in order that something effective and constructive may be done about it.

It is imperative that the Federal Government and farm growers be made to understand, by the impact of an aroused public against the economic wrongs committed against migrant farm labor, that if these powerful farm operators cannot afford to pay a decent minimum wage, certification should not be granted them by the Federal Government to import farm labor at substandard wage rates. It is a notorious fact that the Federal Government is being made a party to the operation of veritable farm workers' sweatshops that constitute a blight upon the economy. They are comparable in severity of exploitation to the old needle trades sweatshops system of infamous memory.

Since the distinctive feature of the American economy is mass production which is only possible of existence and maintenance through mass consumption which must stem from high purchasing power that had roots in high wage levels, the migrant farm worker agricultural industry with its parasitic low wages constitutes a roadblock in the path of an expanding, dynamic and viable economy.

At the outset it is important to understand that the value of any enterprise in behalf of this work force must not be judged by so-called practical standards of success. So long have these people been the disinherited, the outcasts of our economy, that our economic, social, moral and spiritual investment in their behalf may not meet with any immediate dividends, and yet the struggle to enable these workers to become responsible, productive workers and citizens can never be construed as a social loss. No groups in our country are more cognizant of this fact than the organized labor movement and the organized Church.

It is also important to note that while the present status of these workers is nothing less than tragic, considerable attention and effort have been directed toward the alleviation of the lot of these men and women, both by labor and the Church, but the effort has not been sufficient; it has lacked comprehensiveness, force, continuity and coordination.

It is now becoming evident that nothing less than a long-range, massive, national, coordinated, frontal attack on the problem of farm workers is destined to yield any fruit in the form of economic and social improvement of these workers.

This massive, national effort should involve the organization of farm workers into a trade union such as the National Agricultural Workers, directed to the end of achieving higher wage rates, better working conditions and hours of work. This effort to embrace the mass of farm workers into an effective trade union can and must also conduct a nation-wide campaign, with the cooperation of civic and church agencies, to secure the same legislative protection now enjoyed by other segments of our national labor force.

An increase in wage rates for labor will make the work more attractive to domestic wage-earners which may render it unnecessary for further use of the hapless 'Braceros' of Mexico and other foreign workers. Obviously, it is economically unsound for an important area of the agricultural economy to be dependent upon foreign labor. It is also economically backward that hundreds of thousands of farm workers should be imported to work in the country while four million or more of our domestic workers are unemployed and several million under-employed. This is one of the economic contradictions that can only be solved and met by a trade union organization of farm workers which can fight for higher wages and also struggle to get the Government to set a minimum wage.

STATEMENT BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT CONFERENCE OF NEGRO TRADE UNIONISTS
STATLER HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY
JULY 18-19, 1959.

THE NEGRO AND ORGANIZED LABOR

THE PROBLEM

That Negro workers in America have a problem is obvious.

That a solution to the problem must be sought is imperative.

But before you can determine and prescribe solution of a problem you must first determine what the problem is.

Now, since Negro workers need the same things for life white workers need, a basic aspect of this problem is the same as the problem of white workers.

What is the problem of white workers?

Briefly, it involves:

a. Employment - continuous and full employment.

b. Adequate wages for a decent standard of living.

c. Good working conditions.

d. Shorter hours of work.

e. Vacation with pay, pension, health and welfare plan charged to the industry.

f. Favorable labor and social insurance legislation.

g. The building and maintenance of a strong trade union to achieve these objectives.

h. Decent housing, good schools.

Achieving the aforegoing is the problem of white workers.

What about the Negro workers?

NEGRO WORKERS AT DISADVANTAGE

The Negro worker, in addition to having the same problem of the white worker, has a problem which arises as a result of his being black - namely, a racial problem.

Thus, a Negro and white worker similarly qualified, who apply together at a manufacturing plant for employment, will invariably receive different responses. It is quite possible, if not probable, that the Negro worker may not be accepted on grounds of race or color. If, perchance, both are employed it is quite possible, if not probable, that the white worker will be assigned to skilled work and the Negro worker will be assigned to an unskilled or a semi-skilled job.

Why?

The answer is difference in race.

Unless faced with a fair employment practice law or organizational pressure, the employer, as a result of tradition, custom and practice, will take cognizance of the fact of racial difference in applying his employment policies.

NEGRO WORKERS AND JOB PROMOTION

If both the Negro and white worker are hired they are most likely to be required to follow different lines of job progression, upgrading and promotion. And if job assignment is the same for the Negro and white worker they are quite likely to receive a wage differential except, probably, to a less extent, in the mass production industries in the North. Nor are the opportunities to participate in in-plant training courses open to Negro and white workers on an equal basis. It is a notorious scandal that apprenticeship training opportunities for skilled trades have been practically closed to Negro youth. This fact should occasion no wonderment when it is understood that youth can become eligible for apprenticeship training only if they get sponsorship from members of the trade union which represents the craft in which the training is sought.

PROBLEM OF APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

I need not tell you that in view of the dawning of the new industrial and business world of automation, the virtually closed apprenticeship training courses for highly skilled and technical vocations to Negro youth presents a problem of crucial and considerable dimensions. If a breakthrough of the apprenticeship training racial bottleneck is not effected soon in in-plant training courses, as well as courses in established vocational schools, the future of the Negro worker in this rapidly developing age of automation is not the most reassuring, to say the least.

Who or what is responsible for this plight of Negro workers in relation to apprenticeship training preparation for technological employment? The answer is that the responsibility may be placed at the doors of the unions, industry and government.

If it may be contended that Negroes themselves show no extraordinary interest in seeking training for highly skilled, technical jobs, it may be said in reply that this is due, undoubtedly, to the fact that a number of skilled and technically trained Negro workers have experienced no little difficulty in finding placement and are not infrequently required to accept employment not commensurate with their equipment. This fact can be easily documented in city after city, from coast to coast.

Invariably, the trained Negro job-seeker is met with the claim by Management that they have never had a Negro technician before and the probability is that their white employes would not work with him and, of course, they cannot afford a strike in the plant - at least, not in order to experiment with the employment of Negro workers. While this is mere rationalization or unwillingness to undertake the experimentation of integration of Negro workers in the plant, the fact is there have been numerous instances of white workers downing tools upon the appearance of Negro workers on the job.

UNION AND EMPLOYER
RESISTANCE TO NEGRO EMPLOYMENT

It must be pointed out in this connection that there have been instances when the union has stepped in and demanded the right of the Negro worker to stay on the job. It is also important to note there have been instances when the union engineered the revolt against the employment of a Negro in the plant, or kept hands off and pleaded helplessness to call off the anti-Negro worker demonstration. Thus, it is a matter of common record that Negro workers have been, and still are, faced with both employer and union resistance to their employment and promotion in a number of instances during periods of both boom and bust.

HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG NEGRO WORKERS

For instance, in the March, 1959 issue of FORTUNE the dilemma of the Negro worker is clearly set forth in the following comment:

> ". . .The dimensions of the Federation's problem may be seen in the impact on Negro workers of the 1957-58 recession. So far as Negroes were concerned, the "recession" was a real depression. In March, 1958, over 15 percent of male Negro workers were unemployed. White workers have not seen such hard times since the early 1930's; the recent recession never idled more than 8 percent of white males in the labor force, and this figure dropped rapidly as the economy began to recover. By November, 1958 only 4.8 percent of white males were unemployed as against 11.4 percent of Negroes. In general, the rate of unemployment among Negro men has been twice as high as among white men since 1954."

Of course, discrimination by unions was not the main cause for these differentials. But racial discrimination is partially responsible for the fact that Negroes tend to work in jobs and industries that suffer most in any recession. FORTUNE also aptly points out that:

> "A disproportionate number of Negroes, male and female, are unskilled: 35 percent of them are laborers or what the Census Bureau calls "operatives" (semi-skilled workers), against only 22 percent of white workers. Only about 5 percent of Negroes in the labor force are skilled workers or

or foremen, as against 14 percent of white workers. And for this state of affairs, the unions, especially the skilled crafts and the railway brotherhoods, do bear some responsibility."

The marked disparity in the comparable economic positions of Negro and white workers and their vulnerability in periods of economic maladjustment is clearly reflected in the facts of unemployment and income distribution.

In 1954 the average wage or salary income of the Negro worker had risen to $1,589, while the average white worker earned $3,174, or twice as much as the Negro. In 1954, 17.6 percent of all white families in the United States were living on an annual income of $2,000 or less, but of non-white families, 42.3 percent were living on an annual income below $2,000.

During the Great Depression, according to the National Health Survey for 1935-36, 36 percent of the colored males and 28 percent of the colored females in the urban labor force were unemployed or were on emergency work. The corresponding figures for the white urban labor force were 21 and 19 percent, respectively.

Now, the extent to which various sections of the population are forced upon public relief is a fairly good barometer of their economic weakness or insecurity.

According to the unemployment relief census of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, in October 1933 the relief incidence among Negroes of the country as a whole was 17.8 percent, or twice as high as the corresponding white rate of 9.5 percent.

Here then is but a sketchy indication of the dire economic and social ravages of racial prejudice upon the Negro worker, the wages of whom are the mainstay of the Negro population. Go into any urban community today and you will note the enormously higher incidence of relief grants to Negroes over whites which, of course, is the direct result of the lack of economic and industrial opportunity enjoyed by Negroes in comparison with whites.

Well, brothers, this is but a sketchy description of the Negro's economic problem because of the discriminatory exploitation of the Negro worker. We have indicated that this disadvantaged position of Negro workers stems from biased policies of trade unions, industry and government.

Now, since Negro trade unionists are a part of the labor movement and represent considerable potential power which may be used to improve the lot of the Negro worker both within and without the trade union movement, what are some of the problems in the trade union movement to which we should direct our attention?

CIVIL RIGHTS IN TRADE UNIONS

Of first and primary importance, we must work increasingly to make the Civil Rights Committee and Civil Rights Department work, with a view to securing compliance by the national and international unions with the provision of the constitution designed to eliminate discrimination on account of race or color.

This means that every single case of discrimination against a worker, on account of race or color,by a national or international union, presented to the Civil Rights Committee or Department should be promptly and thoroughly and impartially investigated, to be followed, if the complaint is found to be valid, by the necessary action by the president of the AFL-CIO to bring about compliance for the elimination of the said discrimination. And, in order that uninformed workers troubled with discrimination may know where to turn for help, information about the existence and purpose of the Civil Rights Committee and Department should be widely circulated.

MASSIVE ATTACK ON DISCRIMINATION

But, obviously, investigations of complaints of cases of racial discrimination, though extremely important and indispensable, are not enough.

Contemporaneously with the investigation of complaints of racial discrimination by trade unions should be conducted annual regional civil rights seminars or conferences, to be attended by national and international officials and staff representatives, together with officials and members of local unions, for the purpose of making evident and clear the policy position of the AFL-CIO on civil rights and its importance and value to labor.

Nor are civil rights seminars enough.

There is need for a massive attack upon discrimination by the highest and most authentic voice of American labor, the President and Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, which can be profoundly effective in creating the climate and mood for the cause of civil rights among the workers and the public.

EXPULSION OF UNIONS WITH COLOR CLAUSE IN CONSTITUTIONS

Since the opposition of the AFL-CIO to racial discrimination is practically unknown to the rank-and-file members and a large number of officials of the thousands of local unions throughout the country, probably 50,000, more or less, the work for civil rights must be impressively and firmly projected and conducted.

To this end, unions that now have a color bar in their constitutions should be given a deadline for compliance with the AFL-CIO constitution on the question of racial discrimination. Failing to comply, the national or international union should be expelled from the AFL-CIO.

This is the procedure followed by the AFL-CIO on the problem of communists and communism in the unions.

This is the procedure followed by the AFL-CIO with respect to national and international unions found to be under corrupt influences.

Something drastic must be done in order to make officials and members of the labor movement understand that racism, like communism and corruption, must go.

And there are other problems that must be surveyed and evaluated by Negro trade unionists if they would take their rightful place of first-class economic citizenship in the trade union movement. They include:

SOME STEPS TO BE TAKEN

1. Making Negro trade unionists more conscious of their rights, responsibilities, and duties to their union in particular, and the labor movement in general.

2. Developing a higher interest on the part of Negro trade unionists in attending the meetings and participating in the activities of their local union.

3. Stimulating Negro trade unionists to study the problems of workers of their craft, class, or industry and the history of labor in general, and seek the preparation and knowledge to serve their union efficiently as members of the executive and other committees, as well as executive and administrative officials and staff personnel.

4. Creating concern about becoming delegates to the conventions of their national or international unions and also to the conventions of the AFL-CIO.

5. Recognizing the importance of aspiring to become a factor in their national or international unions upon a basis of experience, devoted service, knowledge, ability, and integrity.

It is a notorious fact that few Negro trade unionists exercise any influence upon shaping the course, policies, and destiny of the national or international or even local unions of which they are a part. This is not always due to racial discrimination, but to a spirit of unconcern, indifference, apathy, and a lack of understanding on the part of too large a number of Negro trade unionists of the great significance and value of the trade union movement to all workers, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, in our modern democratic society.

It must be understood that Negro workers cannot and will not become a basic factor in the American labor movement unless they are eternally active on the local union level; by remaining financial, bearing the burdens, as well as receiving the benefits, playing their part on the picket lines. In short, building, maintaining, and fighting for their union - local, and national, or international. Negro trade unionists must be willing to struggle, sacrifice, and suffer with their fellow workers, including going to jail, to win the demands of the union.

This is what it takes to make a real, double-fisted trade unionist.

Building and maintaining trade unions to establish standards commensurate with decency, comfort, health, security, and the good life is one of the highest aspirations of man.

NEGRO LABOR COMMITTEE

But, to achieve the major objectives of the Negro trade unionists they need an instrumentality - namely, a Negro Labor Committee; an organization comparable to the Jewish Labor Committee.

Why?

Because in order for Negro trade unionists to get the AFL-CIO to cleanse its house of discrimination, based upon race or color, it must be moved to take action consistently and continuously until the evil of racial bias in trade unions is cast into the limbo of oblivion. However, it is only possible to move an organization with another organization.

This is the reason for trade unions. The workers need an organization in order to effectively move and influence the organization of employers.

Political party organizations were formed in order effectively to deal with organized government.

Note the wisdom of the Hebrew sage, Hillel, centuries ago: "If I am not for myself," he asked, "who will be for me? But if I am only for myself, what am I?"

It is a fact of history that organizations, even under honest and intelligent leadership, do not always voluntarily move to adopt a course of action in the interest of the weak, unpopular, and downtrodden. Action, as a rule, is only taken by a powerful organization in behalf of the weak, unpopular, and downtrodden when the weak, unpopular, and downtrodden organize themselves to prod and push the organization in question.

It must be remembered that the task of building a Negro Labor Committee will not be easy . It will require the patience of Job; it will require unconquerable determination; it will require common sense; the highest dedication and integrity, together with the will to struggle, sacrifice, and suffer for our great cause.

Now, it is important to note certain attributes a Negro Labor Committee should possess. I should enumerate them as follows:

1. It should be composed of Negro trade unionists, just as the Jewish Labor Committee is composed of Jews and the Knights of Columbus is composed of Catholics and the Italian Chamber of Labor is composed of Italian workers.
2. It should secure its revenue for operation only from Negro trade unionists. This is the only basis of its independence and freedom.
3. It should not be anti-white, but pro-Negro.
4. It should be committed to support the AFL-CIO.
5. It should not become involved in jurisdictional disputes.
6. It should not involve itself in the internal policies of trade unions.
7. It should be non-partisan but not non-political, although anti-communist.
8. No trade unionist should be eligible for election to an office who is guilty of corruption, racketeering, or gangsterism, or of membership in the Communist Party at the time of nomination for election.
9. It should urge its members to become members of the NAACP.
10. It should work to make the Negro community more trade union conscious.

11. It should cooperate with the Civil Rights Committee and Civil Rights Department, as well as with the NAACP, Jewish Labor Committee, and other bona fide civil rights movements, when possible and practicable.

12. It should cooperate with the Committee on Political Education.

13. Its main concern should be the education of the Negro trade unionists, through annual regional and local conferences, with respect to goals and methods for the attainment of same.

Those of us who elect to labor in this vineyard must place the welfare of the masses of Negro workers above self-aggrandizement; principles above position, place, power, or prestige.

Remember that with self-respect, humility, and the will to serve our fellow worker, our cause cannot and will not fail because it is morally right, and discrimination because of race is morally wrong.

Let me end with three verses from St. Matthew:

> But when He saw the multitudes, He was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd.
>
> Then saith He unto his disciples, "the harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few."
>
> Pray ye therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth labourers into his harvest.

Statement by A. Philip Randolph
at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Observance
of the Catholic Interracial Council,
May 17, 1959, Town Hall, New York, N. Y.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL FIGHT FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE.

Without theatrical fanfare or sensationalism the Catholic Interracial Council is registering a constructive and creative impact upon the consciousness of our country through its collective action as a movement; the activities of its members; and cooperatively with various agencies of sound moral purpose and method committed to the cause of interracial justice.

With its historical roots running back twenty-five years when the racial climate was anything but reassuring--festering, as it were, with racial hate, frustration and fear--the Council, under the inspired leadership of a great religious prophet, Father John LaFarge, moved upon the stage of interracial action.

Although during the quarter of a century of its stewardship some measurable progress has been made by Negroes in the United States, it is an obvious fact that the problems of race have increased in complexity, magnitude and challenge. It is thus apparent that the importance of the role of the Catholic Interracial Council in the struggle for interracial brotherhood has become increasingly imperative.

With commitment to the moral philosophy of the unity of mankind and the sacredness of every human personality, the Council can face and grapple with the racial question with sound conscience. Such a position in racial principle is an indispensable condition to sound racial practice, for the concept and practice of interracial justice is impossible without the concept of interracial equality.

This doctrine was given status, dignity and force by the Catholic Bishops' Statement of November, 1958 on "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience" in which it was pointed out that the old doctrine of "separate but equal" is now obsolete.

Because neither Catholics, Protestants or Jews can afford to be complacent in the face of the fanaticism of the White Citizens Councils and systematic efforts of racial and religious hatemongering by some southern political leaders in high places, ways and means must be found to mobilize and enlighten communities and neighborhoods to discuss and explore the value of interracial understanding and cooperation for the well-being and advancement of all the citizens of a community.

The effective and epoch-making leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the Courts must be reinforced with patient, painstaking and unremitting activities in the parish, church, synagogue, labor union, schools, factories, mills, mines, government agencies, homes, social, youth, and womens' clubs, with a view to winning the minds, hearts and souls of men, women and youth to the cause of human decency and dignity of all men as children of the one God.

Legislation and judicial decisions for the advancement of civil rights need and must secure support of the conscience of the community in order to become effective. Neighborhoods can be won to the acceptance of the Christian teachings of the brotherhood of man.

With men of dedication to the cause of interracial justice, such as George Hunton, director of the Council, there is assurance that though the night of race relations be dark, it will not be endless, and that the star of interracial brotherhood is not far.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT,
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR ORTERS, AT
COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, MORGAN STATE COLLEGE,
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, JUNE 1, 1959.

America has brought the world to an awe-inspiring threshold of the future. Nuclear energy physicists are delving into the mysteries of the creation of matter. Automation has designed machines which operate and repair themselves. Our prosperity is unprecedented. Our arsenals bulge with fearful weapons. Our material wealth astounds the world. In a political sense we have become the most powerful nation on earth. This is a dazzling picture of the U.S.A. in 1959.

Yet there is a bleak side. The nation is poisoned by the plague of racial conflict. Negro children, merely seeking an equal education, have been brutally driven from their classrooms. The legal apparatus of several states, mobilized as if for war, bars children from integrated schools. The right to vote is arrogantly denied to millions. Violence, terror, and murder have been unleashed to hold down a long-suffering and patient people. While the Constitution and our free traditions are thus violated, the Federal Government is gripped by paralysis. Millions of citizens remain confused and apathetic.

This is a moral and political crisis. We have created machines that think and people who fear to think.

These are a complex of issues collectively termed Civil Rights.

Basically, civil rights are attributes of citizenship. Without them, there can be no citizenship. I refer to the right to vote and to be voted for; right to trial by jury; right to habeas corpus; right of petition; right to freedom from seizure or search; right to freedom of speech, press, assembly, and association; right to freedom of contract; right to own, buy, and sell property; right to equality of opportunity to employment, education, recreation.

Now, civil rights stem from human rights. Human rights are God-given, not man-made. I allude to the right to life, liberty,and the pursuit of happiness. These human rights exist, not as a result of laws of the State, decisions of the Court or Constitution, but primarily because of one's being human. But while human rights exist prior to the State, the exercise of human rights may be abridged or denied by the State or interfered with by extra-governmental agencies and forces. Thus, the raison d'etre for civil rights is to prevent even the State, such as Mississippi, from interfering with the privilege of individuals to exercise their human rights.

Since God, as Father, created all men - all men are brothers. Since all men are brothers - all men are equal. They are equal before God and should be equal under law in the State. If all men are brothers and are equal before God, they are entitled to equal treatment in our democratic society.

But this can only be assured and guaranteed by law, the State, decisions of the Court. In short, by civil rights. However, Negroes do not possess their civil rights. Thus, Negroes are not fully free. They are not fully free because the Civil War Revolution was never fully completed. The Civil War Revolution was never fully completed because the new industrial and financial circles of America no longer needed to complete the Revolution in order to consolidate their forces as the economic masters of the new nation.

It must be remembered that the Civil War Revolution was comparable to the bourgeois democratic revolutions of England of 1688 and of France of 1789. These revolutions had certain basic objectives; the achievement of which was a desideratum to the coming into being of the New Order. Thus, the historical tasks of the classical bourgeois revolutions of the 19th Century consisted in the realization of the following aims:

1. The abolition of the feudal or slave system.
2. The overthrow of the slave or feudal governmental apparatus.
3. Emancipation of the slaves or serfs.
4. Transformation of former slaves or serfs into free workers or independent peasant proprietors.
5. Breakup of the old slave or feudal economy and the granting of land to the freedmen.
6. Extension of a free ballot to the freedmen.
7. Establishment of a free public school system.
8. Centralization of political power in a national or federal governmental structure.
9. Economic unification of the country.

While the Civil War Revolution abolished chattel slavery, destroyed the Confederacy at Appomattox, liberated the slaves, centralized political power in a federal system, and effected the economic unification of the country, it failed to transform the former slaves into free workers. It failed to give them land. Instead, freedmen were transformed into tenant, sharecrop, and debt farmers, or veritable peons. This was possible because the old plantation remained; the old masters remained, and the need and greed to rebuild the old plantation economy on cheap labor were ever present.

The Civil War Revolution never established free public schools. Instead, the freedmen were cursed with a segregated school system. There was no free ballot. When the southern states returned to the Union they promptly established Black Codes, which tended to nullify the 13th Amendment of 1865, the 14th Amendment of 1868, and the 15th Amendment of 1870. The poll tax, white primaries, grandfather clauses - designed to make a mockery of suffrage and the so-called citizenship of the freedmen - were enacted into law.

Hence, the central struggle of the Negro today is not just securing the right to vote in Alabama; the right to sit in a park in Pensacola; ride in a seat in a bus in Montgomery or Tallahassee; become a stewardess on an airplane; or secure a house in Levittown, but it involves a civil rights revolution - the historical mission of which is to sweep away all of the vestiges, remnants and survivals of the old slave order, the elimination of the old system of color caste, and the complete annihilation of the sinister structure of segregation in every area of American life. This, alone, will constitute the completion of the uncompleted Civil War Revolution.

One organization resolutely pursuing these ends is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is significant that it is currently under heavy and vicious attack. Some equate it with the White Citizens Councils as extremist and a trouble-maker. This misconstrues the aim and method of the NAACP. Its purpose is to realize the rights guaranteed in the Constitution. In a democracy such a purpose cannot be extremist. Recognition will eventually come that the NAACP has made an imperishable contribution to America by insistently struggling for equal justice and thereby enlarging for all the horizons of democracy.

In your supreme bid for manhood rights, the NAACP is your most effective champion. Give of your time and talent to help build its membership to make it strong. Stand up and defend it when attacked.

If our moral complacency and preoccupation with gaudy products of our time are not transformed into a real determination for constructive action, not we alone, but also future generations, will inherit a weaker nation and a less than honorable past. America can meet its challenges with strong courage and a relentless steadfastness. To this end, we summon support for this minimum program:

1. Use of the full powers and influence of the Federal Government to obtain prompt and full compliance with the decisions of the United States Supreme Court condemning state-imposed racial segregation.

2. Application by all branches of the Federal Government, executive, legislative and judicial, of the policy that federal funds should be used in that manner as to encourage and secure compliance with the Supreme Court decisions condemning racial segregation.

3. Amendment of the rules of the Senate and House of Representatives to eliminate the filibuster and all other devices that thwart the will of the majority.

4. Vigorous support by the President and adoption by the United States Congress of effective federal laws prohibiting discrimination in employment, giving greater protection to personal security and the right to vote, and strengthening the civil rights activities of the Department of Justice.

Today, we are in the midst of a vast atomic, technological and scientific revolution. The whole basis of modern production and exchange of goods and services are in the process of change. Probably the biggest task confronting the Negro today is the transformation of a body of unskilled workers into highly skilled, technical craftsmen and technological experts.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the large majority of Negro workers are unskilled and, unless trained and re-trained through apprenticeship courses and schools of science, they may be unable to participate in the operation of the vast machine of production in this age of automation.

Upon securing employment, it is to the best interest of Negro workers to join the unions that hold the contracts in the crafts, classes,or industries in which they are employed. It would not be sound strategy to stay out of trade unions because racial discrimination is in some of them. Were they consistently and logically to follow this policy it would compel Negroes to stay out of practically every institution and movement in this country, including the Church, industry, schools, sports, government, politics, social service, and the professions.

Moreover, while there is a long road ahead in eliminating discrimination in trade unions, as in other institutions in the country, some substantial progress is being made. One basic asset consists in the fact that the leadership, George Meany, president, and Walter Reuther, vice president, of the AFL-CIO are unreservedly committed to the policy of eliminating discrimination in the trade unions.

Let me point out to you that neither the civil rights movement or the labor movement can survive and function and make progress except within the framework of the democratic society. Thus, Negroes, along with other minorities and labor, have no alternative except to support the Western democracies as against the Russian and Chinese Communist totalitarian regimes. Moreover, the Communist and Fascist creed is set against the freedom of individual man and is committed to the deification of the State, which cannot serve the cause of freedom.

One other basic force you must employ in the Negro liberation movement is the ballot, and the use of the ballot requires registration of the citizen. Thus, Negro youth should develop a veritable crusade in precinct after precinct, ward after ward, in every village and city, to get every eligible Negro to register and vote. Now, you need not be disturbed about whether Negro citizens register or vote as Republicans or Democrats since there is no material difference between them. Your major concern should be that millions of Negroes register and vote throughout the nation. This represents power, and power is the only thing a politician, Democrat or Republican, can understand.

To this task, my fellow graduates, you must set your hand, head, and heart. Yours is the responsibility to achieve the status of free men in a free democratic society. The essence of the Civil Rights Revolution is a struggle for individual liberty.

How incredible must it appear to the people of the world that in this mid-twentieth century a Mack Parker tragedy of Mississippi can occur in America, the professed leader of the democratic forces of the free world. What a mockery this outrage makes of American civilization, American Christianity, and our inherent liberties.

Look at the spectacle of 101 Congressmen from the South signing and glorifying a manifesto against the free public school system in which all children, regardless of race or color, may exercise their God-given right to secure an education, free from the insult of segregation and discrimination.

Note the silence of liberals, North as well as South. Verily, liberty is in a slump. This generation sees its liberals more futile than liberals have been at any time since the 17th Century. They are bewildered, frightened, confused; they have no followers. They are incapable of righteous anger and the fight for a moral cause. One would think, if one watched the way in which liberals behaved today, that the great liberators of human history never lived. They have forgotten what the lot of the common man was before the Bill of Rights was wrested from the hands of unwilling monarchs. They have forgotten what it means to live in communities under the rule of mob law.

Think of the fact that almost uniformly in human history the great benefactors of the human race have had to live in exile because they have given humanity new truths and have dared to challenge old beliefs. Many of us have forgotten what liberty has cost, if not what it means.

Men have had two things in mind when they have talked of liberty. The concern was concrete issues, and the attainment of concrete rights.

The men of the Renaissance, when they spoke of liberty, meant freedom of the human spirit; freedom to ponder classical literature in contrast to religious obscurantism.

To the men of the Protestant Reformation liberty meant the right of private interpretation as opposed to the existing hierarchy.

In the English Revolution it meant the immunities of the subject in opposition to the aggrandizement of an overreaching monarch.

But you must take courage and renew your faith in the long march of man toward freedom, justice, plenty, and peace, in the life and history of some of the outstanding champions of human liberty, such as Locke and Hume, Voltaire and Diderot, Gibbon and Paine, Ingersoll and Jefferson, Spencer, and John Stuart Mill. Your challenge is not only to acquire knowledge, but to use it in the fight in the interest of the achievement of a truly democratic society. The achievement of this goal may entail suffering, hardship, sacrifice, the loss of liberty and, sometimes, life.

Albeit, liberty must be won. It is never given by oppressors to the oppressed. Thus, the history of liberty has always consisted in warfare against oppression, persecution, intolerance, bigotry, racism, chauvinism, totalitarianism. From the days of the Athens of Pericles when the first lamp of liberty was held aloft to light the path of man, to the revolt of Negroes in Montgomery against insult in bus transportation, under the matchless leadership of The Reverend Martin Luther King and the Pullman porter, E. D. Nixon, and the uprising of the masses in Hungary, Nyasaland and Tibet, men have fought, bled, and died for the right to be free, or the right to act in accordance with their desires.

Indeed, the struggle of man for a free world has been enriched and inspired by the history and philosophy of Greece. While the Magna Charta of England dates from the 13th Century, it would be difficult to overestimate the liberalizing influence of the Greek classics on British thinkers in the 17th and 18th Centuries. If the Renaissance was primarily an artistic movement in Italy, it resulted in a civil and political movement in England. Even the Reformation in England was subordinated to the Bourgeois Revolution for individual liberty.

No one can gainsay that the influence of Aristotle was especially strong in the early stirrings of men against despotism. Moore, Hobbes, Bacon - all wrestled with questions of human liberty that were first raised by the Athenians. Milton, in the Areopagitica, cites the examples of the ancients for the struggle for intellectual liberty.

But I beseech you to set your sight beyond the horizon of Athens, with all its dreams, its doctrine of human excellence, its grace and beauty of art, its reaches and challenge of philosophy, for even Plato had no concept of the principle of the universal unity of mankind and the dignity of the human personality of every human being - the gift of the Judeo-Christian tradition, since even the culture of Athens rested upon a pillow of flesh of human slaves.

Stake your faith in the great moral values of truth, honesty, love, freedom, and justice.

While material goods of this world are necessary they are not a sine qua non for the good life. Verily, what profiteth a man to gain this world and lose his soul?

Though the Negro, in his fight for first-class citizenship, needs to develop allies, such as labor, church, and business, it is well to realize that, in the final analysis, salvation must come from within. History attests to the fact that while your friends may help you they cannot save you; you must save yourself. But you will be ill-equipped to save yourself unless you have built the character, granite-like in pattern, which can stand up for that which is right, though unpopular, under sharp test and trial.

In every age of human history, those who would be free had to bear the Cross. It was the lot of labor, and still is. It was the lot of the early Christians. It is the lot of Africa and Asia. It is the lot of the Negro in our own land.

The night, however dark, is never endless. The star of the break of the dawn of day is not far. The hour of decision and action is now.

In the words of the Psalmist: "I will lift mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my strength."

Text of Special Overseas Broadcast of
Radio Free Europe by A. Philip Randolph
on February 12, 1959, the 150th Anniversary
of Birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

TO THE LISTENERS IN EASTERN EUROPE:

Let me express my great pleasure, upon the occasion of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, emancipator of Negro slaves and one of the great leaders of democracy of the United States and the world, to send greetings to the peoples of the free world and express the hope and wish that the peoples who are enslaved under the totalitarian systems of communism and fascism may soon enjoy the sunlight of liberty.

Abraham Lincoln is one of the great symbols of the world struggle toward freedom and human dignity. He stood against tyranny over the minds and souls of men and physical slavery, not only in the United States but throughout the world.

His life, philosophy and wisdom constitute a tower of moral and spiritual strength to the political, social and economic life of America. He was a true prophet of the free world. He believed that no man was good enough to own another man. He not only gave declaration to his beliefs in the sacredness of the personality of every human being, regardless of race or color, religion, national origin or ancestry, but he possessed the moral courage to make a decision in the interest of human freedom at the time of a great crisis.

This is a time of decision for the free workers and free peoples throughout the world who are confronted with the ruthless power of Russian communist dictatorship and materialism. In this crisis of conflict between the human values of freedom, human dignity and equality of the democratic nations on the one hand and the centralization of massive power in the hands of a dictator and the subjugation of the individual to the fortunes of the State, the hope of the world lies in the decision of all peoples in Europe, Asia and Africa to stand by, with all their courage and force, the principles and ideals of international free trade unionism and democracy.

Statement by A. Philip Randolph upon the occasion of Africa Freedom Day, Carnegie Hall, New York City, April 15, 1959

Mr. Chairman, The Honorable Tom Mboya, The Honorable G. Mennen Williams of Michigan, other distinguished Guests and Friends:

I think I bespeak the will, spirit and sentiment of some twenty million Negro American citizens of African descent when I hail and salute our African brothers and sisters upon this momentous occasion of Africa Freedom Day and extend greetings, felicitations and a warm, sincere and cordial welcome to The Honorable Tom Mboya, one of the distinguished and brilliant sons of Africa.

Negro citizens have the interesting distinction of possessing two historical backgrounds and heritages; one, African, the other, American.

Negroes can have a deep sense of pride in the role they have played in the giving of their blood, brains and brawn in helping to make America great, strong and free, and they are ever ready to work and fight to keep America great, strong and free. By the same token, the hearts and lives of Negro Americans have been deeply enriched, chastened and strengthened by a sense of reverence, respect, affection and love for our great and ancient mother, Africa - a symbol of suffering; surpassing suffering born of millions of her children being torn from her bosom and transported by the slave trade over the high seas to become slaves in a strange land.

Civilization owes a debt of gratitude to Africa for steadily moving toward the sun of freedom and independence for, though the darkness of oppression through the long night of colonialism deepens, Africans have never weakened or retreated in despair, nor has their faith in the future ever failed them.

The great intuitional wisdom and prophecy of our black mother, Africa, with her majesty, nobility, beauty and grace, her sense of history and destiny, enabled her to read in the heavens the unfailing signs that no night however dark is ever endless and that a star of promise is never far.

In these days of horrors and tragedies marked by Hungary and Tibet where dreams of freedom were crushed in blood under the ruthless heel of Russian and Chinese barbarianism, Africa needs the free world to help her become strong, free and great, and the free world needs Africa to help it remain great, strong and free. A free world may not be able to survive the loss of Africa to the communist slave society, and a free Africa is utterly impossible without a free world.

Only this morning in the New York Times I noted that Jomo Kenyatta, outstanding African leader who was alleged to have inspired the Mau Mau uprisings in Africa, has been released from prison. It is significant to observe in this connection that he was not given his freedom because of any sudden surge of political virtue in the great heart of the colonial office; his freedom came as a result of the demand of the All-African Peoples' Conference upon the British Government to release him from prison. However, while he is no longer in prison, he is consigned to the tragic fate of the desert but, no doubt, the same force that gave Kenyatta his freedom from jail can take him out of the desert and give him back to his people. This business of throwing African leaders in jail for participation in nationalist movements for independence and freedom followed by deportation from their own land after being released from prison is a shocking outrage against human decency and it must be stopped.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am honored to introduce and present to this distinguished audience one of the champions of a bold, brave, new and emerging Africa into the sunlight of freedom and independence. He is General Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour and the most powerful political personality in East Africa. He is a member of the Kenya Legislative Council and was recently chosen, because of his executive ability, poise and sense of organization, to serve as Chairman of the All-African Peoples' Conference of last December, probably the most important assembly ever held on the Continent of Africa. He has become the inspiration and hope of millions of African masses who, in a fleeting moment of history, have become the conscience of the world.

I present to you - The Honorable Tom Mboya.

Statement of A. Philip Randolph
at Youth March for Integrated Schools,
Washington, D. C., April 18, 1959

In the name of the Youth March Committee for Integrated Schools, I want to welcome you upon the occasion of this historic demonstration for integrated schools and civil rights legislation in the Nation's Capital.

Let me also, in behalf of our Committee, express appeciation for the support of the Negro press, Negro church, NAACP and various student organizations in the colleges and universities throughout the country in making this demonstration the monumental success it is. Let me express gratitude to certain outstanding leaders for the cooperation they have given this great cause, such as Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, NAACP; George Meany, President, AFL-CIO; Walter Reuther, Vice President, AFL-CIO; Jackie Robinson, Business Executive; Harry Bellafonte, great American artist; Judge Hubert Delany, leader at the Bar; Norman Thomas and others.

We have come again to Washington because the job of achieving integrated schools and civil rights legislation is not yet finished, although some progress has been made.

While the massive resistance movement of Virginia has collapsed, morally and legally, resistance in other areas of the South continues unabated. Thus, until the whole sinister structure of segregation in the United States has been torn down and thrown into the ashcan of history, youth, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic, and their allies, the church and labor, must make pilgrimage after pilgrimage to Washington to keep the issue of human dignity alive in America in particular and the world in general.

Youth and their allies have come back to Washington because, in this fleeting moment of history, the problem of integrated schools has become the conscience of the nation. We have returned to our Nation's Capital today with a democratic participation in a great mass demonstration by youth and adults to indicate the uncompromising commitment of American youth to the principle of the God-given right of every child, regardless of race or color, to secure an education in the public schools free from the insult of discrimination or segregation.

Youth from all sections of the nation have foregathered here today to register protest against the attacks of southern states against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the recognized leader of the civil rights movement in America. Efforts are afoot in state after state in the South to outlaw this organization and make it a crime for a citizen to become a member of it. We are here to make it evident, clear and plain to the Faubuses, Talmadges, Eastlands and white citizens councils that their struggle to destroy the NAACP will be resisted with all the moral and legal forces of the Negro in America and by those who believe in justice and freedom.

We have come again to the Nation's Capital to register our protest against a movement, under the banner of states' rights, to hamstring, undermine and ultimately destroy the place of the United States Supreme Court in our American constitutional system. We resist and condemn every bill which has been introduced in the Congress or which will be introduced in the Congress to curb and restrict the power of the United States Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution and the laws of the land.

We have come back to Washington because it is the heart not only of America but of the free world. It is the Capital to which rulers from all nations of the world come to discuss their problems and seek support and cooperation from the President of our country, the most powerful ruler in the world today.

We have come again to Washington because we want to demonstrate that the fight for civil rights and integrated schools is a part of the fight for human rights all over the world.

When Faubus of Little Rock is encouraged and supported in this flagrant attack upon little Negro childrens' right to attend integrated schools in Little Rock, aid, comfort and support are being given to the horrors committed by the Russian communists in Hungary against the people of Hungary and the tragedy visited upon the people of Tibet by Chinese communist barbarianism.

Because liberty is indivisible, one cannot support colonialism in Africa and racism in the United States without strengthening the hands of communism in its march for world-wide conquest. Thus, the march of youth for integrated schools and civil rights is the march for the preservation of our democratic society and maintenance of our traditions and human values of justice, freedom and equality.

One of the best ways to halt the progress of communism in Africa and Asia and give reality and integrity to our profession of democracy is for the United States to give Negroes their civil rights today. Tomorrow may be too late.

Thus, in this hour of world crisis, the Youth March to Washington seeks to give hope and faith to the nine Little Rock Negro children who seek to enter Central High School, and to express denunciation of the policy of closing public schools to avoid integration.

In order that the fascist and communist enemies of democracy at home and abroad may know where we stand, let me state that the Youth March for Integrated Schools is definitely non-partisan. It is also definitely anti-communist, but is definitely not non-political.

Finally, in this time of world-wide tension, youth, together with their allies, express unqualified support of President Eisenhower upon the eve of a conference between communist Russia and the Western democracies to discuss the problem of peace and war, in relation to the Berlin crisis. The cause of democracy must triumph for there can be no civil rights except within the framework of a democratic society. We wish to express appreciation to the Eisenhower Administration for the role it has played in advancing the cause of civil rights but urge it to do more.

Let us not be dismayed by the long, hard struggle ahead for we will win if we fight and faint not.

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STATEMENT BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, AT CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS, SHERATON PARK HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 11, 1959.

While man cannot live by bread alone nor can he live by the things of the spirit alone. For the good and more abundant life requireth that he possess both bread and the things of the spirit.

According to Matthew XV,32, Jesus Christ expressed his concern about the plight of the common people when he said: "I have compassion on the multitude for they ... have nothing to eat; and I am unwilling to send them away fasting less they faint on the way."

Such was the apt Biblical injunction which The Reverend Monsignor Higgins offered at the great AFL-CIO Conference on Unemployment in Washington, April 8.

It seems evident that unemployment is not inevitable; it is the result of economic maladjustment. It exists largely either because of a lack of adequate knowledge of the nature of the operation of our market economy, excess greed for profit, or the absence of moral forthrightness to face economic realities. More and more it is becoming increasingly clear that the resolution of the problem of unemployment is not beyond the internal therapeutic capacity of our economy.

But racial unemployment is something else again.

Strangely enough, there is such a thing as racial unemployment. Few persons knowledgeable of the problem of race, industry and labor will gainsay the fact that Negroes are still the first fired and last hired. They are the beneficiaries of a full employment economy and they are the victims of a deficit employment economy.

With the march of the revolution of automation, marked by the advance in science, industrialism and technology, which is a threat to the unskilled worker, of which Negroes represent, proportionately, the largest single group in our work force, Negroes must acquire, along with white workers, new skills through apprenticeship and in-plant training systems, as well as enter approved schools for technical and scientific training, in order that they may constitute a vital and necessary segment of the productive machinery in this vast nuclear revolution of today and tomorrow.

Certainly, no form of racial discrimination should be permitted to stand in the path to prevent Negro workers from taking their place, upon a basis of equality, merit, and ability, in our expanding, dynamic, and viable economy.

It is obvious that the manpower of the new scientific era our country and the world are entering upon will be increasingly qualitative. As technology changes and automation proceeds apace with the challenge of the space age, industrial job classifications will change and workers will have to be trained and equipped to fill these new industrial needs.

With Negroes constituting one-tenth of the manpower of the nation, the United States will not be qualified to meet the Russian Soviet challenge of trained manpower and scientific progress unless the total work force of the country is prepared with the necessary skills, but this is obviously impossible with discrimination in unions and industry, and even the Government. Thus, racial discrimination, which deny Negroes training and employment to play their part in industry upon a basis of equality with white workers, is committing national suicide.

Employment records will show that discriminatory policies toward Negro workers in some industries and unions constitute a tragic and monstrous and costly wastage of manpower and possible skills and talents that might serve America effectively in its competition for survival with the growing material might of the Soviet Union.

The marked disparity in the comparable economic positions of Negro and white workers and their vulnerability in periods of economic maladjustment is clearly reflected in the facts of unemployment and income distribution.

In confirmation of this observation, it is sufficient to point out that during the week of March 9, 1958, 14.4 per cent of the total non-white civilian labor force in the United States were unemployed. The comparable rate of unemployment for white workers was 6.9 per cent. It is significant to observe that although only one out of every ten persons in the labor force is non-white, more than one out of every five persons unemployed during the above-mentioned period was non-white.

Well has the New York Times in an editorial of April 8, 1959 pointed out that:

> Still well above 4,000,000 persons, the number of unemployed last month leaves little ground for complacency, especially when it is realized that about 1,500,000 Americans have been out of work for fifteen weeks or longer. This last statistic suggests there may be a hard core of people in depressed areas and industries whose problem may not be solved merely by general improvement in economic conditions. In addition, the fact that unemployment among non-white--mainly Negro--workers was 13 per cent of the total last month must also raise concern, especially when compared with the 5 per cent rate of unemployment among white workers.

In the issue of Fortune magazine of March, 1959, some pertinent comments are made concerning the impact of recession on Negro workers. It states:

> So far as Negroes were concerned, the "recession" was a real depression. In March, 1958, over 15 per cent of male Negro workers were unemployed. White workers have not seen such hard times since the early 1930's; the recent recession never idled more than 8 per cent of white males in the labor force, and this figure dropped rapidly as the economy began to recover. By November, 1958, only 4.8 per cent of white male workers were unemployed as against 11.4 per cent of Negroes. In general, the rate of unemployment among Negro men has been twice as high as among white men since 1954.

> One of the reasons for this, of course, is the fact that Negroes tend to work in jobs and industries, largely because of racial discrimination, that suffer most in any recession. A disproportionate number of Negroes, male and female, are unskilled; 35 per cent of them are laborers or what the Census Bureau calls "operatives" (i.e., semiskilled workers), against only 22 per cent of white workers. Only about 5 per cent of Negroes in the labor force are skilled workers as against 14 per cent of white workers.

One of the basic reasons for the economic plight of the Negro is due, as has been well set forth in a report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to discrimination practiced by some trade unions. For instance, some Negro workers--and qualified ones--are flatly denied membership in some unions. All of the railroad operating unions, such as Engineers, Firemen, Conductors, Trainmen, deny Negroes membership through a color bar in the constitution. Some other unions exclude Negroes by tacit consent. Other forms of discrimination consist in assigning Negroes to racially segregated auxiliary locals which have both penalized Negro workers in terms of job limitation and job progression to higher levels of skill and wage differentials.

Relative to the acquisition of skills, Negroes quite frequently run into an iron wall of discrimination. In most cities, a Negro boy who tries to get apprentice training in the skilled trades finds himself blocked, for in most craft unions he must have sponsors within the union. Since there are no Negroes in the union there is little chance that a Negro will get the required sponsors. Here is a case of a Negro being unable to get a skilled job because he does not possess skilled training and he is unable to get the skilled training because he has no sponsor in the union, there being no Negroes in the union, or the particular local union. This is important to note because all local unions of a national or international union do not react uniformly to the problem of the Negro worker.

But the whole problem of discrimination against Negro workers does not lie at the door of the trade unions. Business is also culpable; and so is the Government.

If contracts were awarded employers by the Government that provide there shall be no discrimination in employment policies based upon race or color, and Negro workers are excluded from jobs by the unions covered by the contract, then the employers are just as responsible for this condition as the unions that deny Negroes membership.

For, in the last analysis, a trade union, if told by an employer with a government contract that there will be no jobs for anyone under the contract unless any qualified worker, without regard to race or color, who seeks a job is given fair consideration, will have no alternative except to bow to this non-discriminatory policy and let down its barriers to all workers.

If the Government were to make it explicit to employers that unless the non-discriminatory provisions of the contracts under which certain projects are developed are observed, contracts will not be awarded them and, if awarded, will be cancelled, the employers seeking the said contracts will have no alternative except to bow to this non-discriminatory policy of the Government or forfeit the business.

Thus, the problem of racial discrimination on jobs under government contract are tripartite in responsibility, involving Government, employers and trade unions.

Racial bias in industry, trade unions and Government has ever been attended with racial unemployment and low living standards; if not human trial, anxiety, insecurity, fear and loss of hope.

For instance, in 1954 the average wage or salary income of the Negro worker had risen to $1,589, while the average white worker earned $3,174, or twice as much as the Negro. In 1954, 17.6 per cent of all white families in the United States were living on an annual income of $2,000 or less, but of non-white families, 42.3 per cent were living on an annual income below $2,000.

During the Great Depression, according to the National Health Survey for 1935-36, 36 per cent of the colored males and 28 per cent of the colored females in the urban labor force were unemployed or were on emergency work. The corresponding figures for the white urban labor force were 21 and 19 per cent, respectively.

Now, the extent to which various sections of the population are forced upon public relief is a fairly good barometer of their economic weakness or insecurity. According to the Unemployment Relief Census of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, in October 1933 the relief incidence among Negroes of the country as a whole was 17.8 per cent, or twice as high as the corresponding white rate of 9.5 per cent.

Here then is but a sketchy indication of the dire economic and social ravages of racial prejudice upon the Negro worker, the wages of whom are the mainstay of the Negro population. Go into any urban community today and you will note the enormously higher incidence of relief grants to Negroes over whites which, of course, is the direct result of the lack of economic and industrial opportunity enjoyed by Negroes in comparison with whites.

Unless Negroes acquire greater trade union protection, greater scientific and occupational training for new tasks to help operate the American industrial and economic machine under the increasing tempo of the revolution of automation, their economic and social status will worsen, resulting in their possible transformation into a slum proletariat--fertile soil for Communist dogma.

Only when all workers, Jew and Gentile, Negro and white, Catholic and Protestant, native and foreign, work together in the same industry, on the same jobs, utilizing similar skills, solve their industrial and craft problems in the same union halls,and build their unions together under the same leadership in the true spirit of unity and brotherhood, will the American trade union movement and

American business fulfill their historic mission, enrich our democratic heritage and uphold our Judeo-Christian traditions.

Of course, Negro workers are making some progress, both within industry and trade unions. They are winning a new status, but the progress is not enough; it is too slow. In an age of nuclear change and new problems of space challenge, with increasing emphasis on speed, the resolution of problems of social and racial justice must be accelerated at a higher tempo. Negroes don't have the time to wait for individuals to make up their minds to be just and fair. The Government, trade unions, and industry must move with expedition in this field of Negro-white relations to help achieve economic brotherhood. Our government cannot afford, in view of the impending conflict between the gathering forces of the free world order of democracy and the slave world order of Communism, complacently to stand by while one-tenth of the population lives under the stigma of second-class citizenship.

In this grave hour of crisis of confidence between the Western democracies and the world of color, or uncommited peoples, the United States can ill afford the luxury of indulging in racial discrimination and segregation.

According to Elmo Roper, well-known public relations and research expert, discrimination and segregation, based upon color, race, religion, national origin, or ancestry do not only constitute a major cost in terms of moral prestige in the world, but also a vast economic burden. He estimates that discrimination and segregation in this country represents a staggering annual toll and cost of 30 billion dollars. Thus, it is obvious that racialism in America does not pay. On the contrary, it is basically uneconomic and places into the hands of the enemy of the free world, the Soviet Union, a powerful propaganda political weapon.

No one is more aware of this than The Honorable Vice President Nixon whose timely trip through Africa met with widespread acclaim and manifests rising expectations for respect as well as aid from the United States in particular, and the free world in general.

Hence, organized business, nor organized labor, nor the Government, nor the American people can afford to tolerate racial discrimination and segregation today. It is not only morally wrong but America will not only not be able to serve as a leader of the democratic and moral forces of the free world but she will not be worthy of this responsibility and honor should she fail to clean her own house of the sin of segregation and racism.

The abolition of racial discrimination in every area of American life will constitute one of the most productive and challenging investments which can be made for the moral stability and strength of our own country and world democracy.

Statement by A. Philip Randolph upon the occasion of Africa Freedom Day, Carnegie Hall, New York City, April 15, 1959

Mr. Chairman, The Honorable Tom Mboya, The Honorable G. Mennen Williams of Michigan, other distinguished Guests and Friends:

I think I bespeak the will, spirit and sentiment of some twenty million Negro American citizens of African descent when I hail and salute our African brothers and sisters upon this momentous occasion of Africa Freedom Day and extend greetings, felicitations and a warm, sincere and cordial welcome to The Honorable Tom Mboya, one of the distinguished and brilliant sons of Africa.

Negro citizens have the interesting distinction of possessing two historical backgrounds and heritages; one, African, the other, American.

Negroes can have a deep sense of pride in the role they have played in the giving of their blood, brains and brawn in helping to make America great, strong and free, and they are ever ready to work and fight to keep America great, strong and free. By the same token, the hearts and lives of Negro Americans have been deeply enriched, chastened and strengthened by a sense of reverence, respect, affection and love for our great and ancient mother, Africa - a symbol of suffering; surpassing suffering born of millions of her children being torn from her bosom and transported by the slave trade over the high seas to become slaves in a strange land.

Civilization owes a debt of gratitude to Africa for steadily moving toward the sun of freedom and independence for, though the darkness of oppression through the long night of colonialism deepens, Africans have never weakened or retreated in despair, nor has their faith in the future ever failed them.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT TESTIMONIAL DINNER FOR HORACE SHEFFIELD
HENRY AND EDSEL FORD AUDITORIUM, DETROIT, MICHIGAN
AUGUST 8, 1959

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Master of Ceremonies, Honored Guest, my good friend, brother and colleague, Horace Sheffield, and Brothers and Sisters:

Let me say at the outset that I am honored to have been invited to share in the fine fellowship spirit of this occasion. It is indeed an eloquent testimony to the high esteem in which our fellow worker, Horace Sheffield, is deservingly held in the Detroit community.

I particularly have a profound sense of delightful enjoyment tonight because, while we have come together in the past, and properly so, to do honor to outstanding men and women of color engaged in the law, medicine, theology, education, business, art, sports and government and military activities, we are here at this time to pay homage to a distinguished son of color of labor. In this respect, this affair is distinctly unique and historic. It is but a few years back that this testimonial dinner to our brother could not have been held; there would have been no one interested in giving it and no one available to receive it.

This was so because men and women who earned their bread by the sweat of their brow were persona non grata in the so-called polite circles of American society. This was true even with respect to white workers. And, of course, because of the system of color caste in our American society, it was doubly true of the Negro worker.

Indeed, I need not tell you that in the latter part of the Eighteenth and early part of the Nineteenth centuries trade union organization was banned. It was branded as a conspiracy under the law. No organized national trade union movement could survive before the Civil War.

Organized labor and organized slavery were incompatible; they could not coexist in the same land. A trade union movement like America could not exist half-slave and half-free.

Be it said to the eternal glory and dignity of black slaves, contrary to the slanders of the frightened masters of the cotton plantation system, they fought against white-slavers in Africa, resisted the infamous Middle Passage of the slave trade across the seas, and rose in revolt against human bondage all over the South and North.

The most threatening of the insurrections of the slaves were under the leadership of such black revolutionists as Gabriel of Virginia in 1800, Denmark Vesey of Carolina in 1822 and Nat Turner of Virginia in 1831.

The South was shaken to its foundation and the master-class virtually paralyzed with fear when they witnessed, to their amazement, slaves willingly risking their lives for freedom. Harsh laws and a reign of terror were employed by the southern rulers to put down these slave revolts but they continued to break out until the Civil War and the hideous institution of slavery was abolished.

Thus, when Negro workers exhibit resentment and resistance to discrimination and segregation, both within and outside of the trade union movement, they are acting in the great historic tradition of the black slave revolutionists who struck out against slavery in all its forms.

I have taken some pains to tell you something of the story of the early revolt against slavery by the black revolutionists, since if there is anything more reprehensible than the perpetration of discrimination by one group upon another because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, it is the failure of the group which is the target of discrimination to resent and resist it.

Even the children of white workers, not being considered among the well-born, were excluded from the private schools attended by the children of the landlords, bankers and business leaders. This was the basic reason why organized labor made the fight for the establishment of public schools maintained by the taxes of all citizens.

In very truth, all workers, both white and black, are second-class citizens in this country for they are not yet fully free. This is evident by the fact that, today, in the Congress, because of the exposure of corruption and racketeering by the McClellan Committee in but a handful of trade unions, no more than twelve or fifteen out of one hundred-fifty national and international unions, legislation is being proposed, such as the Landrum-Griffin Bill, the Elliott Bill and the Kennedy-Ervin Bill which is calculated, not to get the crooks and racketeers in labor and management but to hamstring, cripple and penalize, if not destroy, the labor movement.

While labor is as definitely opposed to corruption, racketeering, gangsterism and wrongdoing in the labor movement as President Eisenhower or any of the Senators or Congressmen are, it is definitely against legislation which, under the guise to eliminate corruption, strikes at the heart of the free trade union movement, as represented by the AFL-CIO, the great bulwark of American democracy.

In order that the enemies of decent trade unions may not succeed in their sinister efforts to weaken, undermine and break down the bona fide labor movement and in order to rid trade unions of crooks and racketeers, the AFL-CIO supports the Shelley Substitute Bill (H.R. 8490) as being fair, and calls upon every worker in this hall and friends of labor to send telegrams and letters to your Congressmen, Senators and President Eisenhower supporting the Shelley Bill.

Let me here also express the resentment and protest of Negroes, labor, and the genuine liberals of America against the foul, flagrant and vicious hatchet job which was brazenly committed on civil rights in the House Judiciary Committee by an unholy alliance between Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans by killing the bill's vital Part III, which would have empowered the Attorney General to seek injunctions and institute civil rights suits to enforce "the right to equal protection by the law." They also stripped from the bill provisions for a Federal fair employment commission, Federal aid to states and communities attempting desegregation of public schools, and Congressional declaration of support for the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision.

This is a slap in the face of Negro-Americans and a national outrage and disgrace.

Another instance of the fact that workers are second-class citizens in our American society is the inferior status of the Department of Labor in comparison with the Department of Commerce. The appropriations for the former are not only smaller than the latter but the Department of Labor has always been discounted and underrated by leaders of government and business. This is due to the fact that the Department of Labor is concerned with the interests of the workers and the Department of Commerce is concerned with the interests of business.

But while wage earners in the United States occupy the lowest rung of the ladder in terms of status in our nation, black workers are even below the general American wage earner for they occupy the status of second-class citizens in both the American labor movement and our

American society. This is largely due to the operation of the system of color caste which is designed to maintain an inferior status for non-white persons.

Thus, we have the phenomenon in America of white workers, who have a status of second-class citizenship in the nation and are in the process of struggling for their freedom, subjecting Negro workers to a status of second-class citizenship within the labor movement. Here you have an instance of white workers, who are the victims of discrimination and exploitation by big business, practicing discrimination and exploitation on their fellow black workers under the illusion that white workers can win freedom while black workers remain unfree.

For instance:

One: Some unions still exclude Negro workers from membership such as the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Trainmen.

Two: Some unions accept Negro workers as members but relegate Negro members to racially segregated local unions.

Three: Negro workers are subjected to racially segregated lines of job progression that lead into blind alley jobs without any future of promotion.

Four: The barring of young Negro workers from in-plant apprenticeship training courses for skilled, technical work since they lack sponsors in the union that dominate the field.

Five: White workers who, during periods of recession and depression suffer from economic privation because of the lack of employment, deny the right to work in certain forms of employment to black workers. I refer to the flagrant and incredible fact that there are still in this country such industrial monstrosities as a "white man's job" and a "black man"s job." It is a recognized fact that locomotive engineers, train conductors, railroad baggage men and certain supervisory positions of the railway industry are definitely classified as white mens' jobs by practice and custom.

While it is true that there are some employers who refuse to hire Negroes for certain positions, they protest that this is done because of the refusal on the part of white workers to work with Negro wage earners in highly seclective skilled employment. It is a notorious fact that very infrequently have white trade unionists protested against the action of discrimination of employers against Negro labor.

Six: Because of the operation of the color caste against Negro wage earners, while white workers during the recent recession of 1957-58 were considered as having been hard hit, though only 4.8 percent of white males were unemployed, Negro workers were suffering with the catastrophic unemployment rate of 11.4 percent. In fact, it has been a general practice that unemployment among white workers amounts to a recession while unemployment among black workers amounts to a depression. It is a generally recognized fact that the rate of unemployment among Negro men has been, as a rule, twice as high as among white men since 1954.

What about the status of Negro members of trade unions:

They still enjoy the status of dues and tax-payers, but not policymakers and administrators to nearly any degree commensurate with their number of members in the labor movement.

Negroes are inadequately and inequitably represented in both the lower and higher echelons of the trade union official hierarchy, either in paid or unpaid positions.

They are virtually non-existent on the policy-making local, national and international boards. Nor are they properly numerous in minor and major administrative posts in local, national and international divisions of the unions.

In some unions with a large Negro membership, only a very few Negro delegates attend the national and international conventions and only infrequently will a bona fide Negro delegate show up at the AFL-CIO biennial conventions.

What is the reason for this condition?

The answer is, systematic discrimination in some instances. But the major reason is the indifference, unconcern and apathy on the part of Negro trade unionists.
It is just as natural for second-class citizens of the country and, by the same token, second-class members of trade unions to be ignored, underrated, discounted, if not pushed around, as it is for water to run downhill.

It has always been true that those, white or black, who have most, while needing least, get most, and those who have least, while needing most, get least. This condition obtains because those who have the least fight for the least, and those who have the most fight for the most.

What can be done:

It is well-nigh axiomatic that enlightened self-interest renders it imperative that Negro trade unionists take a sound course of action calculated to protect and advance their interests and rights in trade unions, by expressing their voice in the determination and execution of policy, strategy and tactics that affect their wages, working conditions, pensions, vacations and general fringe benefits on the job.

This requires that Negro trade unionists possess and enjoy equality of opportunity with all members of unions, with respect to the right of trade unionists to hold any position, paid or unpaid, upon a basis of merit, within the gift of the union.

This is basic, for unless Negro trade unionists hold the status of equality of membership rights, they will not be able to achieve equality of opportunity in the craft or class or industry in which they work since the union, through rules of the agreement and grievance and claims adjustment machinery, can and does exercise great and, sometimes, decisive influence in the determination of equality of opportunity for promotion, in wage rates, and upgrading in job status of a worker.

But, Negro trade unionists cannot do anything to solve the problem of discrimination in the union and the craft or class or industry unless they have some instrumentality with which to advance their cause.

This, then, is the reason for need for the development of a National Negro Labor Committee. Its major purpose is to help achieve equality in trade unions in order to achieve equality of opportunity on the job.

First: It must be composed of Negro trade unions who are the aggrieved parties.

Second: It must be pro-AFL-CIO.

Third: It must be pro-American and pro-African, but not chauvinistic.

Fourth: It must be non-partisan but not non-political, but anti-communist.

Fifth: Its basic source of income must be the members of the Committee, in the interest of independence and freedom of action.

Sixth: It must undertake the responsibility of making Negro trade unionists more trade union conscious.

Seventh: It must uncompromisingly subscribe and comply with the Code of Ethical Practices of the AFL-CIO.

Eighth: It must make it definitely clear that this Committee does not seek to set up black trade unions any more than the Jewish Labor Committee seeks to set up Jewish trade unions.

Ninth: It must work to make the Negro community more trade union conscious so that Negroes, who are basically working people, will understand that their fundamental interests are tied up with the fundamental interest of organized labor and that the enemies of organized labor are generally the enemies of the Negro and the enemies of the Negro are the enemies of organized labor.

Tenth: It must also be made clear that this movement is not anti- but pro- the leadership of the AFL-CIO. It has the highest respect for and confidence in the desire of George Meany, president, and Walter Reuther, vice-president, to rid the labor movement of discrimination and segregation based upon race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry. But it realizes that though they have the best of intentions the responsibility for keeping the problem of civil rights before, and alive in, the AFL-CIO rests upon Negro trade unionists.

There is need for a massive attack upon discrimination by the highest and most authentic voice of American labor, the President and Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, which can be profoundly effective in creating the climate and mood for the cause of civil rights among the workers and the public.

EXPULSION OF UNIONS WITH COLOR CLAUSE IN CONSTITUTIONS

Since the opposition of the AFL-CIO to racial discrimination is practically unknown to the rank-and-file members and a large number of officials of the thousands of local unions throughout the country, probably 50,000, more or less, the work for civil rights must be impressively and firmly projected and conducted.

To this end, unions that now have a color bar in their constitutions should be given a deadline for compliance with the AFL-CIO constitution on the question of racial discrimination. Failing to comply, the national or international union should be expelled from the AFL-CIO.

This is the procedure followed by the AFL-CIO on the problem of communists and communism in the unions.

This is the procedure followed by the AFL-CIO with respect to national and international unions found to be under corrupt influences.

Something drastic must be done in order to make officials and members of the labor movement understand that racism, like communism and corruption, must go.

And there are other problems that must be surveyed and evaluated by Negro trade unionists if they would take their rightful place of first-class economic citizenship in the trade union movement. They include:

One: Making Negro trade unionists more conscious of their rights, responsibilities, and duties to their union in particular, and the labor movement in general.

Two: Developing a higher interest on the part of Negro trade unionists in attending the meetings and participating in the activities of their local union.

Three: Stimulating Negro trade unionists to study the problems of workers of their craft, class, or industry and the history of labor in general, and seek the preparation and knowledge to serve their union efficiently as members of the executive and other committees, as well as executive and administrative officials and staff personnel.

Four: Creating concern about becoming delegates to the conventions of their national or international unions and also to the conventions of the AFL-CIO.

Five: Recognizing the importance of aspiring to become a factor in their national or international unions upon a basis of experience, devoted service, knowledge, ability, and integrity.

It is a notorious fact that few Negro trade unionists exercise any influence upon shaping the course, policies, and destiny of the national or international or even local unions of which they are a part. This is not always due to racial discrimination, but to a spirit of unconcern, indifference, apathy, and a lack of understanding on the part of too large a number of Negro trade unionists of the great significance and value of the trade union movement to all workers, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, in our modern democratic society.

It must be considered that Negro workers cannot and will not become a basic factor in the American labor movement unless they are eternally active on the local union level; by remaining financial, bearing the burdens as well as receiving the benefits, playing their part on the picket lines. In short, building, maintaining, and fighting for their union - local, and national, or international. Negro trade unionists must be willing to struggle, sacrifice, and suffer with their fellow workers, including going to jail, to win the demands of the union.

This is what it takes to make a real, double-fisted trade unionist.

Building and maintaining trade unions to establish standards commensurate with decency, comfort, health, security, and the good life is one of the highest aspirations of man.

Remember the parable of the talents, when the Lord said to those who failed to use their talents given them: "for unto everyone that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath."

In conclusion, let me return to the wisdom and inspiration of the black bards who, in the agony and anguish of the long night of slavery, sang:

Oh, Freedom! Oh, Freedom! Oh, Freedom!
Before I'll be a slave,
I'll be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord and
Be saved!

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Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council

on

Khrushchev's Visit

August 20, 1959
Unity House, Pa.

President Eisenhower has invited Nikita Khrushchev, the head of the Soviet Union, to visit the United States in the near future.

From various quarters there have come to us queries as to what is our attitude to the forthcoming visit of Mr. Khrushchev.

It is not for the AFL-CIO Executive Council to approve or disapprove an invitation extended by our President to the head of another government. We do not, therefore, have any comment to make on the wisdom of the President's invitation. At the same time, we must all face the situation realistically.

The Soviet regime continues to be a totalitarian dictatorship. It is dedicated to aggression and world domination. It has destroyed all democratic rights and liberties in its own country. It is now seeking to subvert and destroy the rights and liberties which we Americans cherish dearly in our country. There is not a shred of evidence to show that the Kremlin rulers have changed the nature or aims of their regime or even slackened their drive to conquer the world and remold it on the pattern of Soviet tyranny.

It has been reported that Vice President Nixon, during his visit to the USSR, indicated he would urge American labor to join actively in an exchange program with the so-called unions of Soviet Russia. It is, therefore, necessary to set the record straight.

In this situation, the Executive Council reaffirms its declaration of February 1959, against exchanging delegations with dictatorship countries. We further reiterate our wholehearted support of the ICFTU policy against exchanges of delegations with the so-called trade unions in Communist or any other totalitarian countries.

The AFL-CIO is an organization of free trade unions. There are no Soviet counterparts with which we of the AFL-CIO can have such exchanges. The Kremlin dictatorship strictly prohibits the Soviet workers from organizing free trade unions. The so-called trade unions in the USSR are nothing but agencies of the Communist dictatorship. Consequently, it is out of the question for the AFL-CIO to give recognition to the head of a government which does not permit its own workers to have any free trade unions. American labor could never participate in honoring the head of a government which seeks to destroy human freedom in any form.

Furthermore, as a free trade union movement, the AFL-CIO is not bound to agree with every domestic or foreign policy of our government. For example, the American labor movement has always firmly opposed U.S. recognition of the Franco dictatorship. But our government has recognized and has even given economic aid to this dictatorship. Such governmental actions do not mean that the AFL-CIO should welcome Franco to our shores in the event our government should ever invite him to visit the United States.

By the same token, the President's invitation to Mr. Khrushchev does not mean that the AFL-CIO should participate in honoring this head of a foreign government which runs a vast network of forced labor camps and which ordered the murder of thousands of Hungarians fighting for their national independence and freedom.

KHRUSHCHEV VISIT

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In this light, the AFL-CIO Executive Council does not see any ground for believing that the Khrushchev visit will promote the cause of world peace and human freedom.

It has been reported that Vice President Nixon, during his visit to the USSR, indicated he would urge American labor to join actively in an exchange program with the so-called unions of Sofiet Russia. It is, therefore, necessary to set the record straight.

First of all, the AFL-CIO is an organization of free trade unions. There are no Soviet counterparts with which we of the AFL-CIO can have such exchanges. The Kremlin dictatorship strictly prohibits the Soviet workers from organizing free trade unions. The so-called trade unions in the USSR are nothing but agencies of the Communist dictatorship. Consequently, it is out of the question for the AFL-CIO to give recognition to the head of a government which does not permit its own workers to have any free trade unions. American labor could never participate in honoring the head of a government which seeks to destroy human freedom in any form.

Furthermore, as a free trade union movement, the AFL-CIO is not bound to agree with every domestic or foreign policy of our government. For example, the American labor movement has always firmly opposed U.S. recognition of the Franco dictatorship. But our government has recognized and has even given economic aid to this dictatorship. Such governmental actions do not mean that the AFL-CIO should befriend Franco or welcome him to our shores in the event our government should ever invite him to visit the United States.

By the same token, the President's invitation to Mr. Khrushchev does not mean that the AFL-CIO should break bread with the dictator who ordered the murder of thousands of Hungarians fighting for their national independence and freedom. No diplomatic action taken by our government with regard to Khrushchev requires American labor to participate in paying respects to this head of a foreign government which runs a vast network of forced labor camps.

In this situation, the Executive Council reaffirms its declaration of February 1959, against exchanging delegations with dictatorship countries. We further reiterate our wholehearted support of the ICFTU policy against exchanges of delegations with the so-called trade unions in Communist or any other totalitarian countries.

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[Aug. 29, 1959]

RECOMMENDATION TO THE INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD FROM THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE CHICAGO DIVISION

In a meeting of the Executive Board of the Chicago Division held at the Chicago Division Headquarters on August 29, 1959, the Executive Board directed that this memorandum be submitted to the International Executive Board:

During the past several months the President of the Chicago Division has taken up with the membership of the Chicago Division the question of raising the dues to meet the reduced income brought about because of the furloughing of men and the general reduction of business on the railroads. It was pointed out to the members that the Brotherhood's International financial structure was strong, and up to the present time, while there were several relatively minor deficits, the structure as a whole had not been weakened.

The President further pointed out that one of the best weapons that this Organization has in bargaining for wages and working conditions, as well as in presenting grievances and claims of its members before the various boards, is the fact that it has a strong financial structure.

The President further pointed out that in view of the fact that the reduced income of the Organization, as a result of the reduction in personnel of its membership, may continue in the immediate future and bring about additional reductions in income, and in view of the fact that the activities of the Organization are just as wide spread now as they were in previous years, and with the approach of the efforts of the railroads particularly and employers generally to weaken the structure of all labor unions, it is incumbent upon this Organization to take steps to prevent any weakening of its financial structure.

The President further pointed out that in the twenty years prior to the recognition of the Brotherhood, the wages of its members were raised $52.00 per month in twenty years. In the twenty-two years since the recognition of the Brotherhood, the wages of the Pullman porter has been raised over $300 per month in twenty-two years, and that does not include such fringe benefits as vacations with pay and welfare benefits.

It was also pointed out that in the last five years, the income of the porters has increased over $100 per month, and during that same period, the porter has not been called upon to make any additional contribution to the Organization. His dues and taxes have been $58.00 per year.

It was further pointed out that it is a well known fact that everything that everybody buys, including the Brotherhood, costs more than it did five years ago, and in the light of these conditions, the only logical solution that could be recommended to the membership was that the Organization increase its income by calling upon the members to make an additional contribution to the Organization in the form of additional dues.

In some twenty or twenty-five meetings, which were attended by members of the Chicago Division — some meetings were as small as 25 men and others were as large as 150 men — these matters were thoroughly discussed, and the consensus of opinion of the bulk of the members present was that in recognition of these basic principles an increase in dues was the only logical thing that could be done to keep our financial structure from weakening.

In the July business meeting of the Chicago Division a motion was unanimously passed that the delegates from the Chicago Division support the International Executive Board in whatever recommendations were made to the International Convention on the question of increasing the dues.

The Executive Board of the Chicago Division wishes to submit this recommendation to the International Executive Board as an expression of by far the bulk of the members of the Chicago Division.

Respectively submitted,
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CHICAGO DIVISION EXECUTIVE BOARD
William P. Martin, Chairman
U. C. Crowder
Manuel Kyle
Clarense H. Scott
L. L. McDonald
C. E. Samonte
A. J. Weems
William Northrip
William L. Hickey

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT,
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, AT
NAACP CONVENTION, THE COLISEUM, NEW YORK
CITY, JULY 15, 1959.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION AND LABOR

WORLD HUMAN RIGHTS REVOLUTION

The big, central commanding fact of our times is not the technological revolution for control over space through sputniks or moon satellites, but the revolution of man for the rights of man or the revolution for human rights.

Among two-thirds of the population of the world, the revolution of human rights is symbolized by the fires of nationalist revolts sweeping over Africa and Asia against colonialism and racialism.

In America, the world revolution for human rights takes the form of the Civil Rights Revolution, or the revolt against second-class citizenship and a bold affirmation of the status of first-class citizenship for every citizen, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

The Civil Rights Revolution is the outgrowth of the fact that the Civil War or the liberal capitalist American revolution of 1863 was never fully completed. It was never fully completed because the completion of the Civil War Revolution was no longer a necessary condition to the consolidation of American capitalism; the new order to replace the feudal-plantation-slave oligarchy as the ruling social, economic and political system.

THE GREAT COMPROMISE

Thus, the counter revolution to achieve the nullification of the 13th Amendment of 1865, 14th Amendment of 1868 and 15th Amendment of 1870 and restoration of the old slave master class to power with the return of the slave states to the Union, rolled into full swing during the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876.

This famous political deal was made between the newly formed Republican Party backing Rutherford B. Hayes and the Democratic Party sponsoring Samuel Tilden. It provided that the new Republican Party of the rising industrial and financial capitalism would, if the doubtful electoral votes of Oregon, South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida were shifted to Hayes thereby electing him President, pay the price for this concession by withdrawing the federal troops out of the South, leaving it free to handle the freedmen as it wished.

FROM SLAVE TO DEBT PEON

Since the one absorbing objective of the former ruling slave masters was to rebuild the shattered cotton plantation economy - an impossible task without the former slaves, now the freedmen, it was imperative to devise a racial economic arrangement which would take the place of slavery, the labor system upon which the southern slave society was structured. Labor, above all, must be cheap, if not slave.

Thus, the rise of plantation farm tenancy and sharecropping became the foundation of the new economy of the South. Tenant and sharecrop farming enabled the plantation owners to avoid the wage system for the freedmen, or former slaves. Slavery was merely transformed into a form of serfdom. The chattel slave became a sharecropper, a farm tenant, a debt peon.

BLACK CODES NULLIFY CIVIL RIGHTS OF FREEDMEN

To protect and advance this new economic order of the South, Black Codes were invented and enacted into law. The purpose of these Black Codes was to strip the freedmen of their civil rights so that the police and courts could round up thousands of freedmen to labor on plantations. This was easily effected since most freedmen had no visible means of support and were subject to arrest as vagrants. They were fined and sentenced to imprisonment. The planters paid the fine. The freedmen had to pay the debt. Since they had to live and had no money, they piled debt upon debt. Because the account of their debts was kept by the planter, some of the fines were never fully liquidated. In fact, the freedmen were virtually bound to the land by debt.

This economic system which insured large profits from planters' cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar and lumber was protected by legislation, as well as violence. Legislation took the form of poll taxes, grandfather clauses, white primaries and devious registration devices. Thus, an elaborate system of racial segregation and discrimination in schools, transportation and recreation was maintained for the purpose of effecting the exploitation of black labor.

SWAY OF MOB RULE

It might be interesting to note in this connection that the original basis of legislation, custom and practice of racial segregation and discrimination was not to maintain the doctrine of white supremacy or to prevent miscegenation, the mixing of the races, but rather, through psychological warfare, lynching and mob action against the former slaves, to break their spirit and will to freedom and citizenship equality which would reflect itself in a demand and fight for wages for work.

Southern planters cared next to nothing about preventing the mixing of races. This is obvious by reason of the fact that racial mixing was already a social fact. At the beginning of the Civil War, there were practically a half-million mulattoes in the South. Racial mixing existed long before laws to establish segregation of the races in the South were thought about as a general racial policy.

SLAVE CENTRAL FACTOR OF CIVIL WAR REVOLUTION

It is thus evident that the Negro slave was the central factor of the Civil War Revolution. By the same token, the struggle to effect the transformation of the freedman into a free worker and a free peasant proprietor by seeking to complete an incompleted revolution is the central causal factor, today, of the Civil Rights Revolution.

Because freedom is indivisible, white workers can never achieve full freedom until all workers, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic, achieve full freedom.

Exploiters of black labor are also exploiters of white labor. Exploiters of workers make no distinction with respect to race, color, religion, except with a view to effecting the division of workers, since the object of exploitation of labor is profit. The exploitation of workers provokes resistance. Resistance is strong or weak, according as the workers lack of organization, or that their organization is strong or weak.

LABOR HAS FAILED TO LEARN LESSON OF UNITY

Only a strong labor organization is the answer to labor exploitation. A labor organization can only be strong if it brings within its folds all workers in the trade or craft, class or industry. This is a basic lesson the American trade union movement has yet fully to learn. The price organized labor pays for the failure to learn this lesson of the unity of workers, regardless of race, color, religion or national origin, is evident by the present labor situation in the South.

It is a matter of common knowledge that every single campaign to organize the workers into trade unions in the South, either by the American Federation of Labor or by the Congress of Industrial Organizations or by the united labor movement, the AFL-CIO, has been an utter and miserable failure. The failure was not due to the lack of financial resources. It was not due to a lack of organizing personnel. It was not due to the lack of organizational know-how.

Failure was due to fear and frustation, a lack of faith and fortitude when faced with the problem of race; a fierce fact of life in the South. Failure was due to a compromise with racialism as a policy of trade union opportunism. Organized labor had no faith in its own cause. White and black workers in the South had no faith in organized labor.

Following the discredited doctrine of separate but equal handed down by the United States Supreme Court in 1896 in the case of Plessy against Ferguson, jim crow local unions like jim crow schools were formed and justified. This policy of racial separation of workers created division instead of unity of labor.

Employers who exploited white workers and black workers in the South promptly and effectively played upon this division of labor upon a basis of race.

RACIAL WAGE DIFFERENTIAL

They have profited from a racial wage differential. While Negro workers' wages, as a rule, are lower than wages of white workers performing the same work, the wages of white workers, too, are lower than the wages of workers performing the same work in areas under trade union organization. Thus, white workers in the South suffer from a substandard wage for service in a given craft, class or industry because of a lack of strong trade union collective bargaining power resulting from the division of labor upon a basis of race.

RACIALLY SEGREGATED UNIONS

The heart of the problem of trade union organization in the South is racial segregation and discrimination. This southern racial situation which blocks the progress of union organization highlights the fallacy of the policy of racially segregated unions.

Thus, we cannot too forcefully emphasize that racially segregated local unions in the same craft, class or industry of a national or international union is just as morally unjustifiable and organizationally indefensible as racially segregated public schools, housing, recreation or transportation.

Racially segregated local unions do not only subject workers of color to humiliation but, in some instances, to certain forms of exploitation. For instance, some racially segregated local auxiliary unions possess no local autonomy comparable to the average local union but are guided, supervised and regulated by the nearest white local union of the national or international. These local auxiliary unions, not having the right to designate and elect delegates to the convention of the national or international, are deprived of the right and privilege to express opinion about or exercise influence upon the basic policies of the national or international union that effect the life, work, wages and living of the members of these segregated local unions.

ECONOMIC DISADVANTAGE OF RACIALLY SEGREGATED UNIONS

It is also clear that a racially segregated union operates at an economic disadvantage to its members. This obtains as a result of separate lines of job progression, when the racially segregated lines wind up in an industrial blind alley where promotion and upgrading are impossible. This is undoubtedly at the bottom of the fact that quite infrequently will a Negro worker in a factory, mine, mill, merchandising establishment or even the Government rise to a supervisory position.

It is a well known fact that the salary differential of colored and white teachers in the South was and is the direct outgrowth of racially segregated schools. Although, as a result of court action, equalization of white and colored teachers' salaries have been theoretically established, I am informed that racial salary differentials between white and colored teachers still obtain in a large number of areas in the South. Here again, there is a definite ceiling on salary and position-progression of Negro teachers in the South because of the racially segregated public schools system.

COLOR BAR IN RAIL OPERATING UNIONS

On the railroads, colored locomotive firemen are rejected as members. In 1941 the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen negotiated an agreement with the Southeastern Carriers' Conference Committee which contained a non-promotability clause. This clause provided that no worker could be eligible for employment as a locomotive fireman unless he was also eligible for promotion from a locomotive fireman to a locomotive engineer. Such a contract, if valid, would result in the automatic elimination of Negroes as locomotive firemen since in the South, where Negroes have been employed as locomotive firemen, a locomotive engineer is a white man's job. But as a result of Supreme Court decisions in the Tunstall, Steele, and Graham cases, this agreement was knocked out. Today, colored locomotive firemen are eligible to become locomotive engineers, even if not employable, if they pass the examination.

MULTIPLE SENIORITY RIGHTS FOR WHITE FIREMEN

There also exist a seniority differential to the disadvantage of colored locomotive firemen who, strangely enough, possess a higher seniority than white locomotive firemen on southern roads. The reason being that the colored locomotive firemen are confined to one seniority roster; namely, locomotive firemen, whereas the white locomotive firemen who have always been promotable to the job of locomotive enginemen have rights on three seniority rosters; namely, the roster of locomotive firemen, roster of locomotive enginemen and the roster of hostler helpers.

Thus, if a locomotive engineer, as a result of the reduction of forces, is furloughed he may bump in on jobs under the roster of locomotive firemen from which he was promoted to that of engineer. If, as a result of the reduction of forces among locomotive firemen, he is furloughed he may bump in on jobs of hostler helpers where he may hold rights. This is not true of a colored locomotive fireman.

PASSING OF COLORED OPERATING RAIL WORKERS

It is significant and important to observe in this connection that Negro railway workers who have always constituted the largest number of workers in any American industry, which is perhaps still true today, are rapidly passing out of the operating departments of the railway industry. I refer to the jobs of locomotive firemen, brakemen, flagmen and switchmen.

In the South today most of the railway yards have been transformed from practically black to white, in terms of employees.

On the Seaboard, Atlantic Coast Line, Louisville and Nashville, the Southern, and practically on all of the railroads of the South, colored locomotive firemen who, at one time when the work was hard and the pay was low, constituted, easily, 85 percent now represent less than 10 percent. Among the switchmen, brakemen and flagmen there have been comparable losses on the part of Negro railroad workers. The reason for the loss of jobs by Negro railroad workers is the lily-white anti-Negro policy of the Big Four railway unions, and also because of the fact that when a Negro worker in the operating department of railroads is fired, dies or retires, no Negro is employed in his place. Thus, it is evident that it is only a matter of time before the operating area of the railroad industry will be completely lily-white unless some change in the hiring policy of railroads, in relation to Negroes with jobs in the operating department, can be effected.

SEEK RAIL OPERATING JOBS FOR NEGROES ABOVE MASON-DIXON LINE

The Provisional Committee for the Organization of Colored Locomotive Firemen is seeking to secure jobs for Negroes on the railroads' operating departments above the Mason-Dixon Line as well as below. In states where there are Fair Employment Practice laws some progress in this direction has been made. Plans are afoot to seek employment for Negroes in the categories of train conductors, locomotive enginemen, as well as firemen and trainmen. But this effort has no promise of immediate progress in view of the drastic reduction in railway passenger and freight operations, and the general contraction of the railroad industry.

RACIALLY SEGREGATED UNIONS DESIRED BY SOME NEGRO WORKERS

Now, I am not unmindful of the fact that there are a few racially segregated local unions that are demanded and maintained by their Negro officials and members. But racially segregated local unions are just as morally unjustifiable and indefensible when requested by Negro officials and members as when they are arbitrarily imposed upon them by the national or international union.

No one can logically contend that local unions, communist-dominated and under corrupt influences, have any validity for existence as a part of a national or international union merely because their officials and members have expressed the desire for same.

It is obvious that Negro officials and members of racially segregated local unions who request the maintenance of the said unions do so either because of a woeful lack of understanding of sound trade union principles or because of fear of losing union jobs in the event of a merger of their union with a white local union.

While one can understand that Negro officials and members of a racially segregated union may have a legitimate concern about their fate as officials in a merger of two unions, especially where the white membership is much larger, it is not sound to sacrifice the interests of the rank-and-file members to protect a few union jobs. Moreover, it does not follow that a merger of a racially segregated union with a white union will always result in a complete elimination of colored officials. When Negro officials are competent and dedicated, it is not only possible but probable that the white workers, along with the Negro workers, will recognize their ability.

SEGREGATED LOCAL UNIONS

In this context, it is important to observe that a separate, all Negro local union is not necessarily a racially segregated local union. This is evident by the fact that all of the local unions of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in the United States are composed of Negroes and Filipinos, and some Mexicans in the Southwest. The membership composition is solely due to the hiring policy of the employer. Practically all of the locals of the Dining Car Employes' and Red Caps' unions are similarly all-Negro which is, again, the result of the hiring policies of the employers. In Canada, however, all of the local unions of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters are interracial and highly international in membership composition, which is also the result of the hiring policy of the Canadian Pacific Railroad and the membership policy of the Brotherhood which is to accept in membership any worker on the job covered by the contract between the Organization and Managememt.

It is highly possible that there are some white local unions, the membership composition of which is chiefly due to the hiring policy of the employer. But if a Negro, Filipino, or Puerto Rican worker is employed in the craft, class or industry represented by an all-white local union, it should be required to accept the Negro, Filipino or Puerto Rican worker as a member. The same thing should apply to an all-Negro local union if, and when a white worker is employed in the craft, class or industry represented by the Negro local union. Moreover, a worker employed in a given craft, class, or industry should be required to join the local union representing his craft, class, or industry, regardless of its racial composition.

Now, just as it was necessary for the United States Supreme Court to hand down a decision, May 17, 1954, requiring the desegregation of public schools to provide the basis for their integration, so it is necessary for the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to vigorously proclaim its intention of eliminating segregation and discrimination in the labor movement by demanding national or international unions, city central bodies, state federations, departments or councils whose policies are in conflict with and in opposition to the Constitution of the AFL-CIO which was adopted at the founding convention in 1955 to develop compliance with the constitution on discrimination.

Just as Communists and corrupt influences have been and are being effectively driven out of the labor movement, so segregation and discrimination based upon race or color can and must be eliminated from trade unions in affiliation to the AFL-CIO by a forthright, uncompromising, relentless and vigorous policing campaign through the Civil Rights Committee and Civil Rights Department under the supervision of the President and Executive Council.

METHODS

The methods and techniques for the accomplishment of this objective are simple. In the first place, every member of a local union as well as workers in general should be made aware of the existence and purpose of the Civil Rights Department and they should be informed of the fact that any complaint of segregation or discrimination, on account of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, against a union may be presented to the Civil Rights Department and will receive prompt, firm, fair and impartial investigation and action, with a view to the elimination of said segregation or discrimination.

In addition to attempting to achieve compliance by every national or international union with the provisions of the constitution outlawing discrimination based upon race or color, by a thorough investigation of every complaint, national and regional civil rights seminars or conferences should be held periodically every year for the members and officials, executive and administrative and staff, of national and international unions, in the interest of keeping the problem of civil rights before the membership and officials of trade unions. These seminars or conferences may serve as effective agencies of education in trade union principles and policies as well as to emphasize and enlighten the membership and officers as to the moral foundation of civil rights, and that racial discrimination does not pay.

CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE

An objective analysis of the social forces at work in the areas of race relations will reveal that the country is in the midst of a vast Civil Rights Revolution, the task and purpose of which are to complete the incompleted Civil War Revolution by sweeping into the ashcan of history the remnants, vestiges and survivals of the old slave order. It seeks to fulfill its historical mission of abolishing the status of second-class citizenship based upon the mythology of racial inferiority.

No institution or segment of our American society plagued by the sickness of racial second-class human amity can escape the impact of this revolution.

And if there be any of you who would berate trade unions as the chief villain of the piece for the imposition of second-class membership upon Negro workers, let me remind you that Negroes are treated as second-class citizens in every institution in America. They are second-class citizens in the church. They are second-class citizens in the government. They are second-class citizens in the medical and bar associations, schools, sports, women and youth movements, business and industry.

But organized labor, which is itself the victim of limitations upon its freedom as shown by the Taft-Hartley Act, right-to-work laws and now the Kennedy-Ervin Bill, has no alternative save to cleanse its house of all forms of segregation and discrimination against a worker because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

Verily, organized labor must project a massive revolution within its house to effect a transition of the Negro worker from the status of second-class to first-class economic citizenship. The transformation of relationships of Negro workers in the house of labor will constitute the second phase of the moral revolution which labor initiated in the drastic program of expulsion of national and international unions under corrupt influences, racketeering and gangsterism; an indispensable condition to the maintenance of the self-respect, dignity and influence and spiritual growth of the American labor movement.

PRIOR REVOLUTIONS

Prior revolutions that have challenged and shakened the American labor movement include the conflict between craft and industrial unionism, and communist infiltration and subversion of trade unions during the 1920's and 30's. In each of the revolutions, the American labor movement frankly faced and successfully grappled with the challenge and it is now the stronger in spirit, if not in numbers, for that fact.

I am confident that the AFL-CIO, under its present leadership, will rise to the occasion and successfully meet the challenge of the Civil Rights Revolution within the movement.

Now, it is a matter of common knowledge that the AFL-CIO has failed to implement the provision in its constitution outlawing discrimination on account of race or color. However, it needs to be said that some progress toward racial equality has been made and is being made. But no one will gainsay the fact that the progress is quite inadequate and much too slow, especially in view of the bewilderingly rapid march of automation which is itself a technological revolution in industry and business.

The constitutional provision against discrimination has not been taken seriously. This was made clear by the timely, factual, sound and recent report on discrimination in trade unions by the NAACP.

STEPS OF PROGRESS

To list a few major steps of progress of Negro workers toward first-class economic citizenship in the labor movement:

Let me suggest, first and foremost and of primary importance is the fact that there are a million-and-a-half, more or less, Negro members of the AFL-CIO. I need not remind you that a million of anything has significance. Moreover, these Negro workers are awakening, both to their rights and their power.

Second, the leadership of the AFL-CIO, in the personalities of George Meany, president, and Walter Reuther, vice president, as well as the members of the Executive Council, are strongly committed to the AFL-CIO's program of civil rights.

But, the problem is implementing the program. This must come from the top; namely, the Executive Council. This was true with respect to handling the revolutions involving the conflict between craft and industrial unionism, communism and corruption.

I am convinced that the national and international presidents as well as most of the local union officials and members will support the civil rights program when they clearly understand its significance to labor.

Third, all of the national and international unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO have eliminated the color bar from their constitution except three, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Airline Pilots Association. This, of course, is not to imply that all unions without the color clause against Negro membership are ipso facto free from the malice of segregation and discrimination. There is also discrimination by consent.

Fourth, the election of Negro trade unionists to the Executive Board of city central bodies and state federations, some of which are in the South.

Fifth, the election of two Negro trade unionists as members of the Executive Council, the highest policy-making body, by the founding convention of the AFL-CIO in 1955.

Sixth, designation of Negro trade unionists to represent the AFL-CIO in international labor conferences in Europe, Africa and Asia. This is one of the new progressive steps of the American labor movement which is destined to give it strength and influence among the working masses in Africa and Asia.

Seventh, the new manifest interest and concern of the AFL-CIO in the problems of the laboring masses of Africa and Asia, through financial support of their labor unions and schools, with a view to bringing them within the orbit of international free trade unionism.

Eighth, the increasing integration of Negro technical and professional personnel in the varied departments of the AFL-CIO at the national headquarters in Washington, D. C., as well as in an increasingly larger number of offices of national and international unions.

Ninth, the legislative program on civil rights of the AFL-CIO.

WHAT IS NOW TO BE DONE

First, a national Negro Labor Committee, comparable to the Jewish Labor Committee, should be organized to fight and work to implement the civil rights program of the AFL-CIO, every member of which should be a member of the

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Second, the members of this committee should come only from the Negro members of the national and international unions of the AFL-CIO.

Its purpose should be both to secure membership of Negro workers in the unions and employment and promotion on the job as well as participation in the executive, administrative and staff areas of the unions. It should be concerned with the election of Negro trade unionists as delegates to the conventions of their national and international unions, executive boards of city central bodies and state federations, as well as to the biennial conventions of the AFL-CIO. It should work to make Negro trade unionists more trade union conscious so that they will actively participate in the program of the Committee on Political Education, fight right-to-work laws and all anti-labor legislation and propaganda, support their national or international union and the AFL-CIO, and work to advance the general cause of civil rights.

It must set its head, hands and heart against communism within and without the unions and against corruption and racketeering in any form.

It must not participate in jurisdictional disputes.

If there is anything more reprehensible than the practice of discrimination upon a people because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, it is for the people discriminated against to accept it without protest or resistance. It is an evidence of an utter lack of self-respect, the most priceless possession an individual or a group can have, without which there can be no human dignity.

It is conceivable that to preserve self-respect one might give up this world's goods or even liberty, yes, even life itself.

Verily, the sun of freedom is too high up in the heavens this mid-twentieth century for the humblest of God's children to tolerate discrimination of any kind at any time, anywhere, for any cause.

Discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin is an affront to God. It is an affront to history. It is an affront to reason. It is an affront to man. It is an affront to those brave and heroic souls who have ever struggled, through blood and tears, for the ageless cause of human freedom.

REPORT OF THE

INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

TO THE

THIRD TRIENNIAL INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION

SEPTEMBER 6 - 11, 1959

Chicago, Illinois

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During the interim of the Second Triennial Convention, the International Executive Board held six meetings, two meetings each year as it is provided for in the Consitution. During this period, there have been three changes in the personnel of the International Executive Board as follows: Brother A. R. Blanchette, who is the International Field Representative in Montreal, Quebec, Canada, succeeded Brother T. T. Patterson, retired. International Field Representative B. F. McLaurin of New York was appointed by International President A. Philip Randolph as Eastern Zone Supervisor after the retirement of Brother T. T. Patterson. Brother C. J. Smith, a train porter from the Atlantic Coast Lines in Richmond, Virginia, was appointed to the Board after the passing of Brother James M. White of Los Angeles, California. Brother W. C. Isaacs, Jr., of Los Angeles, California, was appointed to the Board after the passing of Brother Henry Yates.

Appropriate memorial services were held by the Board after the passing of Brother James M. White and Brother Henry Yates.

During the six International Executive Board meetings, the International Executive Board considered and acted upon 175 items which covered a wide variety of problems involving Organization business. Some of these items were just routine Organization matters, and others were matters which were referred to the Board by Local Divisions or by members of the Board. Action was taken upon each of these subjects.

BROTHERHOOD FINANCES

At each of these International Executive Board meetings, the Subcommittee of the International Executive Board on Finance made a report which included a minute analysis of the finances of the International Organization. In response to the recommendations of the Finance Committee, action was taken to bring about the reduction of expenditures in an effort to keep the International expenditures within the International income.

In the financial report made to the Second Triennial Convention, the operating gain had been reduced considerably to the sum of approximately $22,000. It was apparent that with the continued reduced income due to the reduction of the sleeping car business and railroad business generally throughout the nation, which resulted in a smaller number of men paying dues, there would be a continual reduction in the Organization's income in the next period. However, many economies were introduced into the financial structure, and in one instance a six months' moratorium was declared on travelling, and travel was limited to just what was absolutely necessary.

However, despite the effort to reduce expenditures, it developed that the operation of the International Organization throughout the nation was just as widespread as it previously had been, and while there were not as many members in the various locals as there had been, yet the services required were equally as extensive and important as prior thereto. Therefore, in order to keep up the efficient operation of the Organization, there could not be too much reduction in International activities.

During this period, the New York Central Railroad took over the operation of Pullman cars, which brought about the elimination of the New York Central District in New York City. Some 500 men were taken by the New York Central Railroad. Thirty men were also taken over by the Rock Island Railroad for the purpose of operating the sleeping car service on the Rock Island Road. As a result of this change over, the dues income from those sources was reduced to a minimum, and in some instances it was almost eliminated. This, of course, caused a reduction in the income from two of the largest divisions: namely, New York Division and the Chicago Division.

With the continued reduced income, the International finances finally began to show a small deficit from quarter to quarter. Up to and including July, 1959, the so-called operating loss approximated $50,000 or about the average of $4,000 per month. While it is anticipated that with the success of our program on both the New York Central and the Rock Island, some 500 more men will be paying dues within another six months, yet it is apparent that if we are to maintain our financial structure, there will of necessity have to be an increase of revenue from the Organization's members.

While the deficit above referred to is not large, and the Brotherhood still has a strong financial structure, yet the International Executive Board feels that because of the difficulties we will encounter in the immediate future, it is necessary to maintain a strong financial structure. Therefore, the International Executive Board recommends that before the financial structure becomes weakened to the point where it might become serious, efforts should be made to strengthen the financial structure by an increase in income through a nominal increase in dues. This question of the increase in dues will be the subject of another item.

THE LADIES AUXILIARY

At the International Executive Board meeting held prior to the Second Triennial Convention, International President Randolph introduced a resolution which was passed by the Board, and which reads as follows:

REORGANIZATION OF THE LADIES AUXILIARY

> WHEREAS, The Ladies Auxiliary has lost ground in membership and morale since the last Convention, requiring more and more financial support from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; and
>
> WHEREAS, The present financial structure and system of the Ladies Auxiliary, including joining fees, dues, and assessments, can never provide an adequate and solid foundation for the permanent growth, development and expansion of the International Organization; and
>
> WHEREAS, It is impossible for the present financial income of the Ladies Auxiliary to provide sufficient funds for a sustained, systematic, coordinated, nationwide organizational and educational campaign, necessary to rebuild the Ladies Auxiliary; and
>
> WHEREAS, The results of the organizational and educational campaign conducted by the International President and the International Secretary, made possible by a subsidy from the Brotherhood, brought about a very small, if any, increase in membership; and
>
> WHEREAS, The Brotherhood does not feel that, upon a basis of past experience and history, the officials of the Auxiliary can wage a sufficiently intensive campaign to build a strong nationwide Auxiliary, and hence will not supply the considerable funds that would be required for such an effort; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood is faced with a declining membership, along with other railroad unions, as a result of the contraction in the railroad business, rendering it necessary to conserve its funds while seeking to expand its membership; and

WHEREAS, From an analysis of the organization problems of the Auxiliary it is apparent that the only way by which it is possible to rebuild the Ladies Auxiliary, or rather to build a nationwide Auxiliary, is that the job of developing the local Auxiliaries in the respective Zones be made a part of the regular organization assignment of the Zone Supervisors and Field Organizers of the Brotherhood, under the general direction of the International President; Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the present financial structure of the Auxiliary be abolished and that the new joining fee for membership shall be 50 cents and the monthly dues 25 cents, and 25 cents of the joining fee and 10 cents of the monthly dues shall be sent to the International Secretary-Treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters monthly, and 25 cents of the joining fee and 15 cents of the monthly dues shall remain in the treasury of the local Auxiliary; Be it further

RESOLVED, That the present International Officers of the Ladies Auxiliary, International President Sister Halena Wilson and International Secretary-Treasurer Sister Rosina C. Tucker, shall be placed upon a permanent pension, said pension to amount to the existing monthly salaries. This is but a small tribute and appreciation for the great work and contributions made to the Brotherhood and Ladies Auxiliary movement by Sisters Wilson and Tucker over the years; Be it further

RESOLVED, That the monies accumulated by the monthly remittance of 25 cents of the joining fee of 50 cents and 10 cents of the monthly dues of 25 cents by the local Secretary-Treasurers of the Ladies Auxiliary shall constitute a fund which shall be held in trust for the building of the International Ladies Auxiliary when the International Executive Board and the International President shall decide that the International Ladies Auxiliary shall be established; Be it further

RESOLVED, That whatever funds, if any, now exist in the treasury of the International Ladies Auxiliary, shall be turned over to the International Secretary-Treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to be used to meet any outstanding indebtedness which may exist. If there be no outstanding indebtedness, the said funds shall become a part of the aforementioned Auxiliary fund.

International President Randolph and several of the Executive Board members presented the matter to a meeting of the Executive Board of the Ladies Auxiliary prior to the Convention, and they apparently accepted it wholeheartedly. However, at the first session of the Convention, in a strong talk made by International Secretary-Treasurer Rosina C. Tucker and supported by International President Halena Wilson, objections were made to the action being taken as provided for in the above Resolution.

At a subsequent International Executive Board meeting, several of the Board members of the Ladies Auxiliary appeared before the Board some of whom seemed to have changed their minds about the matter, and made vigorous protests against the action being taken as set forth in the Resolution. Because of the vigorous protests made by the officers of the Ladies Auxiliary, International President Randolph requested the Board to allow him to withdraw his Resolution, and no action was taken on the matter at the Second Triennial Convention.

However, the facts and circumstances in reference to the Ladies Auxiliary not having changed, the International Executive Board re-adopted the Resolution in the June, 1957, Board meeting, and the program outlined in International President Randolph's Resolution was put into effect disestablishing the International setup of the Ladies Auxiliary, placing Sister Halena Wilson and Sister Rosina C. Tucker on pension at their same salaries, and providing for the Ladies Auxiliary to operate as Local Divisions until such time as conferences could be called for the purpose of re-establishing the International setup. It is expected that steps toward that end will be taken at this Convention or subsequently thereto.

PROBLEM WITH DINING CAR EMPLOYEES' UNION

One of the unusual problems of the Brotherhood with reference to chair car porters and chair car attendants is brought about because of the apparent willingness of the dining car waiters' union to allow the railroads to set up combination so-called waiter-porter positions where the employe does the porter's work and the waiter's work, and in most instances for less money. This situation prevailed on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, and as a result of the eagerness of the waiters' union to go along with the Company on these combination jobs, the personnel of the Brotherhood's membership (coach porters on the Burlington Road) was reduced from twenty-seven to six.

Several cases were taken to the National Railroad Adjustment Board without success due to the fact that the waiters' union apparently was in accordance with these proposed combination jobs and wrote a contract with the carrier covering said combination work. The situation became so critical on the Burlington Road that after making a canvass of the dining car employes on the road, it developed that they were no more anxious for these combined jobs than were we, and at their recommendation and suggestion, we started a campaign to bring the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy group into the Brotherhood. A large bulk of authorization cards were signed. An election was held, but the election was lost by some twenty votes. However, the Organization prevailed on two subsidiary roads of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad: namely, the Colorado and Southern Railroad and the Fort Worth and Denver Railroad. The Organization now represents the dining car employes on those roads.

The most significant occurrence in connection with the waiters' union involved the men on the New York Central Railroad. The New York Central took over the operation of the sleeping cars and the sleeping lounge cars. Under the Pullman contract, the sleeping car porters, the sleeping lounge car porters, and the bus boys had been recognized from time immemorial as one bargaining unit. However, the waiters' union on the New York Central Railroad entered into an Agreement with the New York Central Road eleven days before these men were taken over on these jobs, which agreement involved the wages and working conditions of the sleeping lounge car attendants as separate and distinct from the sleeping car porters. The contract provided for a substantial reduction in pay for this class of men.

When the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters got into the picture it protested this arrangement, took the matter to the National Mediation Board, and our protest resulted in a public hearing held in New York City where both the Brotherhood and the waiters' union presented separate cases and filed briefs. Several months thereafter, the Board ruled in the Brotherhood's favor and ordered an election with the sleeping car porters and the sleeping lounge car attendants confined to one bargaining unit.

The waiters' union made a number of protests and finally had the election stopped on the grounds that its name should not be on the ballot. Then when the election was stopped, the name of the waiter's union removed, and the balloting started the second time, the waiter's union protested again that its name was not on the ballot. In connection with this situation, the waiters' union went into court in Washington, D. C. on three different occasions and made an effort to stop the election. They were partially successful in stopping it again, but when the matter was thoroughly argued before the courts, the dining car waiters' union was thoroughly repudiated, and the election continued. The Brotherhood won the election by a vote of 300 to 1, and it has now been certified as the duly authorized bargaining agent of the sleeping car porters and sleeping lounge car attendants on the New York Central Railroad.

The antics of the dining car waiters union in thise case pose a serious question to this Organization, and it is felt by the officers of this Organization and its International Executive Board that in order to protect the wages, working conditions, and bargaining rights of the members we presently represent and preclude any repetition of the situation as we have encountered on the New York Central Railroad, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters will have to use all the power at its command to prevent a reoccurrence of such conditions as were brought about as a result of the action of the waiters' union on the New York Central Railroad.

ROCK ISLAND SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

On November 1, 1958, the Rock Island & Pacific Railroad Company took over the operation of certain of its sleeping cars. Due to the Brotherhood's persuasion, the Rock Island Road hired all former Pullman porters, some of whom were furloughed. The total number of sleeping car porters on the Rock Island number about forty-five at the present time. Authorization cards were presented to the National Mediation Board, and the Brotherhood was authorized to represent this group without an election. Agreement proposals have been submitted to the

Rock Island Road, conferences have been held, and the case is now before the National Mediation Board.

ELIMINATION OF PASSENGER SERVICE

The International Executive Board directed that every effort be put forth by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, including appearance before the Congressional committees and cooperation with other railroad unions, in the fight against the tendency of railroads to reduce passenger service.

FORTY HOUR WEEK FOR PULLMAN PORTERS, TRAIN AND CHAIR CAR PORTERS

On the question of reducing the hours to 174 per month for sleeping car porters, train porters, parlor car porters, chair car attendants, and all groups that the Brotherhood represents, the International Executive Board directed that an economic brief be prepared by the Brotherhood and that the best economist be retained to make this economic study.

NO RAIDING AGREEMENT

The International Executive Board directed that because of the unfortunate position taken by the dining car waiters' union, the Brotherhood not sign a No Raiding Agreement until that situation became clarified.

AFL-CIO ETHICAL PRACTICE CODE

The International Executive Board directed that the Brotherhood cooperate to the fullest extent with the AFL-CIO Ethical Practice

Code, with instructions that the Code be read in all the Local Division meetings throughout the country.

CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Board directed that the Brotherhood officers continue to carry on their program for civil rights and first-class citizenship in the trade unions, and to continue to support First International Vice President M. P. Webster, a member of the Committee on Civil Rights, and Theodore Brown, one of the Co-Directors of the Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO.

RIGHT TO WORK LAWS

After a detailed discussion of the Right to Work Law, and the efforts of the anti-union interests in the State of California to place a Right to Work Law on the statute books in that state, the International Executive Board directed that the officers offer every cooperation to the groups fighting these Right to Work Laws. Since California appeared to be further ahead on passing such a law than any other state, it was further directed that International Vice President C. L. Dellums cooperate with other forces operating in California to defeat this law, and the Organization appropriate $500 toward helping finance the fight. The Board also agreed to join with other AFL-CIO unions in the fight against the Right to Work Laws.

PETITION TO INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD FROM MONTREAL

As a result of a petition circulated among the Montreal members in connection with some alleged difficulties of the Organization, and in view of the fact that the circulation of petitions among members of the Brotherhood has only served to weaken the structure of the Organization, create dissentions, and generally demoralize the Organization's morale, the International Executive Board directed, after a detailed history of the Montreal situation given by Brother Bennie Smith and Brother A. R. Blanchette, that International President A. Philip Randolph send a very definite statement to all members of the Montreal Division who signed the petition, pointing out the fallacies of such methods and admonishing them against such repetition.

PROPAGANDA LETTERS SENT TO BROTHERHOOD OFFICERS

After an analysis of the report from International Vice President M. P. Webster on a number of vicious propaganda letters that had been sent to officials, International President Randolph quoted from the AFL-CIO Ethical Practice Code in which it was pointed out that members who write letters to the Organization unjustly villifying the officials was the type of action upon which members could be dismissed from the Organization. Brother Randolph further pointed out that he would write on the matter in the Black Worker, and that every time he talked with groups of porters, he would try to impress upon them that such actions could not be tolerated.

PROPOSED PARTICIPATION IN SECTION 6 NOTICES BY THE RAILWAY LABOR EXECUTIVES' ASSOCIATION

After a broad and lengthy discussion of this matter, the International Executive Board, by unanimous vote, went on record for the

Brotherhood's participation with other railroad unions in serving Section 6 notices on the carriers involving such subjects as claim time limits, hiring practices, health, sanitation and accidents.

WASHINGTON JOB AGREEMENT

The Board also directed that the Brotherhood participate with other labor organizations in fighting for the broadening of the Washington Job Agreement.

CONTINUED COVERAGE BY TRAVELERS INSURANCE

The International President advised the Board that the New York Central has refused to extend Travelers insurance coverage to sleeping car porters before an Agreement covering them has been negotiated. An effort was then made by the Brotherhood to get The Pullman Company to place the men going over to the New York Central on furlough for six months in order that they might be covered as furloughed Pullman employes. This, The Pullman Company refused to do. The Organization has therefore made arrangements with Travelers Insurance Company to cover such men directly by applying through the Brotherhood. Arrangements are being made at New York and Chicago to contact the men involved for the purpose of helping them to retain their hospital, medical, and surgical coverage during the period of changeover and negotiation.

CANCELLATION OF PRUDENTIAL GROUP INSURANCE

After a discussion of this matter, the Board directed the International President to arrange a conference with The Pullman Company for the purpose of seeking more liberal coverage for the men than is being offered by the Company to replace the present Prudential coverage.

DEPOSIT OF BROTHERHOOD SURPLUS FUNDS

In the discussion before the Board, it developed that some of the members were of the opinion that the large amount of funds which had been invested in government bonds could be invested with greater profit in savings and loan associations. It was further indicated that while the government paid in some instances less than 3 per cent, the savings and loan associations paid 4 per cent. Brothers C. L. Dellums, Ashley L. Totten, and T. D. McNeal were delegated to work out a plan for the deposit of the Organization's surplus funds to produce the maximum government insured income, and to proceed with same after the necessary investigation.

However, at the request of International Vice President Webster, the matter was directed by International President Randolph to be held in abeyance until the following meeting of the Board. At said meeting a detailed discussion of the investment of these funds was gone into, and Brother Randolph moved that the previous motion be rescinded on the question of investing Brotherhood funds, and that the $100,000 that had been previously invested in government bonds be liquidated and redeposited as follows: $50,000 in federal savings and loan associations and $50,000 in savings banks.

ARKANSAS FULL CREW BILL

The Board directed that Brother T. D. McNeal cooperate with those who were fighting against the Arkansas Full Crew Bill. Since that time, however, it has been reported that the fight against said bill has been successful.

CLARIFICATION OF LEAVE-OF-ABSENCE WITH RESPECT TO PAYMENT OF DUES

The Board went on record by unanimous vote that men on leave-of-absence are to be required to pay dues subject to the limitation provided in Paragraph 6 of Article XVI of the Constitution.

OPERATION OF PULLMAN SLEEPING CARS BY THE CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILROAD

It developed that the decision on the part of the Canadian National Railroad to take over the sleeping cars would result in the loss of eighty jobs for the members of this Organization who operate on the sleeping cars on that road. It further developed that there did not appear to be any inclination on the part of the Canadian National Railroad to take over the Pullman employes, and if any of them were taken over, they would be taken over at the prevailing rates paid to sleeping car porters on the Canadian National Railroad, which is substantially less than the prevailing rates paid to Pullman employes.

There appeared to be a law in Canada involving what is known as homestead rights, under which, if recognized, the Pullman porters could follow their jobs. It further developed that the railroad carrier would cooperate if we could get the consent of the union that represented the sleeping car porters on the Canadian National Railroad. International President Randolph, Brother Bennie Smith, and Brother A. R. Blanchette conferred with these people in Canada, and it developed after a vote that they decided not to allow the Pullman employes to come over to the Canadian National Railroad under the so-called Homestead Law. As a result of this decision, most of our men lost out on jobs on the Canadian National Railroad and reverted to the furlough list, but some twenty-five or thirty men were taken over by the Canadian National Railroad at a reduced rate of pay. However, the Brotherhood put forth every possible effort it could to save these jobs.

AIR-WAITE AERIAL PULLMAN

Brother Randolph acquainted the Board with a plan of Air-Waite International Incorporated to set up pullman type accommodations at Airports and of their desire to get information on labor cost and our ability to furnish the necessary porters for this new service. Brother Randolph stated that he had advised this corporation of proposed rates of pay, etc., and confirmed the fact that we can and will supply the necessary employes. He added that the Brotherhood had been invited to buy stock in this venture by a New York banker who contacted us sometime after we had talked with representatives of Air-Waite. Brother Randolph said that he advised the bankers that as of this time we would not be interested in purchasing stock.

Brother Randolph recommended that we stay close to this development and seek to secure all possible jobs for our members. It was agreed by common consent that the International President will closely follow up this important matter.

SANTA FE TRAIN PORTERS CASE

Brother M. P. Webster reviewed the situation on the Santa Fe Road involving Porter-Brakeman. He pointed out that the case to protect the rights of these men has been in the courts fourteen years. He gave a detailed account of the handling of this matter in the courts and before the First Division of the National Railroad Adjustment Board. By common consent the Board agreed that the Organization should pursue this matter with the view of protecting our Santa Fe members.

PAYMENT OF DUES IN CONNECTION WITH UNION SHOP ON NEW YORK, NEW HAVEN AND HARTFORD RAILROAD

Brother Randolph led a discussion on the matter of the necessity of formulating a definite policy governing the payment of fees and dues by members taken over in representation elections. He stated that the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad have refused to dismiss a man under the Union Shop Agreement on the basis of non-payment of dues that accumulated prior to the signing of the Union Shop Agreement.

In instances where the Organization takes over new groups in representation elections, the Board agreed that these people would be asked to join and pay dues from the date we win such elections. Those who do not pay from that date shall be required to join as of the date the Union Shop Agreement becomes effective.

INCREASE IN MONTHLY DUES AND INCLUSION OF TAX IN MONTHLY DUES

Brother Randolph proposed that the Board go on record to recommend a $1.00 increase in dues to the International Convention. He pointed out that this must be done in order to keep the organization financially healthy. A motion to that effect was passed by a vote of 11 to 0.

Brother Randolph also proposed that the Board recommend to the Convention that the Annual Tax be included in the monthly does. This proposal was withdrawn.

RECOMMENDATION WITH RESPECT TO CANADIAN DUES

A motion was carried to recommend to the Convention that the Canadian dues be raised to $5.85. Allocation would be $4.65 to the International Organization and $1.20 to the Local.

SHARE OF NEW DUES INCREASE TO BE RECEIVED BY LOCAL DIVISION

The Board agreed to recommend to the Convention that the $1.00 increase in dues be allocated as follows: 80 cents to the International and 20 cents to the Local. The new totals would then be $3.80 to the International and $1.20 to the Local.

FIGHT AGAINST POLICY OF SOUTHERN STATES TO OUTLAW NAACP

The International Executive Board agreed by common consent to give every support to the NAACP in combating this influence.

SUPPORT OF NEGRO LABOR COMMITTEE

Brother Randolph told the Board of the program of a Negro Labor Committee which will be set up at some time in the near future and appealed for the Brotherhood's endorsement and support. The Board went on record as endorsing the idea of forming a National Negro Labor Committee and to take the responsibility of setting up the first conference.

RESOLUTION OF COMMENDATION FOR C. L. DELLUMS ON FEPC FIGHT

The Board unanimously passed a resolution of commendation for the splendid fight put up by Brother C. L. Dellums in the civil rights field for a state FEPC and a federal FEPC.

BROTHERHOOD ENDORSEMENT OF MERCHANDISE

Brother Dellums told the Board about a situation at New York in which the Brotherhood endorsed a merchandising plan. Brother Randolph explained how the matter came about. He has had a good talk with Brother McLaurin about the matter and has a clear understanding with him that this sort of thing is not to happen again. A motion was carried instructing the International President to talk with Brother McLaurin again with the view of thoroughly impressing him with the fact that he must observe Brotherhood policies.

BENJAMIN F. MORRIS CASE

Brother Webster explained the facts and the court's adverse decision in this Union Shop suit. The Board held that the Organization is duty bound to follow through on the necessary appeals of this case.

R. W. PATTERSON CASE OF TORONTO, CANADA

Brother Webster explained that this is a case in which the Adjustment Board decided in favor of this Brother being restored to his job and The Pullman Company refused to put the Award into effect on the ground that the Board has no jurisdiction on matters in Canada. It was decided that this matter is to be carried into the United States Courts.

CURRENT EFFORTS OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF RAILWAYS TO POISON THE NEGRO PUBLIC MIND AGAINST RAILROAD UNIONS

Brother T. D. McNeal acquainted the Board with the fact that the Association of American Railroads recently invited leading St. Louis Negro business and professional men to a cocktail party and dinner where they were exposed to a barrage of expertly handled propaganda designed to enlist their sympathies behind the coming effort of the railroads to cut wages and to eliminate so-called featherbed rules from union agreements. He stated that the Urban League of St. Louis appeared to have been involved in the promotion of the St. Louis affair and that it was a part of a national effort.

By common consent it was agreed that each member of the Board would be on the alert in this matter and report to Brother Randolph on any such effort in his area.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH FORT WORTH AND DENVER AND COLORADO AND SOUTHERN RAILROADS ON HYPHENATED POSITIONS

In reference to the subject matter herein, the International Executive Board feels that the hyphenated positions (porter-waiter, waiter-porter, and the like) have been brought about on the various railroads because of the cooperation of the dining car waiters' union with the carriers in setting up these dual positions which in most instances pay less money than the porter's position alone pays. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is unalterably opposed to these so-called hyphenated positions, and because of the fact that the case which was progressed to the National Railroad Adjustment Board in an effort to eliminate the hyphenated positions on that road was decided against the Organization, the only thing left for the Organization to do was to write the contracts on the Fort Worth & Denver and the Colorado & Southern Railroads which included the hyphenated positions. However, it was the consensus of opinion that every effort should be made by this Organization to prevail upon the railroad carriers where these hyphenated positions exist to eliminate same and not require a combination of porter-waiter work or waiter-porter work at a lesser salary than the porter gets for his work alone.

CHANGES IN RULES OF THE AGREEMENT

Recommendations for adjustment of rules of the Pullman Agreement were made to the International Executive Board as follows:

Reduction of preparatory and release time.
Splitting of runs between Chicago and Jacksonville.
Pullman time sheets.
Relief for Chattanooga porters.
Blanking of lines.
Instructions on release and preparatory time.
Rules 30 and 31 of the Pullman Agreement.
Rule 27 (Districts Discontinued) of the Pullman Agreement.
Controversy between the Chattanooga and Atlanta porters.

The subject matter of these questions was referred to the appropriate officers of the Organization, and those which could be handled were handled, and others were referred to the permanent Agreement Committee.

DONATIONS

During the interim between the 1956 Convention and the 1959 Convention, the International Executive Board approved and made the following contributions:

Physical Handicapped, AFL-CIO	$ 100.00
Association of Catholics Trade Union	100.00
Mr. Silverman of St. Louis	100.00
National Safety Council	40.00
Jewish Labor Committee	100.00
National Committee on Human Rights - Canada	250.00
United College Fund	500.00
Souvenir Program for NAACP Labor Congress	250.00
Right to Work Fight	500.00
Total	$1,940.00

Respectfully submitted,

INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

M P Webster

M. P. Webster, Chairman

T. D. McNeal, Secretary

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE Speeches

(2)

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT A. PHILIP RANDOLPH TO THE THIRD TRIENNIAL CONVENTION, BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, SEPTEMBER 7 - 11, 1959.

Mr. Chairman and delegates of the Third Triennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and delegates and members of the Ladies Auxiliary:

We have assembled together this September 1959 at a time when the world is passing through an apparently chronic crisis. This crisis has been intensified and sharpened, if not caused, by the cold war between Western man and Soviet man, or two antagonistic systems of society; the democratic capitalist, free enterprise system and the totalitarian communist, collectivist system. Other forces at work, giving magnitude and complexity to this crisis is the vast sweep of nationalist revolutions through Africa and Asia against colonialism and racialism.

In our own land American citizens in general, and workers in particular, are in the throes of a crisis. This crisis is the form of continuing, alternating, ebb and floodtide character of our economy, expressed in varying degrees of intensity of depression and recession. The history of these periods has been marked by the weakening and, sometimes, liquidation of labor's economic structures; namely, trade unions as well as small business enterprises.

BUSINESS ATTACKS UPON TRADE UNIONS

It is a well-known fact that some of America's most powerful corporations have taken the offensive at the collective bargaining tables in an open attempt to deny to the wage earners a fair share of the fruits of labor; to weaken, if not wipe out, favorable conditions of work, and to undermine the collective bargaining process itself. The cynical defiance by the United States Steel Corporation of the efforts of the United Steelworkers Union to negotiate a new contract involving wage increases for the steelworkers is an eloquent instance in proof of this business offensive against labor.

Following the apparent determination of the U. S. Steel Corporation to force the steelworkers into a strike, a report by U. S. Steel on its net profits for the first six months of 1959 reveal the phenomenal figure of 254 million dollars. This, grudgingly admitted to be the highest profit realized by U. S. Steel in any six month period in its history, has robbed it of its self-righteous defense of the country against inflation which, as it claimed, would result from any wage increase, and placed it on the defensive before American public opinion. Since U. S. Steel is a sort of barometer of the business climate of the nation, it is a certainty that the workers in all industries, crafts, and classes will find it increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to achieve a wage increase in the light of the failure of the steelworkers to win more pay from the giant steel corporation.

Be it said to the enlightened interest of the AFL-CIO that it has gone on record to give both moral and financial support to the United Steelworkers.. Fortunately, labor is aware of the fact that it must go up or down with the steel strikers. But an objective analysis of the steel strikers' demands, in the context of the forces at work in our American economy, must indicate that a victory for the steelworkers in securing a wage increase is not an answer to the problems posed by the conflict between organized steel on the one hand and organized steelworkers on the other.

The reason for this is that when the price of steel changes, whether up or down, it affects the entire American economy for good or ill. It is a well-known fact that changes in price levels of steel are reflected in commodities the American people must buy all over the nation. Since this is true, it is not to the interest of either the public or labor that any one economic entity, such as U. S. Steel, should have residing in the hands of the men who constitute the board of directors of this corporate unit the vast power to make economic decisions that involve the very life of the people of the nation.

Hence, labor must not only look toward the settlement of this strike from the point of view of achieving a wage increase but it should begin to think more creatively and imaginatively from the point of view of educating public opinion, as well as the rank and file workers, of the necessity for the creation of a public authority which shall be responsible for the price structure of steel. Influenced by the economic dogma that rising wages are chiefly responsible for inflation which tends to reduce the value of a dollar, thereby affecting the value of insurance policies, pensions, and fixed income, the American people have been unduly influenced against the struggles of labor for a decent standard of living.

Thus, the Government has the responsibility to establish a public authority which will scientifically and objectively, from time to time, set up schedules that provide information about the relation of wages to prices, and profits to prices and productivity. Then labor and management may face each other across the bargaining table with an objective awareness of the dimensions and relation of profits and wages, and prices and productivity in the steel industry and how these factors affect the American economy and the life of the American people.

RAILWAY CRISIS

But while the crisis in our general economic life takes its toll upon the most vulnerable elements of the country, especially the unorganized and minority groups, we, in the railway industry, have been faced not only with a continuing crisis with respect to improving the economic status of railway employes but in maintaining employment itself.

One need not consult the report of a statistician on employment problems in the railroad industry in order to learn a crisis exists. From the engineers to the flagmen, and from the office clerks to the maintenance of way workers, as well as service employes, a veritable industrial hurricane has been raging and wreaking havoc with jobs in all catagories.

WHAT IS THE CAUSE?

While it is true, as pointed out by railway management, that the railway industry is at a competitive disadvantage as a result of government subsidy of other means of transportation, such as airplanes, buses, pipelines and coastwise shipping, the fact remains that probably the major reason for the debacle, chaos, and confusion in the railroad industry is the railroads themselves.

Railroad management, having profited from a monopoly in the field of transportation since the early days of this republic and a subsidy in the form of millions of miles of land as right-of-way, created a psychology of indifference, apathy, and unconcern about the public, its passengers, and employes. This psychology of monopoly practically disarmed railway management of industrial and business imagination and morale for the coming competitive warfare with other more aggressive, modernized, and, in some instances, attractive and cheaper forms of transportation, such as airplanes, buses and, especially, private automobiles.

Therefore, today, the great giant railway companies are in a measure comparable to the dinosaurs after tides of evolution were sweeping them into an era where their survival equipment was unadjustable to the new environmental stimuli. It is a matter of natural history, verified by the fossil remains in various areas of the world, that though the dinosaur was a normal form of animal at one period of genealogical time, it has now passed away into the limbo of oblivion.

Such a comparable fate can come to the railroads, once the mighty giants of American transportation. But it need not come to the railroads if only railroad management can develop the industrial and business imagination, understanding, and comprehension of the new forces at work in our modern industrial society so as to enable it properly to evaluate the importance of a transition from an old to a new era in methodology, strategy and techniques. The old doctrine of "the public be damned" is not only an insult but a costly luxury of language bravado.

Certainly, the trains must make profits if the industry would survive. Railway labor, along with railway management, want the industry to move forward as a prosperous economic entity. But railway labor insists that it participate in the profits and prosperity of the railway industry, not only in terms of wages but in terms of continuous employment.

But railway management is utterly callous to the interest of railway labor. This is shown by the fact that, without consultation with railway unions or the Government or any public agency, railway carriers embarked upon a program of ruthless slaughter of the passenger business. The mortality of passenger trains is undoubtedly one of the most significant phenomena of our contemporary industrial history. It smacks of the economic innocence indicated by a giant enterprise deliberately sloughing off a part of its physical body while expecting to live. No animal, large or small, can lose its legs or arms or eyes and go on functioning efficiently as it did while in possession of these organs. The railroad industry which has a long historical identification with passenger travel cannot long survive if there is conscious or unconscious erosion of the passenger organ of the body of the railway industry. When parts of the body begin to fall away, the extinction of the body itself, as a whole, is not far behind. This is a simple elementary fact of historical evolution which the great tycoons of the rails should understand.

Of all the business brains in America today, the brains of railway management is the most panicky, frustrated, and distressingly unwitting of its way. It alone, of all the great segments of the American industry, is psychologically in flight from itself while shedding crocodile tears on the shoulders of Uncle Sam, pleading for help.

RUINING THE PASSENGER BUSINESS

Although some of the presidents of the great railway companies fervently disclaim any intention to get out of the passenger business, yet the American Railway Association and some of the big leaders of railway management frankly contend that the passenger business doesn't pay and that this is sufficient raison d'etre for its discontinuance.

It is a known fact that the railroads are in the process, so far as permitted by state utility commissions and other agencies, of scrapping commuter traffic. Some railroads are seeking to slough off much of their other passenger business, keeping only a handful of crack passenger streamliners. To this end, many managements have deliberately cut back on services in an effort to discourage traffic. The methods employed are:

Providing inadequate station service.

Inaccurately reporting no space available.

Using old and dirty equipment.

Poor scheduling, which offers service only at inconvenient hours.

Failure to provide sufficient equipment

A generally cold, indifferent attitude toward the public.

Let me relate a few examples of how railway management is trying to kill "the goose that laid the golden egg" of transportation, as set forth by the Railway Labor Executives Association, resulting from specific reports by individual railway workers and passengers.

Case 1 - Boston & Albany - Letter from organization representative, 12/27/58:

"Forces have been reduced to a point in Boston where it is difficult to get a call through to request information. Even in points like South Station, Boston, where we have ticketeers, patrons have to stand in line from 30 minutes to an hour at times, trying to get transportation."

Case 2 - Union Pacific - Letter from organization representative, 1/5/59:

"The common complaint against the railroad by coach passengers is the unclean cars, with antiquated and unsanitary toilet facilities where only cold water is provided and where broken and unclean toilets and lavatories are common."

Case 3 - New York Central - Letter from an Albany, N. Y. Attorney, 1/12/59

"On several different occasions during the past year and a half when I have attempted to obtain first-class space I have been informed that such space was not available. On boarding the train in each of these instances, I have found such space was available."

Case 4 - New York Central - Letter from employee, Detroit, Nov. 1958:

"The New York Central passenger department in Detroit and on the Northern District will not make arrangements for special parties, no matter how lucrative these parties may be. The Shriners Convention in Milwaukee, involving 800 to 900 passengers, was turned down."

Case 5 - Pennsylvania - Letter from employee, Chicago, 1/14/59:

"Train 52 eastbound from Chicago to Pittsburgh had a departure time of 8:30 A.M. from Chicago Union Station. Many people rode this train daily. In October 1958, the starting time was changed from 8:30 A.M. to 6:30 A.M. In December 1958, the departure time was changed to 6:00 A.M., and the general public gave up trying to catch this very early morning train. The Pennsylvania Railroad is making Train 52 so undesirable as to discourage the public from riding it."

Case 6 - Chicago & North Western - Letter from Agent, Chicago, 12/30/58:

"There are instances where they have reduced the forces to such an extent passenger trains are required to remain at a depot for a great period of time in order to load and unload baggage and mail."

Case 7 - Santa Fe - Letter from organization representative, 12/12/58:

"Approximately five years ago, the carrier started using old converted Tourist Pullman cars as chair cars between Fort Worth, Houston and Galveston, thereby discouraging the traveling public. The train now carries very few passengers."

Case 8 - Southern - Letter from Agent in South Carolina, 12/14/58:

"At the car shop here, every year before the Christmas holidays, management would pull every passenger car that they could spare and send them to the shop for light repairs if needed, and thoroughly clean, renovate and paint these cars. But for the past two years, the carrier closed down the shop, which is an indication to the public that they can ride in dirty cars or get some other kind of transportation."

Case 9 - Missouri Pacific - Letter from Clerk, 1/5/59:

"During the cold weather, many passenger coaches and Pullmans are not heated to the comfort point and water is frozen in toilets and lavatories."

Case 10 - Louisville & Nashville - Letter from Engineer, 1/22/59:

"Re Trains 32 and 33, the "Southland" - between Cincinnati and Florida: First, they removed the dining car, then they removed all Pullman service. The remaining coaches are almost always dirty, with no one to keep them clean. Very often because of some mechanical defect the steam heat breaks down the passengers have suffered from extreme cold in the winter. In fact, the L. & N. has done about everything they can do to discourage passenger business."

Case 11 - Lehigh Valley - Letter from Agent, 1/21/59:

"The Lehigh Valley has applied to the I.C.C. to abandon all passenger service on this line. To my knowledge they have put no new passenger equipment in service for at least thirty years."

Case 12 - Southern Pacific - From Oakland, California, TRIBUNE, 2/12/59:

"The Southern Pacific has been accused by the State of Oregon of discouraging the public from riding its Shasta Daylight train. The accusation was made in testimony in San Francisco by Donald Haakenson, chief of the Oregon Public Utilities Commission's service and investigation department. He told the hearing that the railroad had done the following to worsen service:

"Eliminated regular cleaning services, such as disinfecting restrooms, cleaning interior windows and mopping floors. Closed its ticket office on the ground floor in Portland, rented the space to a competing airline and moved its office to the sixth floor of another building."

The aforementioned case reports on railway management's desperate attempts to scuttle railway passenger business are also supplemented by reports of representatives of various labor organizations. Our own C. L. Dellums, Third International Vice President and Zone Supervisor of the Pacific Coast, at a General Chairmen's luncheon attended by top Southern Pacific officials, in February of last year, made this statement:

"I think all of us will agree that the porter spends more time with the passengers than anyone else. To the passenger the porter is "Mr. Southern Pacific." Many compliments and all complaints are told the porter and, today, he is catching it because the public believes the Southern is trying to get out of the business and does not appreciate their business. The passengers get little or no service and they express themselves in no uncertain terms to the porters.

"A major complaint is the question of reservations. Ticket agents and other personnel seem to make it difficult for people to get reservations. The porters tell us daily that people complain about the trouble they had, and often didn't get the reservations they wanted and yet got on the train and found it empty.

"I personally know of an incident, just a few months ago, where a lady with two girls made a trip to Los Angeles and at least two months prior to departure tried to get three seats together, by the window. They couldn't get them and had to take three aisle seats and then found when they made the trip that all three of the window seats next to them were unoccupied.

"In almost any terminal or station you can see elderly women struggling with baggage, partly because of the lack of adequate help and partly because of the price charged by the company to handle their bags. There are a number of important stations where the company has removed all of the red caps.

"The company inaugurated a program of at least three cars to a porter, but four and more cars seem to be the order of the day. It isn't possible for a porter to look out for the comfort and welfare of passengers in four long coaches and also look out for the baggage."

Such descriptions of the deterioration of railway passenger service could be multiplied by every single service employe as well as operating employe in the industry today.

USE OF LEGISLATION AGAINST RAILWAY LABOR

This reckless destruction of passenger operations is being justified by railway management under Section 13a of the Transportation Act passed by Congress in 1958. Less than six months after passage of this act railroads posted notices for removal of over 100 passenger trains. Neither the public or rail labor, under the Interstate Commerce Act, were able to block the abandonment of trains. While complaining about discrimination by the Government in alloting U. S. mail haulage, railroads have projected a systematic program to eliminate the railway express business entirely, which means the elimination of thousands of railway workers from jobs some of them have held for over 40 years.

Unfortunately, when the Transportation Act of 1958, which became a part of the Interstate Commerce Act, was enacted by the Congress, railway unions failed to stop up the huge loophole provided by Section 13a. If anyone had intimated, even five years ago, that railway management would brazenly set out upon a program to abolish the Railway Express Agency, he would have been considered a proper candidate for an institution of the feeble-minded. But here we are today, face to face with a situation where the railways, in the interest solely of making higher profits without regard to the interest of the public or labor, would throw into discard one of the oldest transportation agencies in the nation - the Railway Express.

Naturally, railway labor must do something about this scrapping of passenger trains and railway express agencies. To this end, the Railway Labor Executives' Association has launched a lobbying and public relations campaign for the purpose of saving the passenger trains by repealing Section 13a of the Transportation Act of 1958. It is committed to the positive support and enactment of S.1331, sponsored by Senator Case of New Jersey and a bipartisan group of senators. This bill, if enacted, will take out of the hands of railway management sole authority to discontinue passenger train service, as well as provide protective conditions for railway employes whenever the discontinuance of trains, for any reason, is effected.

In the interest of getting effective action on this legislation in this Congress, let me beseech every delegate in this convention, members of his family, and friends, to sit down this day and send a letter or telegram to the Senator and Congressman of your state urging upon them support of this bill. This is a must!

Let me also observe in this connection that there is an enormous body of public sentiment in this country which favors the continuance of passenger service and, as, and when aroused, awakened, and informed will speak out clearly and insistently upon the salvation of passenger trains for this country.

The chiefs of the Railway Labor Executives' Association have no doubt that if railway labor is sufficiently galvanized into action through information, they can galvanize public opinion into action so as to maintain the Iron Horse as a transportation institution of our nation, both in times of peace and war.

RAIL LABOR UNITE

Fortunately, today, railway unions are united 100 percent in the RLEA, under the able and devoted leadership of George Leighty, chairman, who has the capable support and cooperation of A. E. Lyon, executive secretary, Michael Fox, vice-chairman, and all of the chief executives of the standard railway labor unions.

To the end of putting teeth in the program of railway labor, all members of railway labor unions are urged to support Railway Labor's Political League with a voluntary contribution of one dollar a year.

FEATHERBEDDING

While the salvation of the passenger business is a major problem of railway labor today it cannot succeed in this effort unless it is able to beat off the vicious flank attack by railway management under the guise of protecting the public against railway unions' featherbedding rules.

Strangely enough, railway management in its dishonest smearing campaign of railway labor has even gone to the extent of utilizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to employ prejudiced and misleading report forms which classify vacation and holiday pay, and similar pay common today in most industries, as "time paid for but not worked." Under this category the Interstate Commerce Commission groups compensation paid to railroad workers for vacations, holidays, part-holidays, time for meals, absences on leave, certain occasions when employes are paid for being held away from the home terminal, time when called but not used, runaround pay, deadheading, attending court when ordered to do so by management, and other similar items.

By building up the image in the public's mind of railroad workers as a bunch of loafers robbing the railroads of about 500 million dollars a year, the public may be led to believe that its great mission must be to rescue railway management from the selfish clutches of railway workers and their unions. Railway unions point out that the present classification in effect charges these costs to railroad employes unfairly, by implying that we are getting something for nothing, when, in fact, such payments are wholly justified and are common in all other industries.

I need not tell you, fellow-delegates, that the porters and attendants do not escape the stigma of featherbedding since the "first in-first out" rule which exists in practically every agreement negotiated with carriers by the Brotherhood provides for payment to a porter or attendant who has been run around,and hence not sent out on his turn, by another porter or attendant, either as a result of favoritism or inefficiency. Without this protection the principle of seniority rights as well as the "first in-first out" rule for the regulation of assignments on a basis of equity would be meaningless.

Instead of attempting to discredit railroad employes by charging them with being parasites, railway management should take cognizance of official U. S. Department of Labor figures that show railroad workers as a whole have increased their output per man-hour at a faster rate than any other workers in recent years.

As a result of a study which was made under the direction of Michael Fox, vice-chairman of the RLEA, the facts of this study indicate that in 1922 when railroads hauled 410 billion revenue traffic units, the average number of maintenance of equipment employes was 557,922 and they worked a total of over 1.4 billion man-hours in order to keep the railroads' equipment in repair. In 1958, when revenue traffic units were nearly 188 billion greater, the average number of workers was 174,162 and they put in only 341 million man-hours of labor to enable the railroad to haul this even greater load. Despite this great decline in shop craft employment, car miles increased from 24.8 billion in 1922 to 30.9 billion in 1958. "This is a truly outstanding record," Michael Fox declared, "and the railroads should be applauding the unprecedented contribution to the industry which has been made by the loyalty and skill of its employes rather than slandering them by its completely unfounded charges of featherbedding."

What is true with respect to the productivity of the maintenance of way employes is also true of railway employes in all other categories of the industry, including the service employes - porters and attendants, dining car employes , and red caps, and the operating employes.

Well and appropriately has it been pointed out by Chairman Leighty of RLEA that the purpose of this terrific propaganda campaign on the part of railroad management is shown by the fact that the railroads are now attempting to get insurance against financial losses which may be incurred by a strike of railroad workers. In other words, railroad management seems to be bent upon provoking and pushing rail labor into a strike by an attempt to annihilate protective rules in agreements which labor has built up over a period of a half a century.

If railway management can convince public opinion that railway labor is guilty of featherbedding rules and Congress enacts legislation nullifying the rules of railroad labor governing working conditions, railway management would have been successful in adding 500 million dollars a year to profits by taking this amount from the workers. But as Brother Leighty wisely states: "Frankly, I cannot take the railroad's strike insurance program as a serious threat to organized labor although I do recognize in it dangerous implications for the future welfare of the industry. Moreover, any program that tends to encourage stubbornness on either side in a labor dispute is, I submit, unwholesome and contrary to the public interest. The strike has always been railroad labor's weapon of last resort. It will remain that insofar as we are concerned, but all the insurance protection in the world could not prevent a strike on the railroads if management's policies continue to be stubborn, dictatorial insistence upon rules changes detrimental to the workers, detrimental to the public, and detrimental to the railroads themselves."

REAL COMPETITOR OF RAILS

While airplanes have definitely invaded the field of passenger transportation, especially in the first-class area, they do not constitute the threat which obtains with private automobiles. One cynic has described this new menace to rail transportation as the "Concrete Octopus," involving ever more highways, ever more cars, still more highways, still more cars, and so on, ad infinitum, until congestion of cars and trucks on the highways will reach the point of diminishing returns.

It is estimated, for instance, that by 1975 the nation's highway system will occupy 17 million acres, plus untold millions more in expressways, freeways, parking lots, garages, and appurtenances. Automobile registration in 1937 was 27,392; today it is over 56 million. Upon a basis of previous increases in automobile production it is calculated that by 1980 the figure will be doubled and there will be 112 million cars on the highway. Some engineers have indicated, adding up county, city, state, and federal spending, that by 1970, 100 billion dollars will be spent on roads.

A private car is not only a threat to the railroads but also a threat to airplanes. They will soon become a threat to themselves through the natural law of attrition resulting from congestion of the highways.

Perhaps the salvation of all existing forms of transportation to some extent will adhere in the explosive growth of population, both as a result of increased births and decreased deaths, resulting in an inevitable demand for every conceivable form of transportation to accommodate the population. There is no reason to believe that this problem may be only predicated of the conditions of the United States. An examination of trends in all areas of the world where industrialism, science, and technology obtain will indicate comparable developments.

OUT OF THE IRON HORSE'S OWN MOUTH

But what about the position of the great captains of the railroad industry in relation to the future of the old Iron Horse?

Since delegates in this convention operate on practically all of the railroads in the country we are naturally interested in what top rail management's thinking is on this question.

Two of the largest railway systems in the country, the Pennsylvania and New York Central,make no positive statement concerning their future interest in the maintenance of passenger services. These two roads have been most ruthless in the slaughter of passenger operations. Historically, they have been two of the railway titans that have evinced little interest in the passenger, per se.

The Southern Pacific states that its policy is one of shaping its service to public demand but that it is not attempting to back away from all passenger services.

Santa Fe President, Ernest Marsh, declares: "We will continue to provide passenger service and to give the kind of service that will have people coming back."

Management of the Burlington states: "Last year Burlington increased its share of the western travel market and is enthusiastic about the prospects of its "Zephyr" streamliners." He indicates that their "Slumber Coach" business continues to grow.

Union Pacific states: "Our passenger policy seems to be paying off. Some months last year showed an increase of as much as 19 percent over the year before."

Illinois Central: "The railroad passenger problem is definitely related to the subsidies given competing forms of transportation by governments at all levels. Until this evil is corrected the future of passenger service will continue to be cloudy."

Chicago & North Western holds that "....train-discontinuance applications are initiated not by management but by the traveling public, either through disuse of rail services or through their advocacy of other forms of transportation in competition with the railroads."

Rock Island: "There is nothing in our picture which makes us want to go out of the passenger business. Some Rock Island trains are real money-makers on an out-of-pocket basis. Long-haul coach business is up; short-haul business is holding its own."

Milwaukee Road: "The Olympian Hiawatha is still regarded as a worthwhile train. Good results have been secured in honoring coach tickets in sleeping cars."

Seaboard: "Signs of a rising trend are seen by this road's passenger department in the fact that first quarter revenues for 1959 are more than 9.5 percent higher than in 1958."

Atlantic Coast Line: "There are only one or two 'doubtful' trains left on the railroad. No discontinuances are planned at the moment. Far from abandoning passenger operation, ACL is promoting."

Missouri Pacific: "We are in the passenger business for an extended stay."

Kansas City Southern: "We are meeting our out-of-pocket costs and our position is improving daily."

Wabash: "We have good reason to believe that our growing economy will generate a sufficient volume of business to keep mainline trains in operation for many years to come."

These comments by leaders of railway carriers appeared in the May 18th issue of RAILWAY AGE, official mouthpiece of the American Railroad Association.

According to RAILWAY AGE, car-day revenues have been on the uptrend, primarily because of rate increases. Pullman received a 7 percent rate increase in January 1957, and 7½ percent in May 1956. Pullman management contends that railroad-operated sleeping cars are not as economic as they might appear. They have undertaken to show railroad officers many places where the expense situation favors Pullman. Pullman's argument has convinced enough roads that the future of the Pullman organization seems assured, at least for a while.

The Pennsylvania's experience is significant: In 1958, Pullman's cost-cutting drive reduced by 25 percent what the Pennsylvania paid on contract settlement. The reduction was enough to put the Pennsylvania Railroad in the black, so far as Pullman-contract costs were concerned.

While all of the railway carriers have, as pointed out by the Railway Labor Executives' Association, resorted to unnecessary discontinuance of passenger and freight train operations, there are grounds for some distinction between areas of railway systems so far as the passenger field in concerned.

The eastern railway systems are definitely seeking to eliminate passenger travel on the grounds that the railway passenger deficit eats into the revenues the carriers receive from freight transportation. This is especially true with respect to the Pennsylvania and New York Central railroads.

But the southern and western railway systems are not in concurrence with the giant eastern roads that the passenger business is outmoded and will not and cannot pay. The aforementioned observations from leaders of southern and western roads indicate this variation in reaction to the passenger problem.

TAXATION

Now, there is ample evidence to show that there are discriminatory practices by the Federal Government with respect to the various modes of transportation of passengers and freight.

The railway carriers contend that the excise tax of 10 percent on passengers' fares operate to reduce passenger travel. There seems to be some validity to this claim since the excise tax was levied during the war to discourage passenger travel, in order to provide space for the movement of soldiers. They also contend that they must pay taxes on terminals for the use of passengers and freight whereas airplanes, through government subsidy, are relieved of the expense of maintaining air travel terminals.

It is also maintained by railway carriers that they must pay a tax for the maintenance of roadways and coastwise shipping harbors that benefit their competitors. This, undoubtedly, is true.

GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY

In support of the charges by railway carriers of discrimination against them in favor of other modes of transportation, in 1959 fiscal year the Federal Government, according to RAILWAY AGE, will spend 3.7 billion dollars to build, maintain, and otherwise promote transportation by highways, airways, and inland waterways. It is alleged that the Government has spent 1.6 billion dollars on airways since 1925. It is estimated that by 1970 the Federal Aid highway program will cost from 45 to 50 billion dollars, which is alluded to as a colossal rubber tire economy, from which the great trucking and bus services benefit without even paying a user tax.

Railway labor is on the side of railway management in its contention of government discrimination in favor of competitive modes of transportation.

Railway labor has sought to cooperate with management in securing relief from this unfair competitive situation. But as soon as the railway carriers begin to make some headway in securing legislative amelioration of their problem they begin to appeal to Congress to enact legislation to emasculate working rules of railway employes that have required over a half-century to build and develop.

Here, then, is a basic conflict between rail labor and rail management which practically renders cooperation between these two forces before the Congress well-nigh impossible. The whole drive against so-called "featherbedding" rules for the benefit of railway employes, if successful, will constitute a veritable economic disaster to railway workers; an economic and labor fact which any railway leader is certainly competent to understand.

If any form of unity could be achieved between railway management and railway labor there is no doubt about the power of these two forces to achieve a better tomorrow for the whole industry from which management and labor and the public would benefit.

MERGERS

With an eye for the future reduction of costs and increased benefits, railroads have embarked on a program of mergers.

The Pennsylvania and New York Central railroads, the early part of the year, made some dramatic gestures in this direction. President Perlman has indicated that savings from such a combination would reach around 14 million dollars a year. Reports appeared in the press indicating that a basic study of the ways and means to effect such a merger is under way. Extensive exploration of savings that might be attainable from railway consolidations and joint use of facilities are being made.

The following group of carriers are alleged to be well on the way toward unification:

The Erie, Delaware & Hudson, and the Lackawanna, as a united system to serve New England. The New Haven and the Boston & Maine; the Rutland, the Maine Central, and the Bangor & Aroostook will also serve in the area of New England. The Atlantic Coast Line and the Seaboard, with the possible inclusion of the Florida East Coast, look forward to being organized into one railway system.

The Norfolk & Western and the Virginian; the Great Northern and Northern Pacific; the Burlington and the Spokane, Portland & Seattle are scheduled to be united. The St. Louis-San Francisco Railway has indicated plans to acquire control of the Central of Georgia, and so on.

OTHER ECONOMIES

When you add to the economies resulting from mergers because of the joint use of facilities, the elimination of lines, stations, terminals, railway yards and passenger and freight trains, the introduction of automation - the push-button revolution - a vast reduction in expense of operation of railroads will be effected.

FATE OF THE WORKERS

But, obviously, transportation systems of a national, state, or local community are not operated solely for the purpose of piling up profits for those who own stocks and bonds of the road. There are other factors that are indispensable to the operation of these transportation systems and therefore, ipso facto, are entitled to consideration with respect to any changes that are made in these great railway systems.

Especially is this true with respect to labor and the public. But neither labor or the public, under the present methods of railway consolidations, will benefit on a basis of equality with the owners unless there is some public authority to supervise these mergers.

It is a known fact that every merger results in the displacement of the workers. Moreover, the main purpose of the merger is to reduce labor cost by throwing vast numbers of the workers on the unemployment heap. Incidentally, by eliminating passenger and freight operations and terminals the public suffers because of the loss of transportation service. But railway management gives no attention to this fact even though there be no other transportation facility to accommodate the public in a particular area.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

This is the reason why railway labor will eventually be forced to demand public control and ownership of the railway system of this nation. If, as, and when they make this drastic pronouncement they will be amazed by the readiness with which public opinion will support such a course of action. Besides, if large subsidies must be granted to railways for their rehabilitation and development some public authority must have the right and power to determine how these subsidies are to be employed by the carrier.

Unless the government steps in to halt the annihilation of passenger operation by federal legislation, the greed and avarice and selfish interests of railway management will soon effect the complete destruction of the railway passenger system. Especially will this be true in the East, if not in the South and West.

While railway labor is not enthusiastic about government control of railways or, rather, does not consider that it is a panacea for all the problems that affect it, sheer horse sense for survival will inevitably drive railway labor to the last resort of government control of railway transportation.

AUTOMATION

As a result of the right and power of management to introduce automation wherever they wish to do so, the mortality of railway labor is staggering. The most revolutionary labor-saving devices are introduced by management without the slightest consultation with railway labor. While railway labor does not seek to halt the revolution of automation in the railroad industry which, of course, would be impossible even were they disposed so to do, they do contend that they have right of consultation with railway management prior to installation of various devices of automation that affect the very life and living of the workers.

Figures bearing upon railway employment are eloquent with respect to the human factor in the railway industry. In 1957 there 984,784 employes in the industry; by 1958 this figure sagged to 831,117. Recent reports concerning railway employes' employment seem to indicate a recent increase in employment.

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG SERVICE EMPLOYES

There are areas of railway employment that reveal an even greater human problem. They include the service employes - sleeping car porters, train porters, attendants, dining car employes, red caps, sleeping car conductors, and practically all of the express agency employes.

In terms of the operation of railroads these classes of employes are considered expendable but, of course, expendability is not equateable with indispensability in the operation of the service for the benefit of the public. The public requires the services of a porter on a sleeping car, a waiter in the dining car, a red cap at a terminal, a sleeping car conductor, or an express agency employe just as much as they require the services of an engineer, fireman, brakeman, or the workers employed on maintenance of way.

I have given considerable discussion to the problems of the railway industry because at this stage in the life of a railroad worker his survival depends upon the survival of the industry. The railroad industry is at the crossroads. Just as other modes of production and exchange have come into existence, developed, reached a point of maturity, and then reached a point of decline and eventual disappearance, so may a comparable fate, or change, afflict the railroad industry.

But in our modern, complex, industrial society this may not necessarily happen if the factors in the industry - labor, management, and the public - with proper vision, a sense of mutual concern and interest, from the point of view of mutual survival, work out a formula that will bring about the rehabilitation of the industry instead of its annihilation.

NEGRO RAILWAY WORKERS

While it is practically axiomatic that every railway employe is inevitably linked with every other railway employe, regardless of class or craft, yet there are certain classes and crafts of employes in the railroad industry that are more vulnerable to economic and industrial maladjustments than others. This is due to two factors: One, lack of a powerful organization; Two, natural handicap of race or color.

Negro workers in the railroad industry fall within both of these catagories. This is true in the United States and also Canada. Thus the only way by which these two disadvantageous situations may be partly overcome is by the building of strong unions.

THE BROTHERHOOD

Fortunately, though small in numbers, the porters and attendants have built a strong union. While there is no strict or complete comparability between our Brotherhood union and the small states of the world that have been the leaders of civilization there is certainly some spiritual similarity.

All of the great leaders of civilization in the past, and even up to modern times, have been very small national units, beginning with Greece, Rome, France, and England. While these states involved empires, they began as tiny groups of men and women faced with unresolvable problems but they attained great heights as leaders of culture, art, religion, philosophy, and science, and excelled even in war.

The Brotherhood, too, is a small union, especially as unions go today. And yet, by virtue of its philosophy, principles, policies, practices, ideals, it has become a force not only among porters and attendants and Negro workers in particular, but the labor movement in general. Probably no union in the AFL-CIO has impressed its image upon the consciousness of American labor more indelibly than has the Brotherhood through a long struggle in convention after convention of the American Federation of Labor against racial discrimination and segregation and in behalf of the broad ideals and principles of human brotherhood.

Now, like other railway unions, we are face to face with a grave challenge; it is a challenge for survival, not only of the union but of the jobs, and even the industry. But in our complex and consistently changing industrial society there is no natural law which decrees definitive limits, in terms of existence of either a given industry or a given body of workers or an organization which represents the workers.

Human beings are the conscious agents of human and social change. Life is not fatalistic; life is what we make it. But if the human imagination once becomes paralyzed and the human spirit loses its vitality, an agency or movement with relatively unlimited material resources cannot reveal the capacity for creative survival. Of course, an organism, including a human being as well as a movement of men, may die long before the physical body has passed away.

Now, if the Brotherhood would continue to serve as a creative force in the life of the porters and attendants and Negro workers in particular, as well as the workers of the country in general, it must maintain an independent awareness of the inevitable metamorphosis of our industrial life and the challenge inherent therein.

NEW YORK CENTRAL REPRESENTATION ELECTION

Acting upon the assumption that all of the railroad unions, and especially the dining car group, were fully cognizant of the fact that the Brotherhood had served as the bargaining agent of porters and attendants in the Pullman service for over a quarter of a century, the Brotherhood proceeded, following transfer of the Pullman cars to the New York Central Railroad, to move to secure representation of these employes under the procedures of the Railway Labor Act, in order that might negotiate an agreement with the New York Central to reestablish wage rates and working conditions they enjoyed with Pullman.

But we reckoned without knowledge of the whims and caprices of some of the leaders of labor. To our utter amazement, although no question was raised about the validity of authorization cards of the Brotherhood at the hearing held by the National Mediation Board to determine class and craft - the hearing in which representatives of the Dining Car Employes Union and the Brotherhood participated - when the decision was handed down by the Board that sleeping car porters and sleeping-lounge car attendants should be voted as one representation unit, a storm of opposition to the Brotherhood broke loose from the headquarters of the Dining Car Employees.

Immediately they rushed to the National Mediation Board to demand that the decision be set aside and a new hearing held. Failing with this gimmick, they protested against the validity of the authorization cards. When the Board refused to accede to their request they fled to the courts and, undoubtedly, spent considerable funds objecting to the validity of the authorization cards of the Brotherhood. They raised questions to the courts to block the election and the certification of the Brotherhood. The courts turned them down in each instance.

One would think that the leaders handling this matter had never read the Railway Labor Act but, of course, we know they have. Moreover, they are intelligent men. But some strange sense of desperation possessed them and they apparently lost all sense of balance.

Well, the representation election is finally out of the way and the Brotherhood was certified as bargaining agent. We are now in the process of preparing to enter upon negotiations with the New York Central for an agreement concerning rates of pay, rules governing working conditions, fringe benefits, and other matters of interest to the porters and attendants now in the employ of the New York Central.

PROPOSED UNITY OF SERVICE EMPLOYES

Although there have been unpleasant, discouraging, if not disgusting, developments between the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and our brothers represented by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, through the Joint Council of Dining Car Employees, the consolidation of the service employes embraced in the Brotherhood and the Joint Council is indispensable to the constructive and creative survival of the unions, the employes, and the jobs.

What I am trying to tell you, brother delegates, is that we have come upon a time in the history of the railroad industry and railroad labor when separate units, either of the railroad industry or the railroad labor organizations, cannot stand alone. Some of the larger railway unions are already cognizant of this fact and are proceeding along the path of combination with sister, or related, groups. I have already mentioned this trend among railway carriers.

Thus, we have no choice in the matter since there is only the alternative of unity with growth or isolation with decline.

Therefore, I propose that, regardless of personalities and the various vendettas that may have developed in the past between these service employes' unions, the Brotherhood initiate a conference to which representatives of the Dining Car Employees Union and the red caps' organization, and even the sleeping car conductors, may be invited. The purpose of this conference shall be to explore the practical possibilities of the development of the consolidation of these railway unions where there may be a common leadership, common financial resources, and common program of organization to advance and protect the wage rates, rules governing working conditions, and fringe benefits for the employes concerned.

Of course, we know that the suggested program for the consolidation of employes now represented by these unions cannot be consummated in the immediate offing, but at least an effort can be projected and a discussion stage begun.

IMMEDIATE ORGANIZATION PROGRAM

An an immediate step in terms of organization expansion of the Brotherhood, I wish to recommend that where there are sleeping car porters and attendants that normally belong within the ranks of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, efforts be initiated to effect the embracement of these groups within the movement of the Brotherhood.

While we, by virtue of our membership in the AFL-CIO and the Canadian Labour Congress, are required to observe and respect the No-Raiding Agreement, where there are workers that are related to our craft and class not affiliated with the AFL-CIO, it is not only the right but the obligation of the Brotherhood to seek to provide them protection and advancement by bringing them into our movement.

Most of the brothers are familiar with the groups I have in mind. Some of the men in these groups have besought the Brotherhood to give them organizational shelter. The Brotherhood can, and must, accept and heed this cry for organization from Macedonia.

Now, I don't want to be guilty of gross over-simplification of a relatively complex question. We must face the realization that in view of the No-Raiding Agreement we cannot disregard jurisdictional lines of a sister trade union without the eventuality of conflict under the rules of the No-Raiding Agreement as well as the constitution of the AFL-CIO, with the possibility of expulsion from the AFL-CIO were we adjudged as primary transgressors. But at the present time there are areas for organizational action where this problem posed by the No-Raiding Agreement does not exist.

TRANSFER OF CARS

While not strictly a new development, the transfer of cars from the Pullman Company to railway carriers, beginning with the Wabash Railroad and then the New York Central Railroad, has shaken up the service railway carriers; namely, the Pullman Company and Railway Express Agency.

Probably nothing has happened within the history of Pullman which startled and troubled Pullman management and Pullman porters and attendants any more than when the New York Central took over its cars. From the point of view of the porters it was virtually an economic disaster. In terms of numbers, practically half of the men who were working at the time on Pullman cars lost their jobs, and they have not been absorbed in other areas of the railroad industry. Those porters who were taken on as employes of New York Central have sustained a wage cut of forty dollars, more or less, a month. They lost their Prudential insurance policy and incurred some disadvantages with respect to Travelers insurance. Most of the men who did not get jobs on the New York Central lost their Travelers insurance entirely.

Therefore, so far as porters and attendants are concerned, they have been in the vortex of a revolution in employment relations as a result of this new trend on the part of railroads to take over their Pullman cars.

On the Wabash Railroad, Pullman porters who were operating the cars between Chicago and St. Louis lost out entirely. Dining car employes out of the commissary of the Wabash took their places. Wages paid porters prior to the transfer of the cars were cut by some fifty dollars, more or less.

PULLMAN PORTERS ON CANADIAN NATIONAL

But the porters and attendants who were involved in the transfer of cars from Pullman to New York Central were not alone in facing the problem of displacement in some instances and reduction of pay in others.

Pullman porters and attendants operating on Canadian National cars under Pullman supervision also faced displacement in some instances and reduction of pay in others. While every conceivable step and maneuver were employed by the Brotherhood to keep the Pullman porters on the Canadian National cars when they were taken over from the Pullman Company, we failed to keep the Pullman porters on the cars.

Brothers Bennie Smith, A. R. Blanchette, and myself held many meetings with the porters and their families in Canada to give them firsthand knowledge of the impending change in the operation of the cars. We met with representatives of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers, and Donald Gordon, president of the Canadian National Railroad, and The Honorable George Hees, Federal Minister of Transport in Ottawa, to explore this question in the interest of saving the jobs of the Pullman porters and attendants, but to no avail. Somewhere down the line someone did not keep faith with us and the Pullman porters and attendants.

Of course, the porters and attendants on the Canadian National considered the taking over of the cars by the carrier as an opportunity for them to get new and better jobs. Thus while they, in some instances, gave us the feeling that they were friendly to the Pullman porters and attendants coming over with the cars, deep down in their hearts they were not.

But we cannot blame them for this. Here, in the United States, when a district is discontinued and the cars transferred from that district to another, the porters in the district to which the cars are transferred welcome grudgingly the porters that come with the cars, and if there is a technical device whereby the migrating porters and attendants may be prevented from enjoying full seniority rights, the porters and attendants in the district to which the cars are transferred will promptly seize upon the technicality.

We discovered that the same behavior obtains with other crafts and classes and racial groups. For instance, all of the unions that represented employes involved in the transfer of cars to the New York Central Railroad faced the problem of getting their members in the same crafts and classes on the New York Central to accept their fellow workers who were losing jobs as a result of this operation. In all cases, the employes already in the service of the New York Central resisted and objected to Pullman employes in the same class and craft coming over to the New York Central with full seniority rights. This, I submit, was a new experience, not only to me but to the heads of these non-operating railway unions involved in the transfer.

We are, therefore, justified in raising the question as to whether our concept of the brotherhood of man includes providing bread for our fellow worker and brother, even at our own expense. We are certainly aware of the fact that some of the bitterest battles that have been fought in the labor movement were not between the workers and employers but between groups of workers themselves over jobs. This is simply a part of the great and long struggle of man's effort to overcome man's inhumanity to man.

REESTABLISHMENT OF PULLMAN WAGE RATES

While the former Pullman porters and attendants who are now employed by the New York Central are naturally concerned about maintaining favorable working conditions that obtained under Pullman management, they are primarily aroused about the loss of wages and want their former Pullman wage rates reestablished. In fact, this is the heart of the problem, for if the Brotherhood is unable to reestablish former Pullman wage rates for these men every Pullman porter now operating on the major railroads of the nation will receive a reduction in pay comparable to that porters and attendants now receive on the New York Central.

Moreover, if the Brotherhood does not restore the wage loss of the former Pullman porters,every railroad in the nation, in order to effect economies through wage reductions such as the New York Central now enjoy, will take their cars over from the Pullman Company and the Pullman system will disintegrate and go out of business. Therefore, this is just how crucial this whole question of the Brotherhood reestablishing the wage rates of porters is to the porters, to the Brotherhood and, for that matter, to the Pullman Company.

May I say that neither the Brotherhood, or the porters or attendants want to see the Pullman Company go out of business. Not because the porters and the Brotherhood love the Pullman Company but because by maintaining the Pullman Company as a solvent and expanding railway carrier the wage structure of the porter and attendant built up by the Brotherhood may be preserved.

SERVICE EMPLOYES SHOULD BACK BROTHERHOOD'S FIGHT

Sound, common economic sense on the part of dining car employes, red caps, and sleeping car conductors should dictate that these groups of service employes rally to the support of the Brotherhood in its fight to reestablish former Pullman wage rates for porters and attendants on the New York Central because if the carrier can get away with reducing the pay of the porters and attendants, the next step will be to effect a reduction in the wage rates of dining car employes and other employes in various areas of the industry. Even the engineers, firemen, and trainmen are not secure in their wage structure if an important segment of the railway industry, such as the porters and attendants, sustain a wage cut, for the economic wage chain of railway employes is no stronger than its weakest link.

DUES INCREASE

Few, if any, porters will gainsay the fact that the Brotherhood is the salvation of the porter and attendant, and the porter and attendant is the salvation of the Brotherhood. Because the Brotherhood and the porter and attendant stand at the crossroads, along with other railway unions and employes, we must take stock of our material and spiritual inventory that we may move forward with some degree of assurance.

Where do we stand so far as our resources are concerned?

Many of you listened to the report of the International Secretary-Treasurer, Brother Totten. You will recall that the resources have dwindled measurably. Why? Because numerous Pullman and railway passenger operations have been suspended. Hundreds, if not thousands, of porters and attendants have been laid off. Thus, the income of the Brotherhood, in terms of dues and assessments, has dropped. Nevertheless, the cost of materials the Brotherhood must purchase to operate has gone up, just as the cost of the things porters and attendants and other railway employes must buy has gone up. Without belaboring this point, I have only to ask the question (what is the remedy?) for the answer to loom implicit in the question. The answer is that there must be more income for the organization. Where is it to come from? From those who benefit from the work of the organization - its members.

Even churches are required to raise dues. As a member of the Church I pay three dollars a week, or twelve a month dues; eight dollars more than a member pays the Brotherhood. The Government has had to increase city, state, and federal taxes.

Hence, I am proposing that this convention go on record as raising the dues of the organization by one dollar a month. This is necessary to recoup losses and rebuild resources.

I would not presume to imply that this is a complete panacea of our financial problems, but it is a step in the right direction. I know that many of you who read the press are familiar with the fact that this step of increasing the dues is not unprecedented. Unions vastly larger than ours have done the same thing. I refer to such unions as the Automobile Workers of over a million members; the Steelworkers of nearly a million men; the Ladies' Garment Workers with nearly a half-million members, and practically all of the national and international unions of the AFL-CIO have found it necessary to increase their income by raising dues and taxes.

The AFL-CIO just raised the tax on its affiliates. It plans to levy a tax of one cent a day to help the strikers in the steel industry. The Railway Labor Executives' Association levies taxes from time to time to finance wages and rules movements.

It is an obvious fact that while the membership has dwindled the scope of the movement is the same, and the same field must be covered by representatives of the Brotherhood from time to time to serve the membership. The obligation of affiliation with the AFL-CIO and Railw ay Labor Executives' Association, as well as membership in the twenty-two unions that select members to sit on the Railroad Adjustment Board, are the same. The office forces of the Brotherhood must also receive wage increases along with the porters and attendants.

Thus, these are some of the problems that beset the Brotherhood as being a natural condition to its growth and stability. There is no way ever to escape the problem of grappling with recurrent problems that involve the very existence of the movement. Of course, we have faced questions of this sort before and dealt with them with some measure of statesmanship. I am sure we will do that again. I have the utmost faith and confidence in the wisdom and vision, devotion and loyalty of our Brotherhood membership, and know that when crises arise that threaten the movement they will be faced with assurance.

LADIES AUXILIARY

Let me report to you that, although the International Executive Board in the last convention of the Brotherhood considered it proper and wise to disestablish the International Ladies Auxiliary because it was becoming increasingly insolvent without prospect of growth and development, the local auxiliaries still exist.

As you know, the origin of the Ladies Auxiliary was based upon the local auxiliaries - the Colored Women's Economic Councils - as they were then called.

During the last three years the Brotherhood has sought to reinvigorate and rebuild, as best it could, the life and program of the auxiliaries. On the whole, the auxiliaries have remained intact and have kept up their activities. Some of them have accumulated funds. At this convention of the Brotherhood, a National Conference of the Ladies Auxiliary is being held. The president of the AFL-CIO Ladies Auxiliaries will address them.

While the auxiliaries have had their problems, let me disabuse the minds of any of the delegates of any idea that the auxiliaries have not made an enduring and constructive contribution to the Brotherhood movement. They ha In fact, it is highly doubtful that the Brotherhood spirit would ever have exhibited the vitality it did in the early days of the movement without the inspiration of the auxiliaries. Hence, the Brotherhood owes a debt of grati to those pioneering and devoted women who gave of their time and meagre resc to help sustain the Brotherhood and give it hope.

In the early days when the outlook was dark, the women gave their litt affairs, raised funds and helped the Brotherhood pay the rent, gas, electric and telephone bills. In other words, the Ladies Auxiliary took on the natur of a crusade for the cause of the Brotherhood.

While I now call the names of Sisters Halena Wilson, first and only international president,and Rosina Tucker, first and only international secr treasurer, of the Ladies Auxiliary, together with Sisters Katherine Lassiter Mae Dailey, Fannie Caviness, Ardella Nutall, Florence Ball-Jones, Ella Johns Carrie White, Ella McBride, Carolyn Lowe McWatt, Rosie Taylor, Nora Fant anc Velma Coward-King, there are a host of other sisters who labored faithfully the vineyard for a better tomorrow for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porte Their names w ill ever live in the memory, the book, and mind of the men anc women who are a part of our great movement.

We, herewith, do homage to these noble and great women. They wrought more nobly than they knew. Their work and life will inspire generation afte generation to come to carry on the great struggle of the worker for freedom, justice, peace, plenty, and progress.

AFL-CIO CODES OF ETHICAL PRACTICES

Needless to say the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters unqualifiedly supports the AFL-CIO Codes of Ethical Practices. These codes are designed to clean out corruption and racketeering in trade unions. This is not only desirable but indispensable to the good name, strength, and responsibility of the trade union movement.

Now, while the McClellan Committee, through its investigations and exposure of corruption and racketeering in trade unions, has disclosed some shocking and disgusting practices of some leaders of trade unions, the fact remains that no more than twelve or fifteen unions out of 150 or more national and international unions have been involved in these unethical practices with the funds and interests and well-being of union members.

The methods employed by the McClellan Committee and the consequent public climate created on the matter of trade unions pose a grave doubt as to whether the committee's work has not done more harm than good. Unfortunately, it has, by misrepresentation, over-emphasis, and exaggeration, created an anti-union attitude on the part of public opinion. Out of it now comes legislation, not primarily designed to clean out the crooks, corruption, and racketeering in trade unions, but to weaken and undermine, if not destroy, the labor movement. Thus, the Brotherhood supported the Shelley bill which was defeated in the House and vigorously opposed the Landrum-Griffin bill which would involve unions in endless litigation, subject leaders to possible imprisonment for just maintaining order in trade union meetings, set up a mockery of democracy, and put into the hands of the employers a weapon to divide and conquer organized labor.

Of course, this attack on organized labor today by Congress and the public is a natural and inevitable consequence of some revolting and contemptible practices, corruption and gangsterism in some of the unions.

In obedience to the law that action gets reaction in contrary direction, the trade union movement had to face this situation sooner or later. When the pendulum swings to one extreme it is due to swing back in the course of time. Business faced a comparable problem around the first World War, when the Pujo Committee even called the elder financial tycoon, J. P. Morgan, before it for investigation of his banking practices. In 1934, the Ferdinand Pecora Committee laid bare the ruthless financial bucaneering of big business. Out of these investigations came legislation regulating various aspects of business. But, of course, the great power of business interests is so far-reaching that many of these legislative regulations amount to nothing more than a gesture.

Trade union leaders must understand that they are mere trustees of the conduct of the affairs and the resources and interests of union members; that this trusteeship is a sacred trust that must be looked upon as a great moral obligation to be carried out with care and fidelity.

Of course, the Brotherhood was born on a basis of great moral ideals and hence the Codes of Ethical Practices of the AFL-CIO are nothing new to our movement for we have been observing these principles from our birth. The Brotherhood could not have survived on any other foundation.

THE FUTURE

Now, a brief word about the future.

Some of our delegates here, along with some of the members in all parts of the country and Canada, are familiar with the fact that when the Brotherhood began in 1925, porters and attendants were at the bottom rung of the industrial ladder in these two countries. Their wages were low, hours of work long, conditions of work bad, and they were discounted by both management and the public by the use of the term, "George."

But, today, this is different.

The Brotherhood raised the wages of the porters and attendants from $67.50 a month to a minimum of $411.00; reduced the hours of work from around 400 a month to 205; built up a structure of working rules for adjustment of grievances and claims which may be accounted the best on the railroads today.

In the Dominion of Canada, in just the past three years, the Brotherhood, along with the Associated Railway Organizations of Canada, negotiated for and obtained wage increases which raised the porters' monthly wage to the existing amount of $262.85.

In the realm of fringe benefits, in 1956 the Brotherhood negotiated for and received two more paid holidays, in addition to the five secured in 1955 for our Canadian brothers. A Health and Welfare Plan was also negotiated by the Brotherhood in 1956 for our Canadian members, providing for group life insurance, and hospital, medical and surgical benefits. The cost of this Plan is shared, on a fifty-fifty basis, by the employe and the railway company.

The Brotherhood secured, in 1958, an extension of 24 days' vacation with pay for sleeping car porters with thirty-five years' continuous employment relationship and, in addition thereto, reduced the qualifying continuous employment relationship period for 12 days' vacation with pay from three years to two years.

Since the Brotherhood became the bargaining representative for Canadian Pacific Railway porters, the wage structure of these employees has been increased from $112.41 (minimum) per month to $262.85, an increase of $150.44.

Other forms of advances secured by the Brotherhood for the CPR porters during the last three years include the establishment of a System Adjustment Board (Joint Committee of Appeal) to serve as a final body to which disputes, involving grievances and claims, may be appealed for adjudication; interim revisions in certain rules governing working conditions which have proven a boon to the porters, such as the enhancing of an In-Charge Porter's basic rate of pay by 30 percent when assigned to run in charge of two or more cars, for the time actually in such service; in his exercise of displacement rights, an employe has the right to displace any employe junior to him on any assignment in his district; the Extra Board shall be so maintained as to afford each employe carried thereon minimum earnings of approximately three-fourths of basic month's pay instead of two-thirds as previously, though same shall not be considered as a guarantee; and time allowance for remitting Company's funds by porters operating In-Charge and Buffet cars.

While management of the Canadian railways have stated that they do not share the gloom of the railroads in the United States and have no desire to sabotage the passenger business, it is, however, noted that, allegedly, in the interest of economy, "Dayliners" have been instituted on certain lines throughout the system in replacement of sleeping cars.

Here in the United States, November 1959 will mark the termination of the moratorium and a new movement for improvement of wage rates will begin. Naturally, the Brotherhood will participate in this movement since it is concerned about keeping the wage structure of the porter and attendant in line with the progress of wages on the railroads and throughout the country.

At the present time, a movement is under way to secure holidays and increased vacations and improvement of certain rules that are common to all railway workers. The Brotherhood is aprticipating in these movements.

Thus, the future is bright and hopeful, from the point of view of the building of our wage structure and the structure of our working rules, and we are working with the forces of railway labor in the interest of improving railway employment opportunities by the rehabilitation of the passenger business.

Fellow delegates, brothers and sisters, let me observe that ours is a movement not inspired by material gain but enriched by the eternal values of fellowship, freedom, and justice.

RACIAL UNITY WITHOUT NATIONALISM

Be it said to the great wisdom and courage and racial pride of our Brotherhood that it has never faltered in its struggle for civil rights, first-class citizenship and human dignity, for, as it were, the philosophy of fair employment practice, now an integral part of our American labor and industrial culture, is the gift of the porters.

Believing firmly in the egalitarian theory of mankind, we reject, resist, and condemn the fallacious and dangerous doctrine of white supremacy, white chauvinism, racialism, and nationalism as the enemy of democracy, freedom, and human equality.

By the same token, we reject, resent, resist, and condemn the doctrine of black supremacy, black nationalism, chauvinism, and racism as a fallacy, fraud, and danger to Negroes' racial harmony, social peace and progress.

Black nationalism, which expresses itself in the so-called Moslem movement, like white nationalism, which expresses itself in the movements of the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils, is a sickness. It is a menace to interracial cooperation and communication. It is a nuisance and a pestilence.

It does not make sense for Negroes to condemn white racism with one hand and practice black racism with the other. Moreover, it was this venemous cult of white racism which was responsible for the shocking lynchings of Emmett Till and Mack Parker. White or black racism is not only morally wrong but Negroes are playing with fire when they give aid and comfort to any hate group such as the so-called black Moslems who preach anti-Semitism and anti-whiteism. It is a matter of record that Jews are some of the most responsible and effective champions of civil rights and Negro progress in our country but, even were the Jews not fighters for Negro freedom, common decency and enlightened self-interest should cause Negroes to oppose and condemn any form of religious bigotry, whether preached by the Eastlands or Talmadges or the so-called black nationalists.

Of course, it must be recognized that the fire and brimstone brand of racial hate and religious fanaticism promulgated by the alleged Moslem group could not exist and grow if the Federal Government had not failed its Negro citizens in the country, with respect to meaningful legislation for civil rights and racial justice.

The long apathy, indifference and unconcern by various branches of the Federal Government to civil rights legislation have given birth to racist groups, both white and black. Thus, the responsibility for the existence of vicious anti-social aggregations such as the White Citizens Councils and the so-called black Moslems must be placed at the door of the Federal Government.

When the Government firmly and forthrightly takes a stand in support of legislation to guarantee Negroes their simple rights as American citizens and demonstrates that it means to defend Negroes in the exercise of these rights, whether it be in Mississippi, Alabama, or New York City, cults of racial hate will vanish into the limbo of oblivion.

Verily, black nationalism stems from a blind sense of desperation and frustration as a result of racial discrimination and exploitation which sows the winds of hate and is certain to reap the whirlwinds of violent hate.

But it must be recognized that black nationalism is not to be confused or equated with racial patriotism, racial unity, and pride in the Negro's African heritage, because these are moral, spiritual and psychological forces that are essential for the survival and progress of the Negro. This is so because the Negro is at the bottom of the American society as well as our international society, in terms of our structured system of economics and politics.

Our brothers are workers of lowly origin who have drunk of the bitter cup of trial and adversity through a long night of struggle.

Thus, let us listen to the admonition of the lowly Nazerene in St. Matthew, when he says:

> Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden,
> and I will give you rest.
>
> Take my yoke upon you, and lean of me;
> for I am meek and lowly in heart;
> and ye shall find rest unto your souls.
>
> For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.

And to the words of David:

> I will lift up mine eyes until the hills from whence
> cometh my strength.

Finally, let us bow humbly in homage and honor to those great men who gave of their life, labor and love to build our Brotherhood, some of whom have passed into the Great Unknown and some of whom are with us as retired brothers. Theirs was the laborers' life of trial by fire. They exhibited an heroic courage in the great tradition of the fighters for freedom of every age. Without men of their mettle, measure, grandeur and majesty, mankind would still be living in the midnight of barbarism and the heavens of humanity would be without a star.

It was of these devoted and dedicated men of labor in the Brotherhood about whom the black bards of the slave revolution, long before the Civil War, sang these stirring lines:

> O' Freedom! O' Freedom! O' Freedom!
> Before I'll be a slave,
> I'll be buried in my grave
> And go home to my Lord and
> Be saved!

It is the deathless memory and honored heritage of struggle and sacrifice of these unheralded, unsung, and generally unknown porters, attendants and maids of the early Brotherhood movement in the United States and Canada that have enriched our lives and deepened our faith in our Union as a mighty fortress in our cause for a better tomorrow.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH TO THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE AND THIRTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LADIES AUXILIARY TO THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, SEPTEMBER 7-8, 1959.

My dear Friends and Sisters: On behalf of the officers and delegates to the Third Triennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters I bring you greetings, felicitations and congratulations upon your conference.

While the international structure of the Ladies Auxiliary was disestablished by the International Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters following the last Triennial Convention of the Brotherhood and Ladies Auxiliary, the Ladies Auxiliary movement as such has never ceased to exist. Its movement consists of the various local auxiliaries in the various divisions of the Brotherhood throughout the country. They, in fact, represent the origin of the International Ladies' Auxiliary.

When the Ladies Auxiliary was first born in 1925, the local branches were known as The Colored Womens' Economic Councils. They existed from 1925 to 1938 and it was through them that the Ladies Auxiliary movement was developed. Out of them, from them, and upon them, the International Ladies' Auxiliary was established in 1938 in Chicago.

The International Ladies' Auxiliary was disestablished because its financial structure was not adequate to maintain it, nor was it practical to levy additional taxes upon the sisters in order to provide the funds to sustain the international structure. We are looking forward to the growth of the Ladies Auxiliary movement through the respective local branches. If, as, and when the forces of the local ladies auxiliaries indicate that the time has come for the reestablishment of an international structure, this will be done.

JOB OF LOCAL AUXILIARIES

The local auxiliaries have the same job now which they had when the international structure existed. That job is to build membership and to educate the sisters as to the meaning and objects of the labor movement, as well as to cooperate with the local divisions of the Brotherhood, with a view to building the power of the union to advance and protect the interests of the porters and attendants AND THEIR FAMILIES -

PRESENT CRISIS

Let me observe that there never was a time in the history of the Brotherhood and the Auxiliary that the Ladies Auxiliary was needed more than it is today due to the fact that organized labor is at the crossroads. It is under fire; it is under attack, both around the bargaining table and in the Congress. The press is deriding and misrepresenting the workers' unions.

Thus, organized labor needs to rebuild a well-knit labor community of the workers. This can be done with the wives, mothers, sisters, brothers and even the children of the wage earners.

LABOR'S ENEMIES UNITED

It is well that we be fully aware of the fact that the enemies of organized labor are united. The National Manufacturers Association, United States Chamber of Commerce and the American Railway Association are attempting not only to marshal their own forces but are coming into the local communities and mobilizing the forces of the Church, press, fraternal societies, civic groups, educational institutions and political movements on the side of big business.

ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION

To him who runs and reads, it is not difficult to see that the deck is stacked against the workers in every area of American life at this hour. Even some workers themselves are the victims of the illusion that they can rely on forces outside of those they control. But when you look at the recent vote in the House of Representatives on the Landrum-Griffin bill, the most vicous anti-labor , union-busting bill ever presented to a legislature in the history of this country, labor should realize the soundness of the old but true adage: "He who would be free most himself first strike the blow".

Under the guise of ridding labor unions of corruption, racketeering, gangsterism and hoodlums, the forces of big business are moving in for the kill of organized labor by developing this legislative noose around the neck of trade unions.

I need not tell you that bona fide trade unions are as much opposed to corruption, racketeering and gangsterism in the unions as any Senator or Congressman or representative of the press or Church in this country. But labor rejects and resents the attempt to smear, stigmatize and ~~label~~ BRAND the labor movement, as a whole AS AS CORRUPT AND CRIMINAL because of the sins of few union leaders.

It is not just or fair to brand and damn all labor unions as agents of corruption and hoodlums, as it is not just or fair to point at banks as institutions where the people are fleeced of their funds merely because some banks have closed their doors while their officers made off with the funds.

It is a matter of common knowledge that even some men of the cloth of the Church have not always been entirely upright and spotless as far as the handling of funds are concerned but it would be ridiculous and outrageous for any one to promote propaganda to the effect that all churches are reeking with money-hungry preachers who are prone to go South with the dough merely because there are a few who have not kept the faith.

We might say the same thing about Congress or for that matter all branches of the government. Some of the most notorious and corrupt forms of political gangster~~s~~ ism and financial crook~~edness~~ EDNESS have gone on in the various branches of ~~the~~ government. Exposures have been made against them and some of them have been routed and, of course, some STILL remain. Because we have corrupt city governments all over this nation, there is no reason why the finger of accusation should be pointed at every official of every city government and charge ~~them~~ him with being untrustworthy as a custodian~~s~~ of the people, and demand the abolition of government.

STAND UP FOR UNIONS

Thus, the time has come when every single member of trade unions, along with his wife and family relatives and friends must be mobilized in the various respective communities throughout the nation to stand up for the cause of labor ~~when labor is attacked~~ AND FIGHT BACK. It must be remembered that organized labor, from its foundation, has waged war not only on behalf of the workers but for the people as a whole. Labor fought the battles ~~for~~ OF the poor when they championed the cause of public schools around the beginning of the foundation of our republic.

BEWARE OF FAKE SLOGANS

In order to hoodwink, mislead and deceive the workers and their families, the forces of big business conjured up and invented the slogan of "right-to-work" laws. ~~There is~~ THESE LAWS DO not guarantee ~~of~~ the right to work, as shown by the fact that in the South where most of these laws are on the statute books there is widespread unemployment. Moreover, the workers in the South get less pay, work the longest hours and under the worst conditions.

Fortunately, in the last campaign in 1958, the workers and their friends in California and Ohio defeated the "right-to-work" law movement.

But it must be ~~admitted~~ REMEMBERED that these anti-labor forces are re-forming and are coming back to renew the struggle in the interest of THIS SINISTER "right-to-work" laws.

STAKE OF WOMEN IN STRONG LABOR MOVEMENT

Now, the women have a basic stake in the labor movement. The reason for this is that the labor movement fights for bread and butter; fights for wages with which we buy clothes, shelter, education and recreation, and TO maintain the home. Without a home there can be no organized family. Since women are the basis of the family, they know what it is to be without a stabilized home and adequate food, TO HAVE ONLY shabby clothes, AND TO lack ~~of~~ educational AND RECREATIONAL opportunitIES for children ~~and recreational facilities~~.

It is the ~~wife~~ HOUSE WIVES who knows about the increase in the cost of bread from sixteen cents in 1952 to nineteen cents in 1959, a boost of nineteen percent. THEY KNOW ABOUT Dining room furniture WHICH has gone up from $237.00 (8-pc suite) in 1952 to $267.00 in 1959, an increase of thirteen percent. THEY KNOW THAT Girls' cotton dresses have risen in price ~~for~~ FROM $2.85 in 1952 to $3.65 in 1959, an increase of twenty-eight percent. Boys' suits have risen in price from $16.40 in 1952 to $19.90 in 1959, an increase of twenty-one percent. A visit from the doctor has risen from $4.25 in 1952 to $5.20 in 1959, a hike of twenty-three percent. A semi-private room per day in a hospital has risen from $13.50 in 1952 to $18.35 in 1959, an increase of thirty-seven percent. This is just a few indications as to what is happening to the goods and services that the home must use from day to day. ~~They~~ NECESSARY GOOD AND SERVICES are rapidly getting beyond the reach of the home which is not protected by organized labor.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE

Women ~~have the right to~~ SHOULD KNOW THEY SHOULD vote ~~for~~ THOSE WHO FIGHT FOR THE CAUSE OF labor ~~and the right to be voted for~~. WOMEN WHOSE HUSBANDS ARE WORKERS SHOULD ~~They~~ know that a large segment of the life of their home is definitely affected by the government and laws of the nation. They also SHOULD know that the government and laws of the nation are made by the men and women who are elected from year to year. THEY should Know that their BALLOT Counts.

Today, every American citizen is a part of big government and government is getting bigger and bigger. It extends its control FORCE and ~~support~~ EFFECT ~~more and more~~ to every aspect of the life of the individual. For instance, in 1930 approximately 3.7 million individuals filed federal income tax returns. In 1953 over 57 million individual federal income tax returns were filed. In 1930, there was no federal old age retirement program. Last month the Department of Health, Education and Welfare mailed almost eight million checks to retirees under the Social Security Act. Each month the Railroad Retirement Board mails out about 46,000 checks while the Veteran's Administration carries about 2.8 million people on its rolls as beneficiaries. In 1930, when a man was thrown out of work, his only means of feeding his family and keeping a roof over their heads were his own resources and handouts from charity. Today, the average unemployment compensation payment is $29.00 a week.

What brought about these changes? The answer is the fight of organized labor. But labor could not have made the fight had not the workers been united in the powerful trade unions. Government was no more concerned about advancing the cause of the workers in 1953 than it was in 1923. But labor unions became stronger and stronger and their voices were heard in the councils of government. Labor began to make a record of the vote of Congressmen and Senators on those causes that were dear to labor, and labor met these politicians at the polls and expressed approval or disapproval according as the votes of these politicians were favorable or unfavorable to labor.

GROWTH OF LABOR

in 1930 there were about 3 million organized workers. Today, there are over 16 million.

WATCH THE GOVERNMENT

Now, you must keep your eyes on the government because it is in your life. Labor cannot afford to fail to check up on government because big business checks up on government. There is scarcely a single human activity of an American citizen that is not influenced to some degree by government today.

You get up in the morning, turn on the lights and turn on the radio. The rates you pay for electricity are set by a governmental commission. The station that broadcasts your morning program received its license from a governmental commission. The bacon and eggs you have for breakfast have been inspected by a governmental inspector. The fares you pay on the bus or streetcar have been fixed by a Utility Commission. During the night and day your life and home are protected by the police and fire departments that are maintained by city government. Your employer has to keep certain records about your wages in order to deduct your income tax and social security tax. While you are at work your children are in schools being taught at the expense of the taxpayers of which you are one.

Imagine a city, for instance, in which there were no traffic lights, no traffic regulations, and no restriction on drivers, and you visualize a mass of people without government, in Confusion and Chaos.

Can you imagine an existence without workmen's compensation laws, housing programs, fair labor standards, child labor laws, public assistance, education, agriculture, public health and civil rights and civil liberties? All of these and many others are activities of our government which we, as voters and taxpayers, can direct and control.

This is why you, as wives of workers, must play your part in seeing to it that people are elected to government and appointed and elected to courts that believe in justice, righteousness, fair play, freedom, and peace and plenty.

In brief, women and men of labor must participate in politics because the employers and big business participate in politics. We have no other alternative. This is the only way by which we will be able to wipe the Landrum-Griffin bill off of the federal statute books.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the Smith-Connally Act of 1943 and its successor, the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, compelled the labor movement to enter into politics. Because of anti-labor legislation, the workers set up a Committee on Political Education in the AFL-CIO and the Railway Labor's Political League.

ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE AUXILIARY

Ordinarily, people talk about this being a man's world, but this is a fallacy. It is a misrepresentation of the facts. Women are a powerful force in American life in particular and the world in general today. It may be news to you but statistics show that our population comprises more ~~females~~ women than ~~males~~ men. For the first time in history, women control the bulk of the nation's wealth. There are twenty-two million women in the work force of the country today.

Down through the decades, women have been some of the outstanding and brilliant pioneers in giving reality, integrity and force to great human values such as freedom, equality, fair play and justice. All of us must be familiar with the inspirational history of the struggles of Lucretia Mott, Amelia Bloomer, Frances Wright, Elizabeth Stanton, Emma Willard and Susan B. Anthony. These noble women raised the standard for human rights and suffrage long before the Civil War. They were white women.

But be it remembered also that during the days of these women, there were black women who also held aloft the banner for human freedom and dignity. They were an inspiration to the anti-slavery movement and the Abolition movement ~~of abolition~~ headed by such great leaders of freedom as William Lloyd Garrison, Henry Ward Beecher, Wendel Phillips, Lovejoy, Frederick Douglas and Abraham Lincoln.

These Negro women carried the torch of liberty against chattel slavery on the platforms throughout the North. Their names will ever live in the memory and hearts of lovers of liberty, black and white. They were Sojourner Truth, Phyllis Wheatley and Harriet Tubman, celebrated and courageous leader of the underground railroad.

After the Civil War, Negro women took up the struggle for first-class citizenship for Negroes and marched arm in arm and shoulder to shoulder with Negro men and white liberals.

All of us are familiar with the honored careers of Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune and Mary Church Terrell, the latter personality of whom was more responsible for the abolition of discrimination in the hotels, restaurants and theatres in Washington, D. C. than any other individual or group. She went into these places and sought service and remained there until she was either served or put out. But she never remained out, she returned. Thus, sentiment was built up against discrimination in the hotels, restaurants and theatres in the Capital of the nation.

But along with these great luminaries for the cause of human rights, let us bow in homage and honor to the names of some of our own sisters in our Ladies Auxiliary who were pioneers for the cause of organized labor and Negro workers. I am sure none of us will soon forget the great, unselfish, devoted and dedicated struggles to build the Ladies Auxiliary and the Brotherhood movement by Sister Halena Wilson, First International President of the Ladies Auxiliary and Sister Rosina C. Tucker, First International Secretary-Treasurer of the Ladies Auxiliary. These women were supported by an International Executive Board and vice presidents. They worked devotedly and earnestly in the interest of making women relatives of the porters a factor in the building of the Brotherhood.

Thus, we are proud of the role of the women in the Ladies Auxiliary. They gave of their time and talent to provide funds; giving dinners and little parties to help various Brotherhood local divisions to pay rent and electric light bills. It is our desire that the great tradition these women have left through their life and work will enrich, inspire and encourage the women in the Ladies Auxiliary to carry on for the cause of the Brotherhood in particular and labor in general. Let me read a poem which gives some concept of a woman's sphere:

> They talk about a woman's sphere as though it had a limit;
> There's not a place in earth or heaven,
> There's not a task to mankind given,
> There's not a blessing or a woe,
> There's not a whispered "yes" or "no",
> There's not a life, or death, or birth
> That has a feather's weight of worth,
> Without a women in it.

In conclusion, let me bid you Forward, Onward and Upward! May you ever keep the faith the pioneers of our great cause have hallowed and made noble by their trials and tribulations.

Remember we are members of the sons of toil. Workers, white and black, have never known complete freedom. White labor and black labor are second-class citizens. Even in our own country they are not fully free. This is evident by the Landrum-Griffin bill.

Labor's struggles have been well described by one of America's fine poet who says:

> Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans
> Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground
> The emptiness of ages in his face
> And on his back the burdens of the world.

Let me say that I am honored and happy to have had the opportunity to share in the fellowship spirit of this great conference. Let us remain united and fight on.

It was Moses who said to the Children of Israel

> Sirs, ye are brethren
> Why do ye wrong one to another.

Let us ever remember that we are brothers and sisters and we must work and fight, one for the other.

STATEMENT TO THE LABOR CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

LOS ANGELES COUNTY CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL

OCTOBER 3-4, 1958

BY

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Dear Friends and Fellow Workers:

First of all, let me express my great pleasure for the invitation to participate in this Labor Conference on Human Rights under the auspices of the Los Angeles County Central Labor Council.

Human rights is essentially and fundamentally a moral question. It is highlighted in the Declaration of Independence as the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These are the basic value premises of our American creed. These basic rights are recognized and santioned in the Federal Constitution and specifically in the Bill of Rights, including the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments.

But it must be remembered that the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness was not created by the Constitution, nor by Government or law. Our basic human rights preceded the state; they are prior to law. One's human rights exist as a result of one's being human. Thus, human rights are God-given and not man-made.

While every human being possesses human rights, every human being does not possess the privilege of exercising his human rights. Man-made laws, man-made institutions, man-made conventions and customs sometimes intervene, because of prejudices, passions and violence, to prevent some groups of human beings from exercising their human rights.

Therefore, human rights need implementation in order that they be given effect, force, reality and integrity. Because of man's inhumanity to man, it is imperative that the social conscience of the community, through law, and through education, ~~through building and employment of certain institutions,~~ prevent any anti-social force ~~to~~ from denying any individual the privilege of exercising and enjoying his human rights.

Some powerful groups in the national community, in the interest of gain and advantage, the accumulation and exercise of power, satisfaction of prejudices, whims and caprices, sometime move to suppress, oppress and exploit unpopular, weaker groups. Such is the reason for the opposition to the integration of schools in the South, discrimination against Mexicans and Orientals on the Coast and in the Southwest; increase in anti-Semitism in various areas of the country and the development of anti-Catholicism, anti-foreignism and anti-laborism in certain sections of the country.

Sometimes the question is asked: But what can civil rights' and civil liberties' legislation do to eliminate racial and religious prejudices? The answer is: Perhaps legislation cannot do much to correct prejudices since they are inner attitudes of one individual towards others or towards various groups, racial, religious and national, but legislation may be effective in preventing discrimination against various groups of people because of race or color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

This is so because whereas prejudice is an inner attitude which may not be directly reached by legislation, discrimination is an overt act subject to prevention by law. Moreover, although laws cannot make individuals love one another, the process of securing legislation is itself a fundamental educational process. Hence, it ~~may~~ have distinctive and definite influence in helping to change attitudes or prejudices.

Again, when, as a result of legal prohibition, an individual or even a municipality or state ~~may~~ is be prevented from perpetuating discrimination upon individuals or groups, the cessation of discrimination to any degree has the psychological value of tending to lessen the incentive and tendency to discrimination.

If this were not so, the whole mission of education would be futile. By the same token, the whole system of laws, constitutions and administrative procedures would be of no avail.

Moreover, it is a scientifically established fact that race, religious and nationality prejudices are not inherited but acquired, ~~[illegible] the measles~~. Prejudice against the Negro, Jew, Catholic, Mexican, Chinese, OR Japanese ~~or [illegible], nationality or [illegible]~~ is neither inevitable or eternal.

In fact, these prejudices are taught and learned. Just as racial, religious and nationality antagonistic attitudes or biases ~~[illegible] various forms of [illegible]~~ may be DEVELOPED, fostered and spread ~~and developed~~ by propaganda, through various media such as schools, churches, press, books, radio, television and other enviromental conditions, so may they be neutralized, negated and eventually eliminated by sound and scientific propaganda, AND education, ~~moral and spiritual, and also through organization, agitation, legislation and massive social demonstration committed to the expression of the revolutionary [illegible] teachings of the brotherhood of [illegible]~~.

The aforementioned media may be effective in giving strength to the American creed ~~[illegible]~~, and American dream set forth in the Declaration of Independence and Federal Constitution, and to our ideals and values, stressing and emphasizing the equalitarian concept of citizenship and mankind.

Because we know there is no innate aversion, prejudice or hatred of any kind between Negro and white children; Jew and Gentile children; Protestant and Catholic children; or native and foreign-born children; that children regardless of race, color, religion, nationality or ancestry are vessels of pure, unadulterated human attitudes, there need be no doubt about the fact that all human beings are made of one blood and are members of one human family whose father is God.

~~There is no doubt,~~ Nor can it be gainsaid that all men are ~~truly~~ brothers and that the recognition of human solidarity is basic to the acceptance of the Judeo-Christian ethical tradition that every human being, regardless of the texture of his hair, angle of his eyes, shape of his nose, contour of his face, structure of his head, physiological plan of his body, geographical home, religion or no religion, has worth, AND value, importance and dignity and his personality is sacred before God, and are equal before God, and ought to be equal before the law of man.

Thus, the personality of every human being is entitled to respect and reverence, both from the individual and the state. Because of the sacredness of the human personality, any law, social practice or custom which demeans, degrades or demoralizes the personality of any human being, is sinful.

It is a matter of common knowledge that segregation which separates human beings from others on a basis of alleged racial inferiority is a form of aggression by one group of human beings against another group of human beings, merely on account of the accident of race, color or religion, and is anti-social.

Thus, the fight for human rights ~~involves~~ REQUIRES legislation for civil rights and civil liberties for the implementation of human rights.

But, much has been said about the limitations of laws and court decisions to lessen or eliminate racial discriminations because, as it is sometimes held, laws cannot make a person of one race love a person of another race. While this is true, it does not follow that laws cannot affect the manner in which individuals and groups behave towards one another.

If laws have been enacted by southern states to establish jim crow schools, buses and railroad transportation, residential segregation of parks, hotels and theatres, then it is logical to assume that laws can dis-establish these racially segregated schools, buses, rail travel, homes, parks, hotels and theatres.

The very fact that southern politicians found it necessary to adopt legislation to segregate Negro and white people in the South proves that the segregation ~~separation~~ of citizens ~~upon such a basis~~ was not a natural but an artificial arrangement, for there is no more reason why Negro and white children cannot attend the same school in South Carolina than in California. If Negro and white children can co-exist in the same classes in the same schools in the north, why cannot Negro and white children co-exist in the same classes in the same schools in the south?

Moreover, white boys and girls from the Deep South, Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina, are presently attending public schools and colleges in the North, East and West and are sitting in classes with Negro boys and girls without incident. But when these same white girls and boys return South, the old heads demand that they conform to the old southern mores and pattern of segregation.

This proves that Negro and white youth can get along without any unusual trouble if the White Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan and the John Caspers don't interfere, and leave them alone.

Since psychologists pretty generally agree that children are born with only two sensations, one is fear of noise and the other is fear of falling, there is no natural tendency for ~~hatred because of race or color or religion among~~ children to hate and human being because of race, color or religion.

Thus, just as children learn to hate a person because he is a Negro, a Jew, a Mexican, a Catholic, a Chinese or Japanese, they can unlearn prejudices or learn not to hate, or to cease to contimue to hate, and to respect, if not love, members of all races, nationalities and religions.

Further, because laws against murder and arson have not stopped all murder and arson is no good reason why ~~they~~ NEW LAWS should not be ENACTED AND maintained ~~or others enacted~~.

While laws may not fully eliminate crimes, they may tend to eliminate criminals who commit crimes, and, in time, measurably lessen the commission of crimes.

By the same token, civil rights legislation ~~will~~ MAY tend to discourage and prevent, by persuasion or punishment, persons poisoned by the passion of prejudice from interfering with any citizen or individual from exercising and enjoying his human rights.

If legislation was wholly without virtue and value, the bankers, industrialists and merchants would not spend millions to maintain powerful lobbies in Washington and the states, where federal and state legislation is made, unless some laws were considered helpful and others harmful to their interests.

Look at the nation-wide massive movement today to enact so-called "right-to-work" laws. What are the forces back of this movement? The answer is clear. They are the National Manufacturers' Association and the United States Chambers of Commerce. They are the voice of big business.

What do they want? They want big profits and big power. But this is not all. They fear THE POWER organized labor. They deplore the unity of the AFL-CIO. They would pull its teeth. To this end, they seek to limit, if not abolish, the right of labor and management to sit down for collective bargaining on proposals for union security agreements, such as the union shop on the grounds that the union shop is an invasion and limitation of personal liberty of the worker. Why, they ask, should a wage earner be required to become a member of a union as a condition of continued employment. How touching is this sudden concern of Big Business for the liberty of the poor, long suffering worker?

The answer is for the same reason that a citizen must pay taxes as a condition to own his home and the enjoyment of the major rights and privileges of a citizen in a metropolitan community, such as public schools, parks and playgrounds for children, clean and lighted streets, police and fire protection and many other advantages.

For the same reason that doctors must join medical societies as a condition for the full, effective and efficient practice of medicine.

For the same reason that preachers, priests and rabbis must join clerical associations and conferences as a condition to following their calling.

For the same reason industrialists, bankers and merchants must join the National Manufacturers' Association and United States Chambers of Commerce as a condition to receiving the services of these two powerful AGENCIES ~~[illegible]~~ of big business. And, be it known that individual manufacturers, merchants and bankers must pay a fee and dues for membership in these giant economic and industrial associations.

Now the workers are faced with the menace of the "right-to-work" law.

In the latter part of the 18th and early 19th centuries, the weapons employed against the efforts of workers to organize were the old conspiracy law and arbitrary imprisonment, widespread violence against and reckless killings of labor organizers. Failing ~~[illegible]~~ to halt and destroy trade unions, resort was made by the big employers around the beginning of the 19th century to legislation for the open shop.

In the twenties, an attractive and deceptive slogan was dreamed up known as the American Plan. But the plan was only a smoke screen for the vicious anti-union yellow dog contract and company union.

But even prior to this period, there was the era of injunctions against labor under the Sherman anti-trust law.

Injunctions were hurled at the unions in the great Pullman strike of 1894 and the Danbury Hatters strike of 1908.

The Clayton Act of 1914 brought some relief, but largely in the philosophical pattern, ~~with~~ namely, the definition of labor as not being a commodity.

Now, labor is faced with Congressional investigations. Although not more than 8 or 10 unions and their officials have been found and exposed as dominated by corruption and racketeering, graft and shakedowns, together with sweetheart contracts. But it must be recognized that the image of organized labor in the United States and its leaders have been gravely damaged, for in the public mind, it bears the mark of dishonesty, ruthless bossism and dictatorship over the rank and file membership. The sinister design of big business is not fundamentally to clean up corruption in unions but to destroy the confidence of the membership of unions in the leadership and turn public opinion against the trade union movement, and they have made some success in this notorious enterprise.

With the job of discrediting labor unions by Congressional investigations well on its way, the National Manufacturers' Association and United States Chambers of Commerce are looking forward to and are now moving in for the kill with the so-called "right-to-work" laws.

With the fraudulent slogan "right-to-work" laws, which is, to say the least, a valuable piece of psychological capital, reactionary anti-union forces have embarked upon a nationwide plan of brain-washing the American people into believing that the union shop of the bona-fide free trade movement is a grave danger to the liberty of the workers in particular and the American people in general.

Because the human mind will accept error as readily as it will accept truth, "right-to-work" laws, though based upon a tissue of fallacies, follies, fakeries and falsehoods, have swept over 19 states and threaten the invasion of others, now, today.

Everybody, naturally wants the right to work. Theoretically, every worker has the right to work until he dies, whether he is aware of this or not, even without the doubtful benefit of the so-called "right-to-work" laws.

Now, be it understood that the AFL-CIO does not oppose the Congressional investigations when fairly conducted, to unearth corruption, bribery and racketeering in labor unions. George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, with an high order of labor statesmanship has wisely welcomed Congressional investigations of labor unions to discover the extent of corruption in them, but he also insists that management be given some of ? the same medicine. In fact, the AFL-CIO, through the its Ethical Practices Committee is doing a thorough job in exposing and expelling corrupt ~~unions~~ and dishonest labor leaders.

The day of the muscle-man, gangster type labor leader is gone. There is no place in the labor movement for thieves and crooks. Labor unions and their officials don't merit the confidence of the membership or the public when dominated by corruption and racketeering.

In my opinion, no leader who leads the poor has the moral right to die rich. Workers are poor. Their leaders must serve them with dedication and not for exploitation.

Not only should a corrupt labor leader be driven out of the labor movement but he should be put in jail where he belongs.

But it is important to know that anti-union forces make no distinction between good and bad unions. They would promptly strangle to death all unions without regard to their moral standards with the "right-to-work" laws.

~~But what difference does it make~~. Workers should know that having the right to work and getting work are two different things.

What about the 5 million workers now out of work, many of whom reside in the "right-to-work" laws states? The answer is - despite the"right-to-work" laws in "right-to-work" states there is no work for those out of work.

The reason for this is that the National Manufacturers Association and United States Chambers of Commerce who are acknowledged managers of our society, are opposed to legislative economic policies DESIGNED to provide full employment.

The maintenance of some permanent unemployment is regarded by big business as a condition ~~of~~ to the efficient functioning of the free enterprise system. Periods of un-employment serve to enable management to bargain with organized labor from a position of strength, while labor can only bargain with capital from a position of weakness.

Hence, while the National Manufacturers Association and the United States Chambers of Commerce fight for the "right-to-work" laws, they would drop this phony program like a hot potato if there was the slightest chance of every worker receiving work, for to eliminate all unemployment would weaken the bargaining power of management in our profit economy.

Start

The workers should remember the old adage: Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts, lest they bear a Trojan horse. The workers had better be wise enough to realize that when anyone who is fighting them wants to give them something they had better examine it, for as a rule, something is the matter with it.

Why, pray tell us, should big capital suddenly begin to weep for the liberty of the workers whom they seek to exploit?

It is as strange as the phenomenon of a cat seeking to protect the liberty of a mouse; or of the interests of a spider in protecting the liberty of a fly; or of a lion affecting to protect the liberty of a lamb.

Verily, these are unnatural situations. They have no existential reality.

Let us be realistic. Is there a worker, organized or unorganized, simple and naive enough to believe that employers are disposed to take the initiative to raise wages, reduce hours of work and improve working conditions? ? No. Surely there are no sane workers who believe this. It is like unto ~~tenants~~ - landlords waging a crusade to secure rent control legislation for the benefit of tenants.

The worker under the "right-to-work" laws is very much like unto a man without a nickel in his pocket who views wistfully a juicy steak in the window of a butcher shop. He has a right to eat the steak theoretically, but having no money, he will never swallow a piece of the steak.

Thus, the so-called right of the man in question to eat the steak is obviously merely an abstraction which has no substance in fact.

Now, there are millions of workers today in "right-to-work" states who are in the same position to get work as the man, without money, viewing the steak in the window, is in a position to eat the steak.

Thus, it ought to be apparent that the business of achieving the basic rights of the workers is the job of the workers themselves, through their unions - strong unions.

But, the "right-to-work" laws would hamstring, cripple and weaken, if not destroy, unions by preventing any form of union security.

It is important to know in this connection that a terrific bid is being made to get the Negro workers to swallow the so-called "right-to-work" laws, bait, hook, line and sinker, on the groundless grounds they are little FEPC'S or Fair Employment Practice Laws. Knowing that Negroes are concerned ~~by~~ WITH fair employment practice legislation this maneuver is designed to ensnare their confidence. This gesture would be a joke were it not so tragic.

The drive to win the support of Negroes for "right-to-work" laws is moving today full speed ahead, even here in California and also in Ohio.

But Negroes have only to look around and inquire - where did these "right-to-work" laws begin, for them to wake up to the flagrant fraud, huge hoax and sneaking snare they are.

LOW AND BEHOLD these "right-to-work" laws began where the jim crow laws began, in Dixie, in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi; Florida, and the entire flock of southern states. After the forces of reaction won the south to right-to-work laws, which was RELATIVELY easy to do, the region being terribly backward, they have moved into the mid-west and the far west.

What about the fate of Negro workers in the southern "right-to-work" states? The Negro THERE is verily the last hired and the first fired. Moreover, in the deep Bible Belt South Negro tenant farmers, share-croppers and farm laborers are still victimes of some forms of debt peonage.

Nor are the North, Midwest and Far West without guilt in discriminating against Negro workers.

Even the AFL-CIO has yet to set its house fully in order on this question of racial discrimination in some of its affiliates, although it is to be admitted and recognized that much progress has been made in the organized labor movement in the elimination of discrimination based upon rac~~ial~~E color.

Although the AFL-CIO itself, as a federated body has not and does not practice discrimination based upon race, color or National origin of workers, there are three national unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO that still have color clauses in their constitutions, in direct violation of the constitution of the AFL-CIO. I refer to the Brotherhood of Railroad trainmen, the Brotherhood of Enginemen and Firemen and ~~the~~ Air Line Pilots. Some national and international affiliates, while not having color clauses in their constitutions maintain auxiliary OR segregat~~ing~~ED local unions, sometimes, unhappily because of the choice of Negro workers themselves, who have vested interest in the jobs and salaries they hold and receive in auxiliary unions.

However, this is no valid reason why a national or international affiliate of the AFL-CIO should tolerate or be permitted to maintain auxiliary unions that ~~support~~ SEPARATE workers upon a basis of race. Auxiliary unions that provide only second class union membership should be abolished regardless of the racial bias of white members, or officials or even the selfish desires of Negro labor leaders and the proverbial pork-chopper. The fact is, auxiliary unions by imposing taxation without representation upon workers because of race or color are ~~merely~~ MORALLY wrong and violat~~ing~~E the principles of sound trade union morality.

Now, I applaud the establishment of the Civil Rights Committee of the AFL-CIO and the Civil Rights Department. While the Civil Rights Committee has an able leader of labor as Chairman, Brother Charles Zimmerman of the International Ladies Garment Workers and also a competent and qualified director in Boris Shishkin, the Civil Rights Department needs to move with much greater vigor with a view to solving cases of RACIAL discrimination in unions throughout the country, Than is Being Done or has Been Done. ~~some of which involve the right to get jobs.~~

The basic trouble with the Civil Rights Committee is that although its members are top leaders of national and international unions, they dont take the purpose and program of the Committee seriously. This is evident from the fact that most of them don't even attend the meetings, and nothing can be accomplished fundamentally without meetings of the Committee to formulate and execute policies.

Not only are Negro workers being barred from joining some unions, but in a number of instances are being excluded from the opportunity to secure employment since membership in the union is a condition to securing employment.

There is such a case here in Los Angeles. Notoriously, the Teamsters' Union, which consistently refuses to admit Negroes to work as beer truck drivers of Budweiser and Anhouser-Busch, although the company has expressed willingness to employ Negro truck drivers. Now, this is a blot upon organized labor, although the Teamsters' Union is not a member of the AFL-CIO. Nor is ~~can~~ the Anhouser-Busch company fully without blame for ~~it~~ it has no past record of hiring Negroes except ~~as~~ a few public relations men to advertise their products.

Just as a union is expelled by the AFL-CIO if found to be dominated by corruption a union should also be expelled from the house of labor - the AFL-CIO, if found to be dominated by racism or anti-semitism, or anti-catholicism or anti-foreignism. For these forms of discrimination tend to weaken organized labor since it divides the workers upon a basis of race or religion or nationality.

But although there are unions that practice discrimination against Negroes, and it is obvious that Negro citizens in Los Angeles strongly resent and condemn the Teamsters' Union for refusal to allow Negroes to serve as drivers of Budweiser beer trucks, and while this job-barrier, on a basis of race, must be fought until it is broken down, this discriminatory practice however is no justification for Negroes' voting for the "right-to-work" laws or for candidates for public office who sponsor ~~this~~ such laws. Were Negroes to vote for the "right-to-work" law Proposition #18, because of discrimination against them by some unions they would be voting not only against white workers but against themselves, by helping to tie the noose of industrial reaction around their necks in California, thereby ~~and also to~~ helping to give momentum to the notorious "right-to-work laws" movement throughout the United States. Verily, supporting the "right-to-work" laws by Negro workers would be too big a price to pay for a futile, foolish reprisal against trade unions that practice racial discrimination. The remedy does not lie in voting for the "right-to-work" laws and their sponsors but in the building of strong trade unions that can fight for labor's rights and civil rights.. While some unions practice discrimination it is a matter of record that organized labor is the most powerful and reliable ally of the Negro in the struggle for the achievement of civil rights.

It is perfectly absurd and incredible for any worker with any common sense to expect big capital to enter upon a crusade for labor's liberty, just as it is equally absurd and incredible to expect labor to knock itself out fighting for the so-called rights of capital.

If labor wants its liberty it will have to fight for it now and in the future as it has in the past.

It is no secret that instead of labor and capital fighting for each other they ~~are at present~~ Sometime fighti~~ng~~ against each other. The reason for this is clear. ~~Naturally~~ Obviously the interests of labor and capital are not always identical.

Now, if capital is fighting labor to prevent it from securing its basic rights such as higher wages, shorter hours of work and improved working conditions, higher pensions, longer vacations with pay, health and welfare benefits, why should capital be expected to fight for labor's liberty.

But what is to be done?

1st Let Workers ~~must~~ know that the so-called "right-to-work" laws, instead of giving the workers liberty or work, abridges and curtails their liberty to bargain with management for union security agreements that help to make the unions strong and secure, just as big capital is strong and secure. It is a matter of common knowledge that only ~~a~~ strong and secure unions can give the workers assurance of freedom and security.

2nd - If labor would halt the drive for the "right-to-work" laws, Let it take the offensive and hit hard against the "right-to-work" open shop campaign, FOR in THE COLD WAR AS WELL AS in ~~THE~~ A hot WAR, An OFFENCE is THE BEST DEFENCE.

3rd - ~~That~~ Let Labor call for legislation to prevent big capital, under its own slogan of "right-to-work" laws, from laying off workers by closing down the plants, but compel industry to give the unemployed not an abstraction, namely, the "right-to-work" laws, but ~~to~~ give the jobless, jobs with ~~union~~ union wage rates and ~~decent~~ union hours of work and conditions of work. This will not only be a blow to the right to work slogan of big capital, but it will tend to liquidate the campaign.

As afore indicated organized labor is the most responsible and effective ally Negroes have today in their struggle for civil rights. For instance, before various Congressional Committees, Pres. George Meany, representing the AFL-CIO, consistently appears to testify in behalf of civil rights. Before the platform committees of the two major parties during presidential campaigns, he appears and fights as hard for the rights of Negroes as he does for the rights of labor. This is no accident. The reason for this position of organized labor is that labor itself is not yet fully free just as Negroes are not yet fully free and thus they have everything in common, because basically the Negro problem is a labor problem. ~~since~~ Negroes fundamentally are workers, ~~and~~ The ~~very~~ NEGRO problem itself arose out of a method of exploitation of labor in the form of Chattel SLAVERY AND debt peonage, its aftermath. But what about the Presidents of the National Manufacturers Association and the United States Chambers of Commerce? When have you ever heard of one of the Presidents of these giant organizations of business appearing before any Congressional committee or anywhere ELSE to fight the battles of civil rights?

Never in the history of the country has ~~the~~ A representative of the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chambers of Commerce ever gone on record in support of civil rights. Yet, these are the agencies that are backing the "right-to-work" laws and are bidding for the vote of Negroes to support these laws.

Before I conclude let me express with all my righteous indignation a protest against and a condemnation of propaganda being spread against one of the great leaders of labor, Walter Reuther, President of the United Auto Workers of America. The pamphlet, which has been given widespread distribution, especially in California against Brother Reuther is a cheap, contemptible and cowardly attack on one of the most honored leaders of labor, a great American and a dedicated champion, not only of labor's rights but of human rights, American democracy and freedom. The attack upon him comes from a ~~disgruntled~~ discredited and irresponsible fascist-minded racist agitator whom I shall not dignify by calling his name. The life and work of Walter Reuther in helping to make America great and strong and free will live long after his detractors have passed into an inglorious oblivion. Finally, labor's future is at the crossroads. However, labor will overcome the road-blocks that lie in its path today as it has in the past. But in order that labor may not falter on its course in building a better tomorrow not only for the workers but for all mankind, let labor clean its own house of corruption, ~~dishonest and crooked leaders~~ drive out the criminals, and maintain high standards of public morality.

2 - Let labor maintain democratic unions, responsible to the membership and not to the leadership, while respecting the role and necessity of honest, courageous and intelligent leadership.

3 - Let labor maintain unions free from the menace of communists and communism and also fight the rising menacing forces of fascism.

4 - Let labor sweep its house clean of racism and all forms of discrimination based upon race or color, religion or national origin so that it may stand firm for the revolutionary Christian teaching of the brotherhood of man.

5 - ~~That~~ Let labor employ its ballot to defeat not only the foes of labor but the enemies of American democracy and freedom.

6 - Let labor, in the light of advancing automation, the child of science, technology and industrialism move vigorously for the establishment of the 4 hour day and 5 day week, social security coverage of domestic and agricultural workers and a minimum wage consistent with decency, comfort and health EDUCATION AND RECREATION for all American families.

STATEMENT BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
TO THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE PROPOSED
NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
Hotel Carnegie, Cleveland, Ohio, November 14, 1959

WHY THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL?

What is the problem? The answer is that racial discrimination and segregation constitute the problem.

It is a moral problem.

The solution of this problem involves a moral revolution.

Racial discrimination is a moral problem because it derives from the violation of two basic moral principles: One, the universality of the unity of mankind. Two, the dignity and sacredness of the personality of every human being, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant.

It was St. Paul who said: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." He also pointed out that: "He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth."

The first principle is flouted by racial discrimination and segregation because bias is based upon the fallacy that God is not the Creator of all mankind and that all men are not brothers.

It is an incontrovertible fact that if God is the Father and Creator of all mankind, then all men are brothers; if all men are brothers, all men are equal; if all men are equal, all men are entitled to equal treatment under the law of God and the law of man.

It is also obvious that the dignity and sacredness of the human personality is utterly demeaned, degraded and demoralized by discrimination and segregation which is an assertion of the evil doctrine of white supremacy on account of race, color, religions, national origin or ancestry.

Racial segregation and discrimination amount to a complete rejection of the great Judeo-Christian ethical traditions that proclaim the worth and value of every human being - the foundation of our democratic society and individual liberty. Thus, in the light of the aforementioned principles, racial discrimination and segregation in the labor movement are morally wrong and indefensible.

On a basis of this analysis, racially segregated, or jim crow unions, local or national or international, are a violation of the moral law and also the union law of the AFL-CIO and, perhaps, the civil law of government, as well as a violation of sound trade union morality which stems from the concept of the unity of all workers.

STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN LABOR NOT AN ORDINARY FIGHT

Verily, the Negro trade union masses are in motion against racial discrimination and segregation in organized labor. They are on the march. They could not stop if they would, and would not stop if they could. This is the struggle of Negro trade unionists against bias in all of its varied and various forms. It is a national, spontaneous, elemental surge forward toward the sun of human dignity.

No individual or group of individuals put Negro trade unionists into motion. By the same token, no individual or group of individuals can take them out of motion.

It is important to note that this fight for equality and justice in the labor movement for workers of color is not just a fight to get a Negro worker into a local carpenter's union in Kalamazoo or a Negro electrician a job on government or labor union building in Washington, D. C., although, without a doubt, this is highly important. The task and commitment of Negro trade unionists to achieve a status of equality in the House of Labor is bigger and deeper than this.

Negro workers are moving from a status of second-class citizenship to a status of first-class citizenship. This, we submit, is a major moral revolution.

This revolution against discrimination and segregation based upon race in the House of Labor is just as authentic as the revolution which involved an organizational conflict between craft unionism and industrialism in the 1930's, which brought about a split in the labor movement lasting for two decades.

This revolution against color caste in labor unions is no less a challenge to the forces of organized labor than the revolution which involved furious ideological warfare between communism and free trade unionism from the Twenties through the Forties, resulting in several national and international unions being thrown out of the Congress of Industrial Organization.

Yes, this revolution for labor-membership status, regardless of race or color, is as inevitable as the moral revolution regarding the struggle to clean out the House of Labor of corrupt influences, gangsterism, and hoodlumism, which now faces the trade union movement.

It must be remembered that the first of these revolutions shook up the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to their very foundations. The present revolution which has its roots in corruption and crookedness, though relating to a small number of unions, is shaking the AFL-CIO, resulting in the loss of a million members through the expulsion of the Teamsters and other unions.

Thus, it is apparent from a review of the aforementioned revolutions of the AFL and CIO when they were independent federated bodies and also when united since 1955, that a revolution is neither peaceful or painless, though it need not be violent.

It is also significant to note that while the motivation and dynamism of these revolutions came from the masses of workers, they were given sanction, support and guidance by the high command of leadership of the AFL-and CIO when divided, and now when united.

H ence, the same approach, procedure and policy of placing the full weight and influence of the President and Executive Council of the AFL-CIO back of this moral revolution for equality and justice for all workers in the trade union movement, without regard to race or color, should obtain not only for the benefit of Negro trade unionists but for the soul and integrity of organized labor.

DAY-TO-DAY PROBLEMS OF DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION

With a view to giving concrete and specific form to the racial discrimination and segregation system in the American labor movement, the following practices are relatively common and general:

1. Exclusion from membership in trade unions by the color bar.

2. Racially segregated, or jim-crow unions. What is a racially segregated union? The answer is: Where there are two unions that cover the same jurisdiction of class, craft or industry and located in the same area; one with an all-white membership and the other with an all-Negro membership. The two unions would be regarded as racially segregated.

3. Exclusion from jobs based upon race or color because of lack of union membership cards.

4. Inability to attain training and skills because of discrimination in relation to apprenticeship training courses.

5. Relegation to separate seniority rosters on a basis of race and color which limits job opportunity.

6. Assignment to separate job progression lines that wind up in unskilled and semi-skilled job classifications.

7. Existence of so-called white men's jobs, such as railroad engineers, train conductors, etc., as well as supervisory jobs in most industries.

8.

8. Existence of so-called black men's jobs that usually involve jobs of low pay, hard work and bad working conditions.

9. Lack of adequate recognition on policy-making committees on local, national and international unions, as well as central and state bodies.

10. Lack of fair representation on staff personnel in national, internationa, local unions, as well as central and state bodies.

11. Lack of adequate representation as delegates in the conventions of national and international unions.

12. Lack of even token representation from national and international unions in the AFL-CIO biennial conventions.

POSITION OF NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

In the nature of things, the position of the National Negro Labor Council which is in the process of development must be governed by basic premises relating to trade unions and civil rights.

This proposed movement would have no reason for existence were it not committed to the support of and cooperation with the AFL-CIO as well as the national and international and local unions in affiliation with this body. By the same token, there would be no reason d'etre for this movement were it not committed and dedicated to the abolition of racial discrimination and segregation in the labor movement, together with the achievement of fair representation and participation by Negro trade unionists in the various areas of the movement.

Hence, the following basic premises are pertinent to the values of the proposed movement, with respect to the aforementioned objectives.

SOME BASIC PREMISES RELATING TO TRADE UNIONS AND CIVIL RIGHTS

1. Free labor unions are indispensable for human welfare in an industrialized society whose economic life is largely dominated by giant corporate business and financial interests.

2. Labor unions, like other human institutions, are imperfect. Their weaknesses and abuses, when clearly established, should be subject to vigorous and fair criticism, with a view to bringing about corrective policy and administrative changes from within, if possible; if not, then from without.

3. Free labor unions are essential to the strength, health and progress of our democratic society and are one of the prime assets of the United States in its struggle with totalitarian tyranny.

4. The free, private, voluntary organizations of economic enterprise, involving as they do great segments of the lives of all citizens, must also conform to the standards of justice, freedom and equality of opportunity that society establishes.

5. The typical economic organizations; such as corporations, and the pholosophy, program and practices of labor unions, have public effects. These effects, if they are not to be harmful or disastrous upon some of those directly affected as well as the public as a whole, need continuous voluntary internal objective analysis and criticism, together with public disinterested and systematic appraisal since both of these economic organizations are beneficiaries of governmentally derived privileges, position and power as a result of public law, the Railway Labor Act, and the National Labor Relations Act.

6. Racial discrimination is basically incompatible with labor union democracy.

7. Racially segregated or jim crow unions are morally wrong since they affront the dignity of the personality of Negro workers by attaching the stigma of racial inferiority to workers of color.

8. Exclusion from membership in labor unions, by the color bar, or tacit consent, is not only humiliating but economically disastrous in such industries as railroads and certain building crafts and others since it operates either in denial of jobs to Negro workers or displacement from desirable jobs, such as railroad firemen, switchmen, flagmen and brakemen.

IMMEDIATE GOALS

What can the National Negro Labor Council achieve?

It can give Negro trade unionists a sense of unity, both among themselves and with their white brothers. It can also provide them with a sense of purpose, direction and mission and dedication to the philosophy of trade unionism and the program for equality of Negro trade unionists in the labor movement.

It can struggle to bring about the desegregation of the racially segregated unions, with a view to the integration of all workers into trade unions without regard to race or color.

It can promulgate its philosophy to the effect that racially segregated, or jim-crow, unions do not have the right to exist within the framework of a free trade union movement, but since they do exist, they do not have the right of final decision as to whether or when they shall cease to exist, and conform with the national policy on discrimination and segregation as set forth in the Constitution.

The National Negro Labor Council can help the AFL-CIO to cleanse the House of Labor of color-caste discrimination and segregation which will help it win the confidence and faith in its declarations of democracy and freedom among the laboring masses of Africa and Asia.

SOME BASIC POLICIES

In order that there may be no misgivings and misapprehensions about the policy of the proposed National Negro Labor Council on certain basic questions, it is pertinent to indicate that:

a. It is not anti, but pro-AFL-CIO.

b. It is pro-AFL-CIO leadership.

c. It is non-partisan but not non-political.

d. It is pro-Republicans that are pro-civil rights and pro-labor.

e. It is pro-Democrats that are pro-civil rights and pro-labor.

f. It is anti-communist and anti-fascist.

WHY IS IT NECESSARY

It is necessary to achieve greater contact and communication among Negro trade unionists for the achievement of their common goals that involve their fight for equality.

It is necessary because the AFL-CIO, though committee to a national policy against discrimination and segregation based upon race or color, will not voluntarily move toward the implementation of this policy unless it is caused to move, and it cannot be caused to move except through an organization which is committed to the elimination of discrimination and segregation. This is no reflection upon the leadership of the AFL-CIO or the various national or international unions affiliated therewith.

The fact is, racial discrimination and segregation has reached the stage of institutionalization in the labor movement. It is taken for granted. It is viewed with utter complacency, apathy, unconcern, if not indifference. This has been true from the very foundation of the labor movement in the United States up to the present time. There are historical, socio-economic, political and ethnic reasons for this attitude, but it is important to point out that this is not peculiar to the labor movement. Racial discrimination and segregation have reached the state of institutionalization in government, in the Chruch, in business and industry, in the schools, colleges and universities, in sports and entertainment. As a matter of fact, the racial discrimination and segregation system of various institutions of the country are given rigidity and resistance because they are encrusted with the dogma of white **supremacy.**

The labor movement, being an integral factor of the American community, naturally reflects the mores and attitudes that prevail in the community.

It may not be amiss to observe that the proposed National Negro Labor Council is not a new phenomenon in the labor movement.

The early Jewish immigrants to this country set up the United Hebrew Trades, the mouthpiece of which was the Jewish Daily Forward, in New York and the country. The purpose of this movement was to advance the cause of the Jewish workers. Today, the Jewish workers have developed the Jewish Labor Committee which is a movement of considerable proportions and has worked effectively in the civil rights field, not only for Jews, but other minorities. It is recognized and accepted as a legitimate phase of the American labor movement by the AFL-CIO. Jewish workers also receive moral and public relations support from the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee and B'nai **B'rith.**

On account of the fact that the early Irish immigrants were the victims of religious persecution, they found it necessary to establish Catholic trade unions. In addition to Catholic trade unions, the H ibernians, the Knights of Columbus, the H oly Name Society, and other Catholic organizations work with vigor and determination to eliminate discrimination against Irish Catholics in this country.

Realizing the futility of depending upon outside forces to advocate their cause against the evil practices of discrimination and segregation, Puerto Rican workers are not in the process of establishing a Puerto Rican Labor Committee.

The National Negro Labor Council can play an effective and progressive role in opposing anti-labor legislation such as the "right-to-work" laws. It is a well-known fact that although "right-to-work" laws were defeated in California and Ohio during 1959, the movement for the extension of "right-to-work" laws in various states and, finally, a federal right to work law, still has vitality and is pursuing the same program.

Be it said to the credit of the NAACP, in cooperation with the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO, waged a vigorous and effective campaign against "right-to-work" laws in the aforementioned states. It is an understatement to add that were it not for the relentless educational campaign of the NAACP against the "right-to-work" laws, they might not have been defeated. The National Negro Labor Council can be effective in joining hands with trade unions in opposing anti-labor politicians and supporting pro-labor political leaders in government and out of government.

WILL THE PROPOSED COUNCIL PROMOTE BLACK NATIONALISM?

What is B lack Nationalism?

1. It is basically the Negro's reaction behavior pattern to White Nationalism. White Nationalism is the cause - Black Nationalism is the effect.

2. Black Nationalism is a ghetto people's defense and offense mechanism against persecution, insult, oppression and poverty.

3. Black Nationalism is psychological compensation for social, economic and political rejection by the dominant racial power system.

4. It is a manifestation of disillusionment with the concepts, professions and practices of Christianity and democracy.

5. It is an expression of fear and frustration, despair and desperation, on the part of the Negro, with the violence of race hate.

6. It's a bitter outcry against the empty and mocking conservative, liberal, religious, and labor white paternalism.

7. It's a direct, if awkward, expression of belief in the simple fact that the salvation of a people must come from within - that our friends may help us but they cannot save us.

8. The basic remedy for Black-Nationalism, which can become a danger to social peace as White Nationalism is a danger to social peace, is the abolition of White Nationalism which expresses itself in lynchings, mob law, disenfranchisement, segregation and discrimination in schools, Church, government, housing, political parties, labor unions, sports, stage and screen.

9. While Black Nationalism, like White Nationalism, is unsound and leads to violent forms of extremism, it is not to be equated with rational racial unity which may be constructive, creative and healthy for self-defense and various forms of cultural, political, economic and social achievement.

10. One of the dangers of Black Nationalism is that it tends to breed hatred against white people merely because they are white, not because they have committed some wrong against Negroes. This is the behavior pattern of white nationalists.

11. Black Nationalism's violent hatred and propaganda against white people can lead to violence which will worsen racial relations and injure both Negroes and whites.

12. Black Nationalism tends to direct its venomous attacks upon white people instead of discriminatory practices of some white people.

13. It is based upon the false assumption of the capacity of Negroes for self-sufficiency in this age of science, industrialism and technology.

14. Black Nationalism tends to develop into a conspiracy against Negroes themselves, by opposing the Negroes' fight for freedom on the grounds that freedom from discrimination and segregation will lead to racial mixing and the loss of proper devotion to the black man's African heritage - which is both folly and a fallacy.

15. Black Nationalism also tends to lead to division and weakness of the Negro masses from within because of internal color bias.

16. Black Nationalism is unsound because it disallows contact between the races. Without contact, there cannot be communication and without communication, there breeds suspicions, doubts, fears and frustrations that prevent understanding, confidence and cooperation.

To the question "Will the National Negro Labor Council promote Black Nationalism," the answer is naturally, "No." Instead of the Council promoting Black Nationalism, it will serve to remove the basis of Black Nationalism by working to the end of eliminating discrimination and segregation in the labor movement and the government.

Finally, it is said in Holy Writ: "For the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle."

p.7

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT ANNUAL RACE PROGRESS DAY OBSERVANCE
NEW BETHEL BAPTIST CHURCH, WINSTON SALEM, N.C.
NOVEMBER 7, 1959.

My dear friends, first of all permit me to say that I am honored for the privilege to share in this occasion.

We are here because Negroes are not yet fully free. [Negroes are not yet fully free because the Civil War revolution was never completed.] The Civil War revolution was never fully completed because [the new industrial and financial rulers of the North considered it unnecessary since the Union had been saved.]

Because of the fact that we are in the midst of a crisis in the civil rights revolution now underway, it is well for us to look back to note and evaluate the crisis which followed the close of the Civil War revolution, during which time the major rights of Negroes were systematically nullified and virtually cast into the ash can of history.

It is important to point out that in every crisis there are two major forces: 1) Danger. 2) Opportunity.

There is always danger that the cause may be lost and there is opportunity that it may be won. Whether it be lost or won depends primarily upon the policy and action adopted and carried on by the people who have a stake in the cause of freedom and human justice.

Though the Negro, during the period of reconstruction following the Civil War, labored under grave limitations, the record of their leaders in government was not inglorious. Be it said to their eternal credit, they stood for basic principles of free public education and a free ballot.

But the storm of the counterrevolution broke upon the South and the freedman even before the war amendments had been adopted and in 1876, during the Hayes-Tilden election, the counterrevolution had not only set up Black Codes for the virtual re-enslavement of the freedmen, but their former friends of the Republican Party in the North were turning against them. Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican candidate, won the election solely because of a bipartisan deal to withdraw the Federal Army from the South.

The Freedmen Bureau, set up to help, protect, and guide the hapless former Negro slaves, was dismantled and the wild winds of racial hatred swept over the land. The Ku Klux Klan was invented and with rope and fagot sought to break the spirit of the former slaves.

Despite the uncompromising voices of Thaddeus Stevens in the House of Representatives and Charles Sumner in the Senate thundering, in season and out of season, for full, first-class citizenship for the freedmen, a new voice of compromise and accommodation was raised from within by the Negroes' most outstanding Negro leader, Booker T. Washington, who, at the Exposition of Atlanta in 1894, made the famous statement: "In America one can be as one as the hand in all things industrial and as separate as the fingers in all things social."

Following this memorable statement came the famous Plesy vs. Ferguson decision of the United States Supreme Court in which was handed down the doctrine of "separate but equal" in 1896.

Thus, the engine of the counterrevolution which sought to tear down the constitutional framework of protection for the emancipated slaves lumbered ruthlessly forward until checked by a number of favorable civil rights decisions on the grandfather clause, white primaries, segregated housing and transportation and, finally, the United States Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 for the desegregation and integration of public schools.

Just as the counterrevolution against the Civil War revolution nullified the 13th Amendment to the Constitution of 1865, the 14th Amendment of 1868 and the 15th Amendment of 1870, the second counterrevolution has begun in massive and ominous dimensions to nullify the monumental, momentous and marvelous decision of the United States Supreme Court to free Negro Americans of the stigma of "half a man."

Fortunately, contrary to the plight of the Negro who was let out of slavery landless, jobless, moneyless, voteless and friendless, today, the men of color in America have the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with its able and brilliant leadership; a nationwide and articulate press; an influential Church; and some prestige in party politics and government. Negroes are not voteless, landless, jobless, moneyless, or friendless. But it is well for us to be realistic, and objectively appraise the forces at our command with which to face the future.

When we look at today and yesterday, the counterrevolution of 1876 was designed to re-enslave the Negro. The counterrevolution of today seeks to re-establish the doctrine of separate but equal. There are many comparabilities between these two periods that require analysis and appraisal.

When the counterrevolution set in, in 1876, there were few men in Congress upon whom the freedmen could depend to champion their cause. Today, there are but a handful of men in the Congress to whom Negroes may turn for support. Outstanding among these few are Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell, William Dawson and Charles C. Diggs.

Just as the spirit of abolition manifested by William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, Lovejoy, and others, died; just as the northern anti-slavery press of the years before the Civil War began to dilute and soften, if not weaken, the fight for emancipation; just as a stalwart champion in the government like Daniel Webster backed away from his former position for the anti-slavery cause, shook hands with Henry Clay and espoused the movement of compromise which gave recognition to the validity of the fugitive slave law; so today, the northern press, including the great dailies and magazines, are not only making a fetish of "moderation", with respect to the enforcement of the Supreme Court decision of 1954, but are definitely in retreat from the cause of the desegregation of public schools. They have readily accepted the notorious pupil placement law which virtually constitutes, in many ways, a trend toward the nullification of the Supreme Court decision on desegregation of public schools.

Just as the old liberalism which fought against slavery before the Civil War weakened and died, so today, liberalism is in collapse. It is in decline. Its voice is timid and afraid. There is little, if any, fight left in it for civil rights, North or South. While the government has enacted a civil rights law, it is toothless and there is no will in the Administration to enforce it, weak as it is.

It is clear to him who reads and views our contemporary scene that the Negro today is not only not winning his fight for civil rights, but the South with its doctrine of white supremacy, its White Citizens Council and its Ku Klux Klan is pressing, if not winning, the cold war against the Negro's fight for freedom.

In this hour of trial by fire and terror I wonder if we possess, in sufficient measure, the will to face the future with force and fortitude, without fear. I seem to sense from my travels around the country in various circles of Negroes, a corrosive and deadening state of dejection, defeatism, and despair; a sort of creeping paralysis of faith in our cause and faith in ourselves. This, I submit, is a greater danger to the cause of civil rights than the Dixiecrat South.

While this is not a reassuring and promising picture; while it is threatening, if not alarming, it is nevertheless true.

To note another dark cloud upon our horizon in the struggle for first-class citizenship, we have only to look at the Negro and the ballot in the South today. The ink was hardly dry on the new civil rights legislation before preparations were being made to effect its nullification by prominent political leaders in the South. Legislation is now being proposed and enacted by various states in the Deep South, especially in the states of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, which is designed to severely restrict and curb the registration of Negro voters and practically make a joke and a farce out of their efforts to exercise their constitutional right to vote.

It is also important to note in this connection that the movement to desegregate public schools has not yet gotten its feet wet in the

Deep South. While the Government sent federal troops to Little Rock to uphold the federal court decrees on the desegregation of public schools, the eight little Negro children have been virtually deserted, and compelled to bear the heavy responsibility of enforcing the Supreme Court decision by the crucifixion of their little souls upon the cross of racial hate.

But this is not all to the counterrevolution against the civil rights revolution. Realizing that the Federal Constitution and the United States Supreme Court constitute the bastions of Negro liberty and justice, a massive attack is now being systematically launched, not only against the Supreme Court but against the 14th Amendment to the Constitution as well, claiming that it was never constitutionally ratified.

In addition to this, there is a sly and subtle scheme to undermine the ancient rights of habeas corpus, chiefly to deprive the Negro of its protection in the South. Federal legislation is being proposed to provide that a citizen convicted of a crime must first exhaust the remedies of the state courts before making petition to the federal courts whereas, at present, he may exercise his right of habeas corpus originally in a federal court which is free from domination by the local mores, whether in the South or in other parts of the country.

I need not emphasize the great seriousness of this situation for it is obvious to anyone who has the will to see. Where, may I ask, would the Negro be today if he had to take his case for the desegregation of public schools to the racist state courts in the South.

And let me warn you that even the United States Supreme Court is not unaffected by the election returns and the course of public opinion.

Remember the U. S. Supreme Court has changed its position before on great issues of public policy. It reversed its position on the income tax. It reversed its position the Roosevelt New Deal social and labor legislation. It can, and might change its position on the question of the desegregation of public schools. Who can gainsay the fact that the Supreme Court is now in retreat on the issue of civil rights? Whether the Court goes back or stands firm on its civil rights decision will depend on Negroes and their allies, but chiefly Negroes. Yes, we need our liberal allies and friends; we must continue to cultivate more of them. But we must also remember that while our white liberal friends and allies may help us, they cannot save us. We must save ourselves. It is written in the stars that salvation must come from within; this is so and ever will be so. It is true of labor; it is true of the Jew; it is true of the Catholics. It will be true of Africa; it will be true of Asia.

In very truth, one of the Negro's most serious limitations and shortcomings is that he leans upon too many outside forces instead of leaning mainly upon himself.

While we seek help from our allies and friends, we should be ready and willing to give help to those groups in our national community who need it. We must help the Jews fight anti-Semitism. We must help the Catholics fight anti-Catholicism. We must help labor fight anti-laborism. We must help our government fight the evil forces of communism, colonialism, racism and fascism, at home and abroad, for they constitute a major threat to freedom, democracy and human dignity everywhere.

What then is to be done?

First, let us beware of the high-powered propaganda campaign, not only to isolate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from the mainstream of public affairs by legislation in the South branding it as communist but, also, to frighten the Negro away from it by violence and intimidation.

The NAACP must be supported by vigorous and uncompromising public advocacy and by dollars out of the pockets of Negroes. Yes, millions of dollars must be given by Negroes for freedom, for freedom is not free. It is costly. It must be paid for. It must be fought for.

Second, because of the vast dimensions of the problem of the Negro winning equal freedom and justice in this country, it is important that there be a re-evaluation of organizational and leadership strategy. It is obvious that this job of winning first-class citizenship is too big and too difficult for any one organization. The NAACP cannot win this war alone. It does not possess the power. It does not possess the total necessary strategy. However, it needs to be recognized as the leader in the fight for civil rights. It has earned this right.

But, in order that it get the vast weight and strength of the Negro population back of it, there is a basic necessity for coordination of the strength of the various major Negro organizations today, including the Church, fraternal societies, civic movements, women's clubs, labor and business groups, in every local community as well as on a national basis.

The fact that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People does not yet have five hundred thousand members, and probably less than a million dollars in resources, vividly highlights the fact that a very small proportion of the Negro's strength, in terms of organization and leadership, has been put back of the movement for the desegregation of public schools and civil rights in general.

Third, in addition to the necessity for building organizational coordination in the interest of achieving greater power for use by the Negro in his fight for freedom, it is important that there be greater leadership consultation on strategy and policy, if not tactics, from time to time.

In times of storm and stress such as the Little Rock tragedy, the main forces of Negro leadership had little if any contact for basic consultation with respect to strategy and, hence, while the consequences may not have resulted any differently with respect to the Little Rock problem than now obtain, more extensive consultation in the realm of high levels of Negro leadership would, no doubt, have raised the morale among the Negro masses higher, being conscious of the fact that all of the resources of leadership strength of the Negroes were being brought to bear on the desegregation of public schools in that time of crisis.

Fourth, obviously, the total struggle of the Negro along the civil rights front has not been pushed with maximum force because of limited and inadequate financial resources in the hands of the NAACP, the Montgomery Improvement Association, the Tallahassee Civic Association and, also, the National Urban League, which has been thrown out of some of the Community Chests in the South.

The lack of financial resources is not due to the inability of Negroes to provide the funds for their fight themselves, but a new type of strategy is necessary in order to mobilize the funds. This strategy must reach, arouse, awaken and deepen the Negro's faith in himself and in his power to achieve his freedom.

Fifth, because the ballot can change the basic status of the Negro in this country today, the ballot must be utilized on a nationwide scale to its maximum potentiality. To this end, some national movement is necessary for complete concentration on the problem to effect registration of Negro citizens on a basis of block-by-block and house-by-house campaign in every community, village and township.

I cannot too strongly observe that the right of the Negro to register and vote is paramount. Thus, in continuing the United States Civil Rights Commission, Congress could not have done less and next year, I hope, will do more to provide Federal protection for the right to vote.

There will be earnest opposition by most southern Congressmen to enlarging the role of the Federal Government in protecting voting rights, but the Senate's 71 to 18 vote of confidence in the Civil Rights Commission suggests that the votes are there for strengthening the Civil Rights Acts of 1957.

It is a well-known fact that the right to vote for Federal officials - President, Vice-President, Senators, Representatives - is a Federal right. This civil right is explicitly spelled out in the Constitution, as is the authority of Congress to enforce it. If state and county officials act to discriminate against citizens who want to exercise this Federal right it is the duty of the Federal Government to protect this Federal right.

This is the clear and unanimous conclusion of the Civil Rights Commission, including its southern members.

It is useful to have the commission make the clear distinction that while the "qualifications" of voters are governed by state law, the right to vote derives from Article I of the Constitution. Article I also authorizes Federal protection of voting in Federal elections against interference from any source. There are other explicit constitutional provisions:

The 14th Amendment rules against state interference with equality of opportunity to vote in any election.

The 15th Amentment explicitly prohibits any action by the United States or a state which interferes with the right to vote because of race or color.

The 19th Amendment outlaws discrimination against women voting.

The principal voting discrimination is now against Negro citizens and this discrimination is limited almost entirely to the South. Here appreciable progress has been made in recent years. In 1947 only about 12 per cent of the adult Negro population in the South was registered. The number of Negro registrants rose from 595,000 in 1947 to 1,200,000 in 1956. This represents about 25 per cent of the nearly 5,000,000 Negroes of voting age in the South in 1950. By contrast, about 60 per cent of the voting-age southern whites are registered.

The primary service which the Federal Civil Rights Commission is rendering is to point up the facts. This is a valuable service because its investigations bring together a body of incontestable evidence that the failure of many southern Negroes to register is not the result of apathy but is the result of deliberate, continuing discrimination by state and county officials.

The commission investigated the situation in several counties in Georgia and Louisiana. It found areas in which no Negro is allowed to register and others in which only token registration is permitted. Many extra-legal devices are used to prevent Negro registration. Negro applicants are usually kept waiting about nine hours before being allowed to begin the attempted process. If registration looks as though it couldn't be avoided, the registration boards will often simply cease to operate. County registration officials, who were called to testify before the commission, were determined to cover up their activities. They tried to conceal the records and some went so far as to plead the 5th Amendment, refusing to answer on the ground that for them to speak the truth would incriminate them.

Naturally, certain states' rights must be preserved, but when state rights are used to cancel Federal rights, then the Federal Government has to act.

The job of developing a nation-wide drive to achieve 100 per cent registration of Negroes in every village, community and city of the country is fundamentally a job for young men and women. This job can only be done with the zeal of the crusader. It's too big a job to be paid for. Young men and women must be fired with the inspiration and racial devotion to develop the movement. They must go to the masses where the power is,not only to get them to understand the value and importance of registering and voting, but patiently to teach them how it is done. This is probably one of the biggest tasks for the Negro American today but it is not a task beyond his reaches.

While an increasingly larger number of Negroes are registering and voting, it is a matter of common knowledge that less than 50 per cent of Negro voters in most communities register and vote. It must be emphasized that registering and voting is the fundamental aim - not the question of Negroes voting for either the Democrats or Republicans. For, in the main, there is no essential difference between these two political groups. So far as Democrats and Republicans are concerned with civil rights, it's tweedledee and tweedledum.

It must be clear to Negroes that under any administration, Democratic or Republican, Negroes must fight for their rights. What is true of the Negro is true of labor. Who would be so bold as to claim there is a difference between a Republican and Democrat in Georgia or, for that matter, in New York or Chicago. All politicians are fundamentally alike - the "ins" want to stay in office and the "outs" want to get into office.

The only way by which Negroes and labor can get politicians, Republican or Democrat, to respond favorably to their demands is to develop and keep the political propaganda pressure on them. This is the only language the politician can understand. It is a matter of historical record that politicians will not move in behalf of worthy and just causes unless the people move them, and the people cannot move them without the use of the ballot or the threat of the use of the ballot to put them out or in public office.

Today, organized labor has its back to the wall and is fighting for its life. It realizes that a basic method for survival is to make use of the ballot on a big scale. By the same token, the Negro today has his back against the wall and he, too, must fight for survival and, to this end, he must make use of the instrumentality of his suffrage.

But in order that Negroes may develop the moral and social dynamism necessary successfully to grapple with this crisis of the civil rights revolution they must have a re-baptism in the strong waters of a fighting faith for freedom. There needs must be a re-birth of hope and a burning passion for the status of free men.

There must come a re-dedication and re-consecration of the **Negro's** life and labor beyond the call of duty; to struggle, to sacrifice and to suffer for freedom, equality, human dignity and a better tomorrow.

It is written in holy prophecy: "There is no remission of sin except through blood."

Thus, Negroes must bear the cross for a full and free life with faith and fortitude, with courage and confidence, and unshakable commitment to the everlasting human values of truth and righteousness, liberty and love, for all mankind.

To the achievement of this goal may Negroes set their hearts and hands, and may God grant that they never falter.

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Georgia; Little Rock and New Orleans; Tallahassee and St. Augustine.

And, we honor those great and noble souls who never retreated before the forces of reaction, whether racial or political.

America is the richer by the life and work of such stalwart freedom fighters as Eleanor Roosevelt, the First Lady of the world, and Herbert H. Lehman, who stood up and defied McCarthy on the Senate floor, William Edward Burghardt DuBois, and many others,

And we honor those great liberals still on the battlefront for freedom - Frank P. Graham, Norman Thomas, Ralph McGill, John Haynes Holmes, Aubrey Williams and many, many more.

That all men are created equal is an idea whose time has come for the Negro and America. It cannot be stopped. It cannot be stopped by mad dogs or madmen, murder or mobs, prejudice or police. The idea that all men are created equal was born in the fires of a fighting faith in freedom. It gathers its strength from the Judeo-Christian traditions and its roots sink deep in the invincibility of truth, justice and right.

Thus, in this hour of trial by fire, may God give us the strength, the faith and the courage never to falter.

STATEMENT TO PHILADELPHIA URBAN LEAGUE
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY DAY CELEBRATION
DECEMBER 4, 1959, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

By: A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

I keenly regret that I am unable to be with you this evening to personally receive the Merit Award from the Philadelphia Urban League, upon the occasion of the celebration of Equal Opportunity Day in Philadelphia. I want to express my deep appreciation and gratitude for this high honor bestowed upon me for my humble efforts in the American trade union movement.

May I extend to the League my best wishes for continued success in its splendid and constructive effort to achieve equal opportunity in our great country, and in our time, for all persons, regardless of race, religion, national origin or ancestry.

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE Speeches

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT THE NATIONAL EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP
BANQUET OF I.B.P.O.E.W., NATIONAL PRESS CLUB,
WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 28, 1960.

My dear friends, first of all permit me to say that I am honored for the privilege to share in this occasion.

We are here because Negroes are not yet fully free. Negroes are not yet fully free because the Civil War revolution was never completed. The Civil War revolution was never fully completed because the new industrial and financial rulers of the North considered it unnecessary since the Union had been saved.

Because of the fact that we are in the midst of a crisis in the civil rights revolution now underway, it is well for us to look back to note and evaluate the crisis which followed the close of the Civil War revolution, during which time the major rights of Negroes were systematically nullified and virtually cast into the ash can of history.

It is important to point out that in every crisis there are two major forces: 1) Danger. 2) Opportunity.

There is always danger that the cause may be lost and there is opportunity that it may be won. Whether it be lost or won depends primarily upon the policy and action adopted and carried on by the people who have a stake in the cause of freedom and human justice.

Though the Negro, during the period of reconstruction following the Civil War, labored under grave limitations, the record of their leaders in government was not inglorious. Be it said to their

As another example of political indifference and unconcern we have the hideous experience of a brutal murder in Mississippi, with the killers identified, their premeditation and conspiracy known in full detail, but neither State nor Federal governments able even to punish them for disorderly conduct. An utter and complete breakdown of law disgraces the nation, terrorizes its citizens and neither party has yet proposed that a Federal anti-lynch law be enacted.

The list could be extended. The heart of civil rights legislation, Section 3, still remains in a Congressional pigeonhole. An FEPC law to extend economic opportunity and security for Negroes is still another forgotten bill.

Why have reactionary forces been able to frustrate, delay and obstruct not only these urgently needed laws but the enforcement of the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 as well?

The answer is simple.

This tragic condition proceeds from the fact that the leaders of nations do not act from motives of pure justice. Instead, they seek to maintain a peaceful balance amongst the contending forces that comprise the nation. No group knows this better than Southern reactionaries and their Northern allies. They have always employed the technique of creating confusion and diversions, with the object of damaging the peaceful pursuits of government and the social order. Their object is to compel the liberal forces to submit if they want a peaceful and quiet community. Tragically, liberal forces have submitted in their quest for an end to disruption.

The pattern of reaction since Reconstruction days has been based on these factors:

1. The government and the liberals speak of justice and progress but more profoundly desire internal peace.
2. The government and liberals finally yeild to the demands of those most capable of creating maximum pressures and social discord.
3. That Negroes are not capable of creating counter pressures that can be more forceful and embarrassing to government than those reaction create.

To state the condition suggests its solution. Our task is to find the non-violent ways to bring direct and powerful pressure to bear upon government, offsetting and countering the pressures of reaction.

We cannot permit the nation to seek a false social serenity by sacrificing the human rights and needs of millions of its citizens. We must make it clear that we will not permit such a false peace to exist but will create and conduct a wide variety of actions constantly, so that social calm will not prevail until our demands have been met.

We must make it clear that if reaction can win by creating discord in the community, peace cannot be found by abandoning our rights to reaction because we shall not be quiet, polite, or content until justice is firmly in our hands.

We must make it clear that democracy cannot be mutilated while we sit by passively, silently, and submissively.

To this end, I intend to call for marches on the political conventions of both major parties, Democratic and Republican. The Negro people must stand up before these conventions and say to the nation and the world, "we want to be free now."

The concrete demands and just grievances of the Negro people presented as they march before these conventions is a weapon that will circle the globe as a moral missile.

Such a project, the first of its kind in American political history, will mobilize the power and resistance within the people and will demonstrate that the Negro is aware that he holds the balance of power in many key states. It will give the parties and candidates clear warning that we intend to use our ballots to support only those forces that will take a firm and unequivocal stand for justice now.

Our marching will furnish clear warning that if rash promises are not kept we will march again and again to state capitals and to the nation's capital.

We are challenged to demonstrate that when we are contemptuously brushed aside we will retaliate. We are challenged to prove that when political leaders and parties yield to reactionary pressures we, too, have the will, the determination, and the capacity to inflict penalties politically. We are challenged to prove that Negro interests cannot be dismissed or ignored with impunity.

We can meet these challenges by marching at the conventions to declare to the nation and the world that we shall never, never relax our pressure until full freedom is won.

STATEMENT BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT HUMAN RIGHTS DINNER
PITTSBURGH BRANCH, NAACP
PITTSBURGH, PA., APRIL 8, 1960

Civil rights is the central question before the American people today. It is of the most paramount interest and concern to the millions of Negroes in this country. It is not only of domestic significance to this nation but also of international importance. More than any other issue in this country, civil rights may serve as the yardstick by which the great world of color, which represents two-thirds of the population of the people of mankind, will measure America's leadership of world democracy.

In the great international rivalry and conflict between the concept of democracy - the doctrine of individual rights, and the concept of totalitarian Communism or Fascism, with emphasis upon collective rights or rights of the State, the position of the billion of people of color of the world may be decisive.

But regardless of what the attitude of the people of color of the world may be toward America's racial policy, and regardless of the propaganda of the communist world concerning racial discrimination, with a view to making capital and extending its influence among so-called underdeveloped peoples of the world, Negroes in the United States are fighting for civil rights because it is right. They seek the abolition of all forms of racial inequalities because they are American citizens and are entitled to equality under the constitution. They also seek the elimination of all distinctions based upon race or color because they are not only scientifically unsound but morally wrong.

Under the Judeo-Christian traditions, every citizen of the country has the God-given right to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Racial discrimination based upon race, color, religion or national origin is incompatible with Judeo-Christian tradition and the American democratic creed. To deny an indivudual his rights as a human being is a crime against man and a sin against God.

Thus, Negroes in this country are confident of the triumph of the cause of equality, freedom and justice, but only if they continue to press and fight for it, as the gallant, dedicated and fearless Negro students in the South today are fighting with sit-in demonstrations against jim crow policies in chain stores.

Just as Negro students are on the march in the South against the institutionalization of racial proscription, black Africans in South Africa, consecrated and unafraid, are marching tens of thousands strong and more, to abolish the hated and hateful color pass. These laboring African masses are on fire with compassion for freedom and human dignity and are proudly laying down their lives, under the gunfire of white subjects, in order that they and their children may walk in dignity and freedom.

Negro trade unionists in this country are also on the march to sweep all of the vestiges and remnants of discrimination against Negro workers from the House of labor.

To this end, a campaign is now being waged for membership and delegates to be sent to the Founding Convention of the Negro American Labor Council which will be held in Detroit, May 27 - 29.

The Provisional Committee of the Negro American Labor Council was set up in the Statler Hotel in New York City, July 19, 1959. Some fifty or more Negro trade unionists, representing crafts, classes, and industries all over the nation, participated in the conference. At that time a steering committee was appointed which is committed to make arrangements and carry out the preliminary work for the development of the convention.

The purpose of the Negro American Labor Council is to fight for the elimination of discrimination and segregation in the labor movement, which includes the breaking down of barriers against membership of Negro workers in unions, eliminating discrimination against participation of Negro workers in apprenticeship training courses in industries, and abolishing opposition to Negroes being included on all policy-making bodies of local, national, international unions, city central bodies and state federations of labor.

The Council is not a trade union and, therefore, will not engage in the business of collective bargaining. It will not become involved in jurisdictional problems. It will not constitute any form of dual unionism. Its main concern is the achievement of first-class citizenship and membership of Negro workers in all areas of the trade union movement.

It is basically interested in the strengthening of organized labor as such, and will, therefore, join in the fight against anti-labor and anti-civil rights legislation. It will throw its weight behind legislation which is pro-labor and pro-civil rights.

It is not anti-AFL-CIO and it is not anti-the leadership of the AFL-CIO. It is non-partisan but not non-political, although it is anti-Communist since we believe that civil rights and labor's rights can only be realized within the framework of our democratic society.

Finally, Negroes, in spite of attack after attack against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which is leading the fight for civil rights in this nation, will rally to its banner. If membership in the NAACP is denied to the Negro in the South, Negroes in the North will step up and make up for the loss of their brothers in this great organization.

Realizing that racists of the South are attempting to drain all of the financial resources of the NAACP by endless lawsuits, Negro Americans and all lovers of liberty must come to the financial support of the NAACP. We must also come to the support of the struggle of Martin Luther King against the attempted frame-up by southern detractors.

STATEMENT BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT
PUBLIC RALLY, CARNEGIE HALL, NEW YORK CITY
SUNDAY, JANUARY 24, 1960

This is a period of grave crisis. It is also a period of opportunity and danger. There is opportunity to win the fight of civil rights. There is danger we may lose it. Whether we win or lose will depend upon the unity of the Negroes, as well as the unity of Negroes with other forces committed to civil rights, such as labor, the Church, youth groups and liberals.

Some of the leaders of the major political parties are already revealed as evasive and devoid of sincerity on civil rights issues. At this time, when each party needs and wants the Negro vote, their intention is clear - to satisfy none of the burning demands of the Negro people. Their design is to give nothing of meaning but to solicit support, hoping that our confusion or irresolution will find us casting our votes for them in exchange for a trivial gain or empty promises.

Apparently, they hope that the promise to extend the Civil Rights Commission for two additional years is sufficient to win us despite their refusal to implement the recommendations of the very Civil Rights Commission whose life is to be extended.

They have demonstrated that when a conservative body of bipartisan members produces a practical proposal such as federal registrars in the South to guarantee registration and voting they will ignore and even seek to discredit the proposal, and yet they expect us to regard the maintenance of the Commission as a concession. To illustrate the absurdity another way - when we are hungry, they keep the bread and offer us the wrapper.

As another example of political indifference and unconcern we have the hideous experience of a brutal murder in Mississippi, with the killers identified, their premeditation and conspiracy known in full detail, but neither State nor Federal governments able even to punish them for disorderly conduct. An utter and complete breakdown of law disgraces the nation, terrorizes its citizens and neither party has yet proposed that a Federal anti-lynch law be enacted.

The list could be extended. The heart of civil rights legislation, Section 3, still remains in a Congressional pigeonhole. An FEPC law to extend economic opportunity and security for Negroes is still another forgotten bill.

Why have reactionary forces been able to frustrate, delay and obstruct not only these urgently needed laws but the enforcement of the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 as well?

The answer is simple.

This tragic condition proceeds from the fact that the leaders of nations do not act from motives of pure justice. Instead, they seek to maintain a peaceful balance amongst the contending forces that comprise the nation. No group knows this better than Southern reactionaries and their Northern allies. They have always employed the technique of creating confusion and diversions, with the object of damaging the peaceful pursuits of government and the social order. Their object is to compel the liberal forces to submit if they want a peaceful and quiet community. Tragically, liberal forces have submitted in their quest for an end to disruption.

The pattern of reaction since Reconstruction days has been based on these factors:

1. The government and the liberals speak of justice and progress but more profoundly desire internal peace.
2. The government and liberals finally yeild to the demands of those most capable of creating maximum pressures and social discord.
3. That Negroes are not capable of creating counter pressures that can be more forceful and embarrassing to government than those reaction create.

To state the condition suggests its solution. Our task is to find the non-violent ways to bring direct and powerful pressure to bear upon government, offsetting and countering the pressures of reaction.

We cannot permit the nation to seek a false social serenity by sacrificing the human rights and needs of millions of its citizens. We must make it clear that we will not permit such a false peace to exist but will create and conduct a wide variety of actions constantly, so that social calm will not prevail until our demands have been met.

We must make it clear that if reaction can win by creating discord in the community, peace cannot be found by abandoning our rights to reaction because we shall not be quiet, polite, or content until justice is firmly in our hands.

We must make it clear that democracy cannot be mutilated while we sit by passively, silently, and submissively.

To this end, I intend to call for marches on the political conventions of both major parties, Democratic and Republican. The Negro people must stand up before these conventions and say to the nation and the world, "we want to be free now."

The concrete demands and just grievances of the Negro people presented as they march before these conventions is a weapon that will circle the globe as a moral missile.

Such a project, the first of its kind in American political history, will mobilize the power and resistance within the people and will demonstrate that the Negro is aware that he holds the balance of power in many key states. It will give the parties and candidates clear warning that we intend to use our ballots to support only those forces that will take a firm and unequivocal stand for justice now.

Our marching will furnish clear warning that if rash promises are not kept we will march again and again to state capitals and to the nation's capital.

We are challenged to demonstrate that when we are contemptuously brushed aside we will retaliate. We are challenged to prove that when political leaders and parties yield to reactionary pressures we, too, have the will, the determination, and the capacity to inflict penalties politically. We are challenged to prove that Negro interests cannot be dismissed or ignored with impunity.

We can meet these challenges by marching at the conventions to declare to the nation and the world that we shall never, never relax our pressure until full freedom is won.

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT LUNCHEON OF NEW YORK TEACHERS' GUILD IN RESPONSE TO ACCEPTANCE OF THE JOHN DEWEY AWARD- HOTEL ASTOR, MARCH 5, 1960.

I am deeply honored that the New York Teachers Guild has tendered me the John Dewey Award. With your permission I should like to accept it not so much for what I have done but, rather, in recognition of the basic challenge of our times and in terms of what we can do about them now.

I can take this liberty because I am among friends, friends who have stood shoulder to shoulder with me in many a human rights battle. Immediately comes to my mind the name of Miss Layle Lane, a former vice president of the American Federation of Teachers and an executive board member of your Guild for so many years. There is Dr. Edward Gottlieb who has figured prominently in our Prayer Pilgrimage and Youth Marches for Integrated Schools. There is Richard Parrish who has been a constant fighter with me since the March on Washington Movement days of the early Forties.

But aside from cherished friendships within the Guild, it is what the American Federation of Teachers represents: "Democracy in Education, Education for Democracy", and what it has done to implement this goal that has always impressed me. I am not unmindful of the fact that while large sections of the labor movement slumbered or heeded the siren call of the Communist Party, your group rejected totalitarianism as being inimical to a democratic society. That was in 1935 and you were about a decade ahead of many forces in the labor movement and the general public.

It is not a guarded secret that the Teachers Guild is not a rich union and, therefore, you have not been suspect of corrupt practices or racketeering. But if it had been that unfortunate I believe you would have dealt with this problem responsibly within your union, without the interference of legislative hearings, federal legislation and Supreme Court decisions.

This I can say because in 1956, in Pittsburgh, I believe, your International outlawed segregated locals in the three cities where they existed, and you paid the price all must pay for adherence to a democratic principle when it is unpopular. I know that your international president, Brother Carl Megel, has spent many a sleepless night wondering how he was going to make up the thousands of members per capita you lost on that decision. But, today, your union is stronger in membership and moral fibre than it has ever been before. That is why I always cite and hail the American Federation of Teachers when someone high in labor says it can't be done.

It seems to me that the labor movement can no more compromise with racism than it can with communism or racketeerism, and if it can penalize unions for being red-dominated or racketeer-ridden then it can do likewise for unions that are race-dominated.

The life and works of John Dewey epitomize your goal of a democratic education. As card bearer No. 1 of the American Federation of Teachers he believed, and I am sure that you concur, that learning can be rooted in experience as well as in the abstractions of books. Permeating his philosophy one senses a dynamic, youthful quality which stimulates optimism, nourishes faith in student and teacher alike. If John Dewey's faith in young people required vindication, it has been forthcoming in the past few years, indeed in the past few weeks.

As teachers you will be delighted to learn that for at least three years some of the youth of our nation have been sensing, evaluating, and actively participating in the social revolution against segregation. Often this experential concern has taken form in student strikes against eating the products of companies controlled by the white citizens' councils, as in Orangeburg, S. C.; bus boycotts, as in Tallahassee; sit-down demonstrations in department store lunch counters, as in Oklahoma City; the Youth Marches for Integrated Schools in which 12,000 and 26,000 youngsters visited the nation's capital within one year, in the interest of civil rights and effective implementation of the Supreme Court decisions.

The cumulative effect of these experiences have prepared our youth to project one of the most significant experiments in social change that this nation has ever witnessed. These youth are prepared to fill the jails of the South rather than submit to the indignities of segregation. In this effort for human dignity I feel certain that the New York Teachers Guild will respond enthusiastically, as you have in the past. John Dewey would have hardly expected less of his colleagues.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS OF TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
STATLER-HILTON HOTEL, DETROIT, MICHIGAN, MAY 28, 1960

THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION
AND
NEGRO WORKERS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Fellow delegates, as Temporary Chairman, I now call the Founding Convention of the Negro American Labor Council to order.

Fellow trade unionists, delegates, and workers, we have come here today from various areas of our country; we have come from the mills and mines, factories and farms, rails and seas; we have come from trade unions covering different crafts, classes and industries.

The question arises: Why are we here?

We are here because we are the victims of the problem of the color line; the color line in labor unions, industry, government, schools, housing, the professions, the arts and sports.

What, then, is the color line?

The color line is the line which divides the Negro and white populations in the United States, in Africa, in Asia, the Isles of the Sea, and wherever white and colored races live. The color line is construed to separate the alleged inferior from the superior races. It is the line of racial discrimination and segregation. It is an evidence of second-class citizenship.

In the House of Labor, in industry, and in government it is marked by certain outstanding and unique economic, industrial and social phenomena. These phenomena constitute the problem in the areas of our interests.

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THE PROBLEM

An outline of the problem involves:

- (a) Color bar in constitutions, rituals, or by tacit consent.
- (b) Jim Crow unions.
- (c) Color line job ceiling in apprenticeship training.
- (d) Segregated lines of job progression that lead to blind-alley, unskilled job classifications.
- (e) Negro and white men's jobs.
- (f) Discrimination in hiring and firing.
- (g) Inadequate representation in conventions of national and international unions and the conventions of the AFL-CIO.
- (h) Lack of representation or inadequate representation on policy-making committees.
- (i) Lack of integration of Negro labor force into production and distribution processes.
- (j) Revolution of automation and unskilled workers.
- (k) Economic cost of racial bias to the Negro and the country.

COLOR BAR

Need I belabor the point that the color bar is degrading. It demeans and debases the dignity of the personality of black wage earners.

Because of the Union Shop, which provides that union membership is a condition to employment, the color bar not only closes the union, it also closes the job to black labor.

And while the color bar in union constitutions and rituals is becoming as scarce as the proverbial hens' teeth, its twin brother, "tacit consent," is still around, hale and hardy, and is just as effective as the color bar in excluding the colored brother from the fraternity of labor, as shown by the tactics of Local 26 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Washington, D. C.

It is a notorious fact that some local unions, such as the Electrical Workers' Local 26, not only arrogantly refuse Negro workers membership, but openly defy the president of its national body as well as AFL-CIO President George Meany in their efforts to get Local 26 to eliminate the color bar.

One reason for this defiance is that there is no record of recent history of a local union having its charter lifted because of the practice of racial bias. Union membership and leadership just don't take the provision in the constitution of the AFL-CIO(against discrimination and segregation based upon race and color) seriously, and nothing has been dramatically done to cause them to consider it anything more than a scrap of paper.

But if the AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco in September 1959 had possessed the vision, insight and moral courage to have seized opportunity by the forelock and thrown out of the Federation the two color bar unions, the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Railroad Trainmen, it would have served notice upon the leadership and membership of the trade unions that it meant business when the anti-discrimination provision was placed in the constitution and adopted in the Merger Convention in 1955.

Instead, the AFL-CIO did not only compromise its conscience and violate its constitution by taking the color bar unions into its fold but compounded the felony by defending it and keeping them under its banner.

Moreover, there was no hesitation in the application of discipline, strictly and severely, upon unions that were under Communist domination and corrupt influences, while resorting to the policy of appeasement of unions that possess the color bar, one of which, the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, went into the Federal Court of Ohio in 1959, to oppose the legal action of 14 colored firemen seeking membership in the union. It still retains a color bar. Colored railroad firemen are still without union protection.

Nor do we think that the elimination of the color bar (after retaining it for well-nigh three quarters of a century) by the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, following the refusal of the AFL-CIO San Francisco Convention to put the Trainmen out, as demanded by the resolution of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is any act of nobility or justification for the policy of expediency in admitting a color bar union into membership, in violation of the constitution, or by permitting a color bar union to remain in the fold, with the hope of its ultimate repentance.

This is like a medical association admitting a quack doctor to membership, with the hope that he will see the error of his ways and quit, or ultimately qualify as a bona fide physician.

JIM CROW UNIONS

The color bar is not the only affront to the Negro worker. Jim Crow unions are no less a stench in the nostrils of self-respecting Negro trade unionists.

Since a resolution calling for the abolition of Jim Crow unions, at the San Francisco Convention, touched off a bitter debate between President Meany and the speaker, it might not be amiss to inquire as to the meaning of a Jim Crow union.

A Jim Crow, or racially segregated, union is one of two or more local unions located in the same community and covering the same jurisdiction of craft, class or industry, all of the members of which are colored.

They are long-standing and widespread in the building trades. They exist because of the color caste system of our American culture. Some Negro trade unionists, in order to hold financially desirable and prominent offices in Jim Crow unions, resist integration. Other Negro trade unionists, under pressure of the local racial mores or racial bias in their national or international union, have been forced into Jim Crow unions, which is generally the case in southern communities and, not infrequently, in the North.

Capitalizing upon the old and current myth that Negro workers want Jim Crow unions because they want to be with themselves, some leaders of labor strongly insist upon the right of Negro trade unionists now in Jim Crow unions to maintain such unions and to exercise the right of final decision as to whether Jim Crow unions should remain Jim Crow or un-Jim Crow themselves and accept integration. This position is erroneously held to be of the essence of democratic trade unionism. We, of the Negro American Labor Council, reject this policy as unsound.

Because the question of Jim Crow unions goes to the heart of the status and future of Negro workers in the labor movement, and because some of the most highly respected leaders of labor, among whom is Harry Bates, president of the Bricklayers' International Union, take an opposing point of view, we wish to set forth our basic philosophy on this subject.

Brother Bates, who honestly feels strongly that he should be permitted to maintain Jim Crow bricklayers' local unions, and expressed himself in the Resolutions Committee and on the floor of the Convention at San Francisco as being hurt and highly offended that the question of the disestablishment of Jim Crow unions should even be raised, doesn't fully grasp the significance of this question of the Jim Crow union to the Negro bricklayer in particular, and Negro workers in general.

It is no evidence of democratic procedure to allow a local or national union to exercise the right of final decision as to whether it shall conform or not conform to the non-discriminatory policy of the AFL-CIO, as set forth in the constitution which was democratically adopted in convention.

Just as the officers and members of a union under Communist or corrupt influences would not be permitted to exercise final decision as to whether they shall remain under subversive and unwholesome influences in violation of the national policy of the AFL-CIO, by the same token, officers and members of a Jim Crow union should not have the right of final decision as to whether a Jim Crow union shall remain or not remain Jim Crow.

WHY JIM CROW UNIONS ARE OBJECTIONABLE

In the first place, a racially segregated union is basically no different for a racially segregated school, train coach, bus, house, or seat in a theatre.

A racially segregated union, like a racially segregated school, is based upon the fallacious and sinister doctrine of "separate but equal," as though there is any such animal; a doctrine which was struck down by the U. S. Supreme Court decision of May, 1954 in the case involving segregated public schools. The philosophy was laid down in this decision that separate schools are inherently unequal.

Because, like racially segregated schools, buses, train coaches, dining cars, hotels and housing, racially segregated unions attach the stigma of racial inferiority to Negro workers, segregated unions are an affront to their sense of self-respect.

Moreover, segregated unions are morally wrong since they demean, degrade and outrage the dignity and sacredness of the human personality of Negro workers. Segregated unions have established the category of second-class trade union membership based upon race or color which is in definite conflict with free trade union democracy and the constitution of the AFL-CIO.

It is a matter of common knowledge that Jim Crow unions lack the contact and influence with the sources that can provide employment opportunities for their members that are equal and as desirable and remunerative as the employment opportunities provided for the members of the white local unions.

Negroes, trapped in Jim Crow unions in Miami, who possess building crafts' skills, report that they are barred from work in Miami Beach where the big money is.

Racially segregated unions have separate lines of job progression and different seniority rosters that cause Negro workers to wind up in blind-alley, unskilled job classifications, with little or no opportunity for promotion.

RESPONSIBILITY OF AFL-CIO

Thus, the responsibility of the AFL-CIO to outlaw racially segregated local unions is just as clear and unmistakable as is its responsibility to outlaw Communist-dominated and corrupt unions.

Therefore, not only do Jim Crow local unions lack the right to remain Jim Crow, but local white unions covering the same jurisdiction of crafts, classes and industries lack the right to refuse to merge with the Jim Crow local unions. Where an all-Negro or all-white local union is the only union representing certain crafts, classes or industries in a given area, all white and all Negro workers coming within the jurisdiction of the local union should be required, as a condition of employment, to join the temporary all-Negro or all-white local union, which only exists because of certain geographical problems.

While the desegregation and integration of local trade unions may pose a problem of some difficulty, it is not comparable to the problems involved in the desegregation and integration of public schools.

In fact, trade unions that have been and still are the victims of persecution and reactionary oppression should set an example and pattern of interracial democracy and brotherhood to the federal, state and city governments, the church and schools, through fair, frank, firm and forthright action in the desegregation and integration of Jim Crow unions. This is all the more imperative since trade union workers are not yet fully free because of the illiberal Taft-Hartley Act and anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Law, and also because organized labor benefits from every step forward of democracy and freedom by any setment of the population.

RACIAL BARRIERS TO APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

Perhaps the greatest threat to the survival and progress of Negro workers in the face of the rapidly developing revolution of automation is the almost complete exclusion of Negro workers from apprenticeship training programs in industry and business. It is an alarming fact that Negroes are not becoming apprentices. We are witnessing an absolute reduction of Negro craftsmen. Not a sufficient number of newly trained Negro craftsmen are being provided to replace the natural loss of skilled Negro workers. One does not need the gift of a prophet to foretell the consequence to the Negro if this trend continues.

According to the census returns of 1950, the numerical and percentage distribution of total and Negro apprentices for the nation were as follows: In twelve major occupations, with 111,750 apprentices, only 1,890 were Negro, or 1.69 per cent.

To highlight the status of Negro apprentices in some of these major occupations, it is enlightening to note that of the total number of 3,600 apprentices in Auto Mechanics, 90 are Negroes, or 2.50 per cent; of 6,510 apprentices for Bricklayers and Masons; 270 or 4.14 per cent were Negroes; of 9,930 apprentices to Carpenters, 60 or 0.60 per cent were Negroes; of 9,360 apprentices to Electricians, 90 or 0.96 per cent were Negroes; of 11,010 apprentice Plumbers and Pipefitters, 90 or 0.81 per cent were Negroes; of 14,160 apprentices in the printing trades, 180 or 1.27 per cent were Negroes.

The low apprenticeship position of Negroes in American industry is partly responsible for the fact that Negro artisans comprise only 3.62 per cent of skilled craftsmen. Nor is this differential in apprentices between white and non-white workers peculiar to the South.

According to a brochure on the Negro wage-earner and apprenticeship training programs, issued by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Negroes constituted only 1.5 per cent of the apprentices, but 5.4 per cent of the employed male labor force in New York in 1950.

CASUAL FACTIONS

Why is this?

When Negroes were brought to America as slaves they possessed few, if any skills. With the need for economic and mechanical self-sufficiency around the beginning of the nineteenth century, large plantations trained and made use of skilled slaves. Thus, Negroes tended virtually to monopolize a number of crafts and trades, especially those related to agriculture and building construction on the plantations and in some southern cities.

But, following the Reconstruction Period, the former slave masters reorganized the industrial, political and social life of the South on the basis of white supremacy. Negro craftsmen were excluded from some trades which they had previously practiced and were prevented from developing skills in newly emerging trades and industries. While there were a few exceptions to this trend, racial exclusion became increasingly general in the South and resulted in the displacement of Negroes from a variety of skilled occupations, especially in the building construction industry.

Important factors in causing Negro workers to fall behind in the acquisition of the skills of craftsmen, as well as the utilization of skilled Negro workers, were the erection of the color bar in the craft unions and the refusal by management, in most instances, to defy the racial mores of occupation exclusion. Nor is Government without some blame.

BLACK AND WHITE MEN'S JOBS

Because of the drastic limitation of the entrance of Negroes into the skilled trades, there has grown up the occupational folklore of black men's jobs and white men's jobs.

Since skills endowed workers with a certain social status, highly skilled, well-paid work became to be known as white men's jobs; whereas dirty, hard, unskilled, low-wage, long-hours' type of employment became to be characterized as black men's jobs. Such occupations as railroad engineers, conductors, plumbers, machinists, electricians, and a number of other vocations fell within the category of white men's jobs, together with white collar and all supervisory and managerial posts.

FIRST FIRED AND THE LAST HIRED

Negroes were and are largely unskilled workers and the most easily expendable and also, in many instances, because of race or color, they were and are the first fired and last hired.

Since Negro workers don't have equal opportunity to get jobs, or to hold them, their unemployment rate since 1947 has averaged about twice the unemployment rate of white workers. But the "unemployment gap" (the difference in unemployment ratios between white and non-white workers) has gradually narrowed in good times and widened in hard times.

For example, in December 1952 when the unemployment of white workers was only 2.1 per cent, non-white unemployment was 3 per cent. But in March 1958, when the recession was at its height, white unemployment was 6.9 per cent while 14.4 per cent of non-whites were jobless. A year later, in March 1959 when the AFL-CIO held the big unemployment mobilization in Washington at the Armory, in a mood of anger, if not frustration and desperation, 5.6 per cent of white workers were out of work, as compared to 12.7 per cent among Negroes, a signal instance of the vast inequality in work opportunities possessed by Negro workers, in contrast with white workers whose unemployment problems are bad enough.

RACIAL WAGE DIFFERENTIAL

But not only are Negro workers subjected to discriminatory practices in hiring and promotion, rendering it necessary to seek the enactment of legislation for fair employment practices on federal, state, and city levels, Negroes and non-white workers continue to be paid a sub-differential wage which tends to pull down the living standards of all.

In 1939, white workers earned two-and-one-half times as much as non-whites. The median wage of white workers was $956 a year, as compared to $364 for non-whites. In 1956, the median income for white workers increased to $4,677 while the non-whites income went up to $2,763. Thus, even though the wage gap is narrowing, the white worker, who pays no higher prices for food, clothing, shelter, education and recreation than his black brother and, in many instances, performs the same service, earns almost twice as much as the non-white worker.

COSTS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The failure on the part of the American industrial and business machine to eliminate discrimination in the utilization of the manpower of Negroes and provide opportunities of upgrading, on a basis of talent, genius, merit and ability, is costly.

According to Elmo Roper, noted public opinion analyst, it is estimated that the total cost of discrimination to American workers and employers, in actual dollars and cents, is $30 billion a year. In other words, about $10 out of every $75 pay check is wasted on the phony luxury of indulging our prejudices. The total value of services produced in the United States in 1954 was $357 billion. Mr. Roper estimates that minorities - one-fifth of our population - would have earned $72 billion, given equal opportunity and earning power. Actually, they earned only $42 billion. Thus, $30 billion in buying power was permanently lost to the American economy.

ECONOMIC GROWTH AND RACIAL BIAS

In addition to the necessity of developing and maintaining an expanding and dynamic economy to achieve a more abundant life for the American people, the United States is faced with a formidable and furious rivalry with Russian Communist power.

While the nuclear and spacial science of the Soviet Union have posed a challenge and warning, it is obvious that the great strides in science, technology and industrialism would be impossible without a rapid, stable and continuing economic growth of the country.

Note that the average economic growth of the United States in 1947-53 was 4.7 per cent per year, but fell to the low level of 2.3 per cent in 1953-59, while the volume of total production in the Soviet Union has spiraled upward to 6.7 per cent. Our annual rate of growth per capita dropped shockingly from 3.8 per cent to one-half of one per cent during this same period.

One basic factor in maintaining an expanding and dynamic economy is the utilization of the total labor force of the nation and to make available for individual workers the training essential to provide the skills necessary to the efficient operation of the industrial machine.

The United States is, perhaps, the only great country in the world which, because of racial bias, limits the rate of its own economic growth. It fails to bring into the productive process the manpower of one of its largest segments of the workforce - the Negro, who represents one out of every ten workers.

Thus, the U. S. stands in danger of being outdistanced in the struggle to build high levels of economic growth and military capability because in government, industry and labor unions, barriers exist against Negro workers acquiring the technical equipment and training to help build and operate the American industrial system and, with higher wage levels, broaden the base of mass consumption which is a condition to mass production.

SHIFT FROM BLUE TO WHITE COLLAR WORKER

On account of a prospective population explosion during the decade of the Sixties, with a consequent unusually large increase in the labor force, especially in the highly skilled pattern, the very survival of the Negro demands that he struggle uncompromisingly to tear down every barrier which stands between him and a free, useful and good life.

The revolution in science, technology, and industrialism marks an accelerated pace in mechanization, technification and industrialization, developing, as it were, automatic and semi-automatic operations in numerous areas of industry, such as manufacturing, railroads, communications, public utilities, wholesale and retail trade. It is predicted that we may soon witness the introduction of nuclear energy for peacetime use and the possible harnessing of solar energy.

The revolution, sometimes known as automation, which is moving at an increasing speed, has already wrought great changes in production and distribution methods, manpower requirements, composition of the workforce, job content, and industry location. In manufacturing, for example, there were 600,000 less wage and salary jobs in July 1959 than in 1953 although factory output was up more than 15 per cent. Railroads have 1,000,000 less workers today than in 1925. It is also estimated that white collar and skilled workers in the next ten years will increase at a more rapid rate than the blue collar and unskilled worker.

Now, it is a well-known fact that the heaviest concentration of occupations among white workers is among the professional, technical, clerical, sales and skilled categories; whereas the heaviest concentration of colored workers is in occupations of the unskilled, farm, service and domestic areas.

It is obvious that this unenlightened labor policy of relegating ten percent of the labor force to menial work, regardless of their training or capacity for training, involves a vast waste in human resources for which this country will pay a costly price in attempting to maintain its leadership in the world in the automation revolution and economic growth. Unless there is a halt to this trend of excluding Negroes from craft unions and apprenticeship training courses, Negroes may wind up, not only as unskilled and unemployed, if not unemployable, but as the forgotten slum proletariat in the black ghettos of the great metropolitan centers of the country, existing within the grey shadows of an hopeless hope.

CRAFT UNION FUNDAMENTALISM AND RACIALISM

Since Negroes have been traditionally unskilled workers and since the trade union movement, beginning with the American Federation in 1886, has been traditionally committed to the fundamentalist philosophy of autonomous craft unionism, workers of color have been caught up in the dilemma of being excluded from the labor movement, not only because they were black but also because they were unskilled, and they were virtually quarantined in the industrial "no-man's land" of unskilled labor because they were excluded from the craft unions and vocational training schools.

This dilemma is sometimes ironically expressed in the form - a Negro worker cannot get a job without a union card and he cannot get a union card without a job. Therefore, Negro workers must not only struggle to break through the racial barriers of craft unions, but they must help change the philosophy of the old, business-craft union fundamentalism, the policies of which were, and are, largely shaped by laws of a market economy of the free enterprise and color caste system, so that a basic transition may be made,from a narrow, exclusive, business-craft unionism to a broad, more progressive social unionism, which not only helps the Negro workers but all wage earners.

This, then, is the problem of the Negro worker and the House of Labor.

RISING CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

But why does this problem exist?

Because Negroes are not yet fully free. They are not yet fully free because the Civil War Revolution, the American edition of the French Revolution of 1789 and the English Revolutions of 1688 and 1832, was never completed.

The Civil War Revolution was never fully completed because the new industrial and financial rulers of the North considered it unnecessary since the Union had been saved.

Because of the fact that we are in the midst of a crisis in the civil rights revolution now underway, it is well for us to look back to note and evaluate the crisis which followed the close of the Civil War Revolution, during which time the major rights of Negroes were systematically nullified and virtually cast into the ash can of history.

It is important to point out that in every crisis there are two major forces: 1) Danger. 2) Opportunity.

There is always danger that the cause may be lost and there is opportunity that it may be won. Whether it be lost or won depends primarily upon the policy and action adopted and carried on by the people who have a stake in the cause of freedom and human justice.

Though the Negro, during the period of reconstruction following the Civil War, labored under grave limitations, the record of their leaders in government was not inglorious. Be it said to their eternal credit, they stood for basic principles of free public eduation and a free ballot.

But the storm of the counterrevolution broke upon the South and the freedman even before the war amendments had been adopted and in 1876, during the Hayes-Tilden election, the counterrevolution had not only set up Black Codes for the virtual re-enslavement of the freedmen, but their former friends of the Republican Party in the North were turning against them. Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican candidate, won the election solely because of a bipartisan deal to withdraw the Federal Army from the South.

The Freedmen Bureau, set up to help, protect, and guide the hapless former Negro slaves, was dismantled and the wild winds of racial hatred swept over the land. The Ku Klux Klan was invented and with rope and fagot sought to break the spirit of the former slaves.

Despite the uncompromising voices of Thaddeus Stevens in the House of Representatives and Charles Sumner in the Senate, thundering, in season and out of season, for full, first-class citizenship for the freedmen, a new voice of compromise and accommodation was raised from within by the Negroes' most outstanding Negro leader, Booker T. Washington, who, at the Exposition of Atlanta in 1894, made the famous statement: "In America one can be as one as the hand in all things industrial and as separate as the fingers in all things social."

Following this memorable statement came the famous Plesy vs. Ferguson decision of the United States Supreme Court in which was handed down the doctrine of "separate but equal" in 1896.

Thus, the engine of the counterrevolution which sought to tear down the constitutional framework of protection for the emancipated slaves lumbered ruthlessly forward until checked by a number of favorable civil rights decisions on the grandfather clause, white primaries, segregated housing and transportation and, finally, the United States Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 for the desegregation and integration of public schools.

Just as the counterrevolution against the Civil War Revolution nullified the 13th Amendment to the Constitution of 1865, the 14th Amendment of 1868 and the 15th Amendment of 1870, the second counterrevolution has begun in massive and ominous dimensions to nullify the monumental, momentous and marvelous decision of the United States Supreme Court to free Negro Americans of the stigma of "half a man."

Fortunately, contrary to the plight of the Negro who was let out of slavery landless, jobless, moneyless, voteless and friendless, today, the men of color in America have the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with its able and brilliant leadership; a nationwide and articulate press; an influential Church; and some prestige in party politics and government. Negroes are not voteless, landless, jobless, moneyless, or friendless. But is well for us to be realistic, and objectively appraise the forces at our command with which to face the future.

When we look at today and yesterday, the counterrevolution of 1876 was designed to re-enslave the Negro. The counterrevolution of today seeks to re-establish the doctrine of separate but equal, or maintain segregation, the so-called southern way of life. There are many comparabilities between these two periods that require analysis and appraisal.

When the counterrevolution set in, in 1876, there were few men in Congress upon whom the freedmen could depend to champion their cause. Today, there are but a handful of men in the Congress, Negro and white, to whom Negroes may turn for support. Outstanding among these few are Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell, William Dawson, Charles C. Diggs, and Robert C. Nix.

Just as the spirit of Abolition democracy, manifested by William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, Lovejoy, and others died; just as the northern anti-slavery press of the years before the Civil War began to dilute and soften, if not weaken, the fight for emancipation; just as a stalwart champion in the government like Daniel Webster backed away from his former position for the anti-slavery cause, shook hands with Henry Clay and espoused the movement of compromise which gave recognition to the validity of the fugitive slave law of 1850 and the Dred Scott Decision of Chief Justice Taney in 1857; so today, the northern press, including the great dailies and magazines, are not only making a fetish of "moderation", with respect to the enforcement of the Supreme Court decision of 1954, but are definitely in retreat from the cause of the desegregation of public schools. They have readily accepted the notorious pupil placement law which virtually constitutes, in many ways, a trend toward the nullification of the Supreme Court decision on desegregation of public schools, unless counter public pressure prevails.

Just as the old liberalism which fought against slavery before the Civil War weakened and died; so today, liberalism is in collapse. It is in decline. Its voice is timid and afraid. There is little, if any, fight left in it for civil rights, North or South. While the government has enacted two civil rights laws, the first in 1957 and now the civil rights law of 1960, both of which are toothless, there is no will in the Administration to enforce them, weak as they are.

Therefore, the Civil Rights Revolution now surging throughout the country, with thousands of Negro students marching in the South and in "sit-in" chain store demonstrations for dignity and equality of citizenship, tell the story of thegrim determination of Negro youth to achieve the complete destruction of color caste in America. Dr. Martin Luther King's Jim Crow bus boycott in Montgomery; the bus boycott in Tallahassee, Florida, the gallant fight of Negro students to enter Central High School in Little Rock and other southern cities, the court battles for civil rights by the NAACP, and the uprising of Negro trade unionists in the House of Labor for first-class citizenship, manifested in this

Founding Convention of the Negro American Labor Council in Detroit, this May of 1960, give unmistakable evidence of the vitality, direction, dimensions and challenge of this Civil Rights Revolution of rising hopes, expectations and aspirations of black America.

OBJECTIVES OF CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION IN LABOR

The primary and basic objective of the Civil Rights Revolution in the labor movement is the achievement of first-class citizenship and membership in labor unions. This involves:

1. Elimination of the color bar by constitutional provision or ritual, or by tacit consent.
2. Desegregation and integration of racially segregated unions which would, ipso facto, abolish separate seniority rosters and separate lines of job progression.
3. Attainment of representation on policy-making bodies, such as executive boards, city central councils and state federations.
4. Representation of staffs and clerical and office forces.
5. Representation in elective and appointive positions in local and national unions and various departments of the AFL-CIO.
6. Representation on delegations to international congresses.
7. Election as delegates to the conventions of national unions.
8. Election as delegates to the biennial conventions of the AFL-CIO. (It is a notorious fact that there are national and international unions with large Negro membership that have never elected a Negro delegate to the AFL-CIO conventions. Some Negroes from national and international unions have been permitted to attend the conventions, but only as observers, without voice or vote.)
9. Participation of Negroes in the unspectacular business of building the unions through strike activities and the development of educational, cultural and recreational programs of the organization which involve faithful attendance of committee meetings.
10. Loyal and relentless work in helping to secure maximum registration and voting of the membership of the union.
11. Participation in educational and propaganda activities to develop a favorable and friendly climate in the Negro communities for the philosophy of free, democratic trade unionism.

Begin

NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

The question may be asked how are these objectives of the Civil Rights Revolution to be achieved? The Negro American Labor Council was organized to attempt to answer this question. The solution of this problem involves a moral revolution.

Racial discrimination is a moral problem because it derives from the violation of two basic moral principles: The Universality of the unity of mankind, and the dignity and sacredness of the personality of every human being, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant.

It was St. Paul who said: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." He also pointed out: "He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth."

The first principle is flouted by racial discrimination and segregation because racial bias is based upon the fallacy that God is not the Creator of all mankind and that all men are not brothers.

It is an incontrovertible fact that if God is the Father and Creator of all mankind, then all men are brothers; if all men are brothers, all men are equal; if all men are equal, all men are entitled to equal treatment under the law of God and the law of man.

Racial segregation and discrimination amount to a complete rejection of the great Judeo-Christian ethical traditions that proclaim the worth and value of every human being - the foundation of our democratic society and individual liberty. Thus, in the light of the aforementioned principles, racial discrimination and segregation in the labor movement are morally wrong and indefensible.

On a basis of this analysis, racially segregated or Jim Crow unions, local or national or international, are a violation of the moral law and also the union law of the AFL-CIO and, perhaps, the civil law of government, as well as a violation of sound trade union morality which stems from the concept of the unity of all workers.

STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN LABOR NOT AN ORDINARY FIGHT

Verily, the Negro trade union masses are in motion against racial discrimination and segregation in organized labor. They are on the march. They could not stop if they would, and would not stop if they could. This is the struggle of Negro trade unionists against bias in all of its varied and various forms. It is a national, spontaneous, elemental surge forward toward the sun of human dignity.

No individual or group of individuals put Negro trade unionists into motion. By the same token, no individual or group of individuals can take them out of motion.

It is important to note that this fight for equality and justice in the labor movement for workers of color is not just a fight to get a Negro worker into a local carpenter's union in Kalamazoo or get a Negro electrician a job on government or labor union buildings in Washington, D. C., although, without a doubt, this is highly important. The task and commitment of Negro trade unionists to achieve a status of equality in the House of Labor is bigger and deeper than this. Negro workers are moving from a status of second-class citizenship to a status of first-class citizenship. This, we submit, is a major moral revolution.

This revolution against discrimination and segregation based upon race in the House of Labor is just as authentic as the revolution which involved an organizational conflict between craft unionism and industrialism in the 1930's, and which brought about a split in the labor movement lasting for two decades.

This revolution against color caste in labor unions is no less a challenge to the forces of organized labor than the revolution which involved furious ideological warfare between communism and free trade unionism from the Twenties through the Forties, resulting in several national and international unions being thrown out of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Yes, this revolution for labor-membership status, regardless of race or color, is as inevitable as the moral revolution involving the struggle to clean out the House of Labor of corrupt influences, gangsterism, and hoodlumism which now faces the trade union movement.

It must be remembered that the first of these revolutions shook the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to their very foundations. The present revolution which has its roots in corruption and crookedness, though relating to a small number of unions, has shaken the AFL-CIO, resulting in the loss of more than a million members through the expulsion of the Teamsters and other unions.

Thus, it is apparent from a review of the revolutions of the AFL and CIO when they were independent federated bodies and also when united since 1955, that a revolution is neither peaceful or painless, though it need not be violent. It is also significant to note that while the motivation and dynamism of these revolutions came from the masses of workers, they were given sanction, support and guidance by the high command of leadership of the AFL and CIO when divided and now, when united.

Hence, the same approach, procedure and policy of placing the full weight and influence of the president and executive council of the AFL-CIO back of this moral revolution for equality and justice,for all workers in the trade union movement without regard to race or color, should obtain not only for the benefit of Negro trade unionists but for the soul and integrity of organized labor.

POSITION OF NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

In the nature of things, the position of the Negro American Labor Council, which is in the process of development, must be governed by basic premises relating to trade unions and civil rights.

This proposed movement would have no reason for existence were it not committed to the support of and cooperation with the AFL-CIO, as well as the national and international and local unions in affiliation with this body. By the same token, there would be no raison d'etre for this movement were it not committed and dedicated to the abolition of racial discrimination and segregation in the labor movement, together with the achievement of fair representation and participation by Negro trade unionists in the various areas of the movement.

The following basic premises are pertinent to the values of the proposed movement with respect to the aforementioned objectives:

1. Free labor unions are indispensable for human welfare in an industrialized society whose economic life is largely dominated by giant corporate business and financial interests.

2. Labor unions, like other human institutions, are imperfect. Their weaknesses and abuses, when clearly established, should be subject to vigorous and fair criticism to bring about corrective policy and administrative changes from within, if possible; if not, then from without.

3. Free labor unions are essential to the strength, health and progress of our democratic society and are one of the prime assets of the United States in its struggle with Communist totalitarian tyranny.

4. The free, private, voluntary organizations of economic enterprise, involving as they do great segments of the lives of all citizens, must also conform to the standards of justice, freedom and equality of opportunity that society establishes.

5. The powerful economic organizations, such as corporations and labor unions and their philosophy, program and practices have public effects. These effects, if they are not to be harmful or disastrous upon some of those directly affected, as well as the public as a whole, need continuous voluntary internal objective analysis and criticism, together with public disinterested and systematic appraisal, since both of these

economic organizations are beneficiaries of governmentally-derived privileges, position and power, as a result of public law, the Railway Labor Act, and the National Labor Relations Act.

6. Racial discrimination is basically incompatible with labor union democracy.

7. Racially segregated or Jim Crow unions are morally wrong since they affront the dignity of the personality of Negro workers by attaching the stigma of racial inferiority to workers of color.

8. Exclusion from membership in labor unions by the color bar or tacit consent is not only humiliating but economically disastrous in such industries as railroads and certain building crafts and others, since it operates either in denial of jobs to Negro workers or displacement from desirable jobs.

IMMEDIATE GOALS

Begin

What can the Negro American Labor Council achieve?

It can give Negro trade unionists a sense of unity, both among themselves and with their white brothers. It can also provide them with a sense of purpose, direction and mission and dedication to the philosophy of trade unionism and the program for equality of Negro trade unionists in the labor movement.

~~It can struggle to bring about the desegregation of the racially segregated unions, with a view to the integration of all workers into trade unions, without regard to race or color.~~

It can promulgate its philosophy, to the effect that racially segregated or Jim Crow unions do not have the right to exist within the framework of a free trade union movement, but since they do exist they do not have the right of final decision as to whether, or when, they shall cease to exist and conform with the national policy on discrimination and segregation as set forth in the constitution.

The Negro American Labor Council can help the AFL-CIO to cleanse the House of Labor of color caste discrimination and segregation, which will help it win the confidence and faith in its declarations of democracy and freedom, among the laboring masses of Africa and Asia.

BASIC POLICIES

In order that there may be no misgivings and misapprehensions about the policy of the Negro American Labor Council on certain basic questions, it is pertinent to indicate:

> It is not a labor union and will not seek to become the collective bargaining agent of any group of workers to negotiate agreements concerning rates of pay, hours of work or rules governing working conditions.
>
> It has no visions of becoming a black Federation of Labor.
>
> It is not anti, but pro-AFL-CIO
>
> It is pro-AFL-CIO leadership.
>
> It is non-partisan, but not non-political.
>
> It is pro-Republicans ~~that~~ WHO are pro-civil rights and pro-labor.
>
> It is pro-Democrats ~~that~~ WHO are pro-civil rights and pro-labor.
>
> It is anti-Communist and anti-Fascist.

~~WHY IS THE NALC NECESSARY?~~

The Negro American Labor Council ~~It~~ is necessary to achieve greater contact and communication among Negro trade unionists for the achievement of their common goals that involve their fight for equality.

It is necessary because the AFL-CIO, though committed to a national policy against discrimination and segregation, will not voluntarily move toward the implementation of this policy unless it is caused to move, and it cannot be caused to move except through an organization which is committed to the elimination of discrimination and segregation. ~~This is no reflection upon the leadership of the AFL-CIO or the various national or international unions affiliated therewith.~~

The fact is, racial discrimination and segregation has reached the stage of institutionalization in the labor movement. It is taken for granted. It is viewed with utter complacency, apathy, unconcern, if not indifference. This has been true from the very foundation of the labor movement in the United States up to the present time. There are historical, socio-economic, political and ethnic reasons for this attitude, but it is important to point out that this is not peculiar to the labor movement. Racial discrimination and segregation has reached the sta~~t~~ge of institutionalization in government, in the Church, in business and industry, in the schools, colleges and universities, in sports and entertainment. ~~As a matter of fact, the racial discrimination and~~ The segregation system of various institutions of the country is given rigidity and resistance because it is encrusted with the dogma of white supremacy. The labor movement, being an integral factor of the American community, naturally reflects the mores and attitudes that prevail in the community.

It may not be amiss to observe that the Negro American Labor Council is not a new phenomenon in the labor movement.

The early Jewish immigrants to this country set up the United Hebrew Trades, the mouthpiece of which was the Jewish Daily Forward. The purpose of this movement was to advance the cause of Jewish workers. Today, the Jewish workers have developed the Jewish Labor Committee which is a movement of considerable proportions and has worked effectively in the civil rights field, not only for Jews, but other minorities. It is recognized and accepted as a legitimate phase of the American labor movement by the AFL-CIO. Jewish workers also receive moral and public relations support from the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee and B'nai B'rith.

On account of the fact that the early Irish immigrants were the victims of religious persecution they found it necessary to establish Catholic trade unions.

In addition to Catholic trade unions, the Hibernians, the Knights of Columbus, the Holy Name Society, and other Catholic organizations work with vigor and determination to eliminate discrimination against Irish Catholics in this country.

Realizing the futility of depending upon outside forces to advocate their cause against the evil practices of discrimination and segregation, Puerto Rican workers are now in the process of establishing a Puerto Rican Labor Committee.

The Negro American Labor Council can play an effective and progressive role in opposing anti-labor legislation, such as the "right-to-work" laws. Although "right-to-work" laws were defeated in California and Ohio in 1959, the movement for the extension of "right-to-work" laws in various states and, finally, the enactment of a federal "right-to-work" law, still has vitality and is pursuing the same program.

Be it said to the credit of the NAACP, in cooperation with the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO, it waged a vigorous and effective campaign against "right-to-work" laws in the aforementioned states. It is an understatement to add that were it not for the relentless educational campaign of the NAACP against the "right-to-work" laws, they might not have been defeated.

The Negro American Labor Council can be effective in joining hands with trade unions in opposing anti-labor politicians and supporting pro-labor political leaders in government and out of government.

We have been asked, WILL THE NALC PROMOTE BLACK NATIONALISM?

While the Negro American Labor Council does not accept black nationalism, it recognizes its virtues as well as its vices.

What is black nationalism?

> It is, basically, the Negro's reaction-behavior pattern to white nationalism. White nationalism is the cause - black nationalism is the effect.

Black nationalism is a ghetto people's defense and offense mechanism against persecution, insult, oppression and poverty. In this respect it is comparable to Zionism.

Black nationalism is psychological compensation for social, economic and political rejection by the dominant racial power system.

It is a manifestation of disillusionment with the concepts, professions and practices of Christianity and democracy.

It is an expression of fear and frustration, despair and desperation on the part of the Negro, with the violence of race hate.

It's a bitter outcry against the empty and mocking conservative, liberal, religious and labor white paternalism.

It's a direct, if awkward, expression of belief in the simple fact that the salvation of a people must come from within - that our friends may help us but they cannot save us.

The basic remedy for black nationalism, which can become a danger to social peace, as white nationalism is a danger to social peace, is the abolition of white nationalism which expresses itself in lynchings, mob law, disenfranchisement, segregation and discrimination in schools, church, government, housing, political parties, labor unions, sports, stage and screen.

While black nationalism, like white nationalism, is unsound and leads to violent forms of extremism, it is not to be equated with rational racial unity which may be constructive, creative and healthy for self-defense and various forms of cultural, political, economic and social achievement.

One of the dangers of black nationalism is that it tends to breed hatred against white people merely because they are white, not because they have committed some wrong against Negroes. This is the behavior pattern of white nationalists.

~~Black nationalism's violent hatred and propaganda against white people can lead to violence which will worsen racial relations and injure both Negroes and whites.~~

Black nationalism tends to direct its venomous attacks upon white people instead of discriminatory practices of some white people.

It is based upon the false assumption of the capacity of Negroes for self-sufficiency in this age of science, industrialism and technology.

Black nationalism tends to develop into a conspiracy against Negroes themselves, by opposing the Negroes' fight for freedom on the grounds that freedom from discrimination and segregation will lead to racial mixing and the loss of proper devotion to the black man's African heritage - which is both folly and a fallacy.

Black nationalism also tends to lead to division and weakness of the Negro masses from within because of internal color bias.

Black nationalism is unsound because it disallows contact between the races. Without contact there cannot be communication, and without communication there breeds suspicions, doubts, fears and frustrations that prevent understanding, confidence and co-operation between the Negro and white workers.

To the question: "Will the Negro American Labor Council promote black nationalism?" The answer is: "No." Instead of the Council promoting black nationalism it will serve to remove the basis of black nationalism, by working to eliminate discrimination and segregation in the labor movement and the government, or white nationalism.

It is said in Holy Writ: "For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to battle?"

While the Negro American Labor Council rejects black nationalism as a doctrine and practice of racial separatism, it recognizes the fact that history has placed upon the Negro, and the Negro alone, the basic responsibility to complete the incompleted Civil War Revolution through keeping the fires of freedom burning in the Civil Rights Revolution. It is well-nigh axiomatic that only he who wears the shoe can feel the pinch.

Only the Negro, who feels the sting and humiliation of racial discrimination and segregation, can be depended upon uncompromisingly to fight in labor unions, government, industry, the church and schools.

Only Negro students will march in the South and face police brutality and prisons for civil rights. Only Negro students would bear insult and abuse to enter Cental High School in Little Rock.

Only Negroes would walk for a whole

Only Negro trade unionists would introduce resolutions in the San Francisco Convention for the expulsion of two powerful railroad unions because of the color bar.

Only Negro trade unionists would challenge the leadership of the AFL-CIO on the issue of Jim Crow unions.

Only Negroes would walk for a whole year to boycott a Jim Crow bus in Montgomery.

~~By the same token, only the Jews would have the faith, fortitude and will to break out of the ghettos of Warsaw and fight, bleed and die to build Israel.~~

Only Negro trade unionists can be depended upon to build the Negro American Labor Council to fight to cleanse the House of Labor of the evil of racial bias.

And while the Negro American Labor Council has not and will not have a color bar, we do not hesitate or apologize for pointing out that the primary and sole purpose of this movement is to organize Negro trade unionists to eradicate the evil of racial discrimination from which they alone suffer.

The question which the

Our goals are not just so-called success in isolated instances but basic accomplishment, in the sense of bringing new values into the life of the Negro, such as acceptance into the mainstream of American life - social, economic, political, upon a basis of worth, talent, ability, character; recognition as a first-class citizen, and member of the trade union movement; elimination of the conditions that render these isolated cases of so-called progress necessary.

~~The Negro American Labor Council which is naturally under a barrage of criticism, must not be evaluated or judged in terms of its inability to give a meticulous and errorless blueprint of every instance of the elimination of discrimination by a trade union as an evidence of the fact that progress is being made by the Negro in the American labor movement.~~

The question which the Council seeks to answer is not whether success was achieved in getting a Negro carpenter on this or that building construction job, or whether a Negro trade unionist sits on this or that executive board or is on this or that staff. While these development may have statistical significance, the problem is bigger than that.

This movement is the creative and social agent of a great authentic and majestic revolution, a moral revolution, a civil rights revolution, which is engrossed in and affected by the broad and vast flow of human events; of the direction of the course of history in the labor movement in particular, and our country and the world in general.

Its major historical mission is to help complete an incompleted social and moral revolution -- the Civil War Revolution, ~~by the liberation of the Negro worker from every vestige and remnant of a slave, semi-feudalistic, agrarian, plantation economy~~.

This social truth is of tremendous historical import to the future position and influence of the United States as a world democratic force for peace, progress and plenty, justice and freedom.

~~Verily, the faith and confidence of the world of color in the morality and integrity of the declarations of the United States about humanity, freedom, and justice will depend largely upon its forthright finishing of the main unfinished business of American democracy; namely, the restoration of complete civil rights~~ ~~by~~ to ~~the Negro.~~

In fact, the growth, health, moral and spiritual strength of our country stem from and are rooted in the completion of this incompleted moral revolution of civil rights. Let me add that history has placed the basic responsibility for the achievement of this monumental task of completing this incompleted civil rights revolution upon the shoulders of the Negro.

~~In very truth, it is the sole responsibility of the Negro worker in particular, and Negroes in general, to make the crucial decisions as to the~~

~~role he shall play in relation to the American labor movement and our industrialized society in this hour of crisis of the Civil Rights Revolution. The Negro, who has been the chief victim of the terror and trial by fire of the counterrevolution of the Civil War Revolution of 1876 has no moral right to abandon this sacred responsibility or delegate it to any other institution, movement or social force in this nation.~~

In the nature of things, no other social force in American life has the spiritual preparation to lead the forces of the Civil Rights Revolution, which is only born in social suffering, sacrifice and struggle, economic oppression and political persecution, except the Negro, the chief victim of this adversity.

Thus, Negro trade unionists and workers must bear their own cross for their own liberation. They must make their own crisis decisions bearing upon their life, labor and liberty. Nobody else can, will, or should do this for them.

END

ADDRESS OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT LABOR DINNER FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA, JUNE 24, 1960

In behalf of the officers and members of the Negro American Labor Council I want to salute the officers and delegates of this Fifty-first Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

I salute the movement of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People upon its historical achievements for civil rights.

I salute the brilliant, able and dedicated leadership of this great organization.

Without reservation or equivocation I want to assure the leadership and membership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of the unequivocal, definite and positive support and cooperation of the Negro American Labor Council.

I hail, with felicitations and congratulations, the long, devoted and constructive struggle of the leaders of this movement to win for the peoples of color in this country, full-fledged, first-class citizenship.

Yours has been the role of a quarterback, who is responsible for calling the strategic and tactical movements, in the struggle for the realization of the goal of civil rights. The quarterback must have the intellectual competence, as the result of knowledge and experience, as well as the responsibility and loyalty to his fellow team workers to be able to make sound and effective decisions as to whether the great mass forces of Negro America shall hit the iron line of American racism, or resort to the strategy of a long forward pass to circumvent the forces of opposition.

Be it said to the credit of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, from its very foundation in 1910, under the able, aggressive and brilliant leadership of Dr. Dubois, subsequently followed by James Weldon

Johnson and Walter White and, now, Roy Wilkins, that it has successfully executed its major maneuvers in the cause of civil rights.

Now, today, because of the forthright position the Association has taken on racial discrimination and segregation in the labor movement, it is under attack.

As a result of misinformation and a lack of information, voices are being raised in various circles of the country that elect to advise the Association about the inadvisability of its policy in directing criticism against trade unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO that practice discrimination. Some of these criticisms come from well-meaning, but misguided, friends of the Negro.

Because of this lack of understanding on the part of some of our labor and liberal friends, as to the basic aims and objectives of the NAACP that are concerned with the elimination of discrimination and segregation wherever they may exist, the gulf of misunderstanding seems to be widening between the Negro community and the labor community.

This is an unfortunate development. It ought not to exist. There is no good reason why it should exist. This problem of apparent conflict between organized labor and the NAACP can be resolved. It ought to be resolved. It will be resolved.

But the misunderstanding will persist until the liberal and labor forces of the nation fully comprehend the fact that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the Negro American Labor Council; the sit-in demonstrations of Negro students in the South; the boycott against Jim Crow buses in Montgomery, under the leadership of Reverend Martin Luther King; the dramatic battle of the students in Little Rock, under the guidance of the courageous Daisy Bates, are all a part of the flesh and blood, bone and sinew, heart and soul, brain and brawn of a great moral revolution; namely, the Civil Rights Revolution, a revolution for the achievement of human dignity for peoples of color in America.

Therefore, in the nature of things, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has been the sparkplug and voice, historically, as well as the major architect of this civil rights revolution, has no alternative except to give expression to the Olympian wrath burning in the hearts of Negroes against all forms and species of racial inequality. When it ceases to do this, it will no longer serve as the leader of the Civil Rights Revolution.

What is true with respect to the Association is also true with respect to the national Negro American Labor Council. This new voice, which is calling upon Negro trade unionists in particular, and Negro workers in general, to rally their forces under the banner of civil rights, must also remain true, faithful and honest to its sole reason for existence - the complete eradication of the evils of discrimination and segregation in the House of Labor.

Unfortunately, some of our liberal and labor brothers and sisters are under the illusion that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as well as the Negro American Labor Council, are critical of the policies of organized labor because of some disagreement with some incidental and particular instance of racial discrimination by trade unions.

While, naturally, the NAACP and the NALC are concerned that there be no instances of discrimination based upon race against a worker in any trade union, the issues with which the NAACP and the Negro American Labor Council are concerned are bigger and deeper than some anti-Negro action by a union here or there. The chief question with which we are concerned is the achievement of equality of Negro workers in the labor movement and industry.

To be sure, this objective cannot be obtained by any piecemeal settlement of cases of discrimination by trade unions here or there. The realization of this goal will require a major, massive, systematic offensive, on the part of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and leadership, against the whole concept of discrimination and segregation in the labor movement. It must be understood that the Negro American Labor Council is not interested in pillorying or embarrassing any particular leader of labor concerning racial bias. It does not consider that any individual trade union official, or group of officials, is responsible for the existence of discriminatory practices in the House of Labor.

An analysis of the history of racial barriers in the labor movement will reveal that the entire labor movement bears guilt for the existence of racial disadvantage to workers of color. Thus, no single leader of labor can remedy this problem of racial bias. It is a problem of organized labor as a whole.

However, a single leader of labor, by example and precept, in the form of taking the initiative in forthrightly meeting the problems of racial discrimination in his own union, can help rally the forces of organized labor against color bias in the unions.

It will naturally be left to the leadership of the organized labor movement to sound the trumpet of opposition to color bias, in order that the massive forces of organized labor may be mobilized against this great economic, social and racial evil.

Our liberal and labor friends must understand that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Negro American Labor Council would not be fulfilling their basic mission if they did not persistently, consistently and vigorously keep this issue of racial discrimination in the House of Labor before the leadership and membership of organized labor, as well as the public.

In very truth, without the question of racial discrimination in trade unions being kept before the leadership and the membership, nothing is likely to be done about it.

It is for this reason that the national Negro American Labor Council was formed.

Even though the large majority of the leaders of the great, powerful labor unions are opposed to discrimination and want to see it abolished, they are not likely themselves voluntarily to move vigorously to achieve this end unless there is some political leverage of pressure brought upon them from time to time.

This is not cited in condemnation of labor leaders. It is no reflection upon their commitment to sound trade unionism or their belief in the right of every worker to equal opportunity and benefits in the labor movement. It is the description of the basic law of human behavior: only those groups that are the victims of oppression can be expected and relied upon to move against oppression. Only the workers, the chief victims of economic exploitation by employers, can be depended upon consistently, systematically and aggressively to move to eliminate this exploitation.

It is a matter of common knowledge that throughout the history of the struggles of mankind for liberty there have been those individuals in society who, with great majestic vision and deep spiritual conviction, even at personal sacrifice and danger, have elected to cast their lot on the side of the oppressed. This was the case with most of the Abolitionists, such as William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Lovejoy, John Brown, and others. These great souls have been the beacon lights of the march of man against man's inhumanity to man.

There are personalities in the labor movement who subscribe to this pattern of dynamic idealism.

Because of considerable criticism of the report by Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the NAACP, on discrimination in the labor unions, it is pertinent to observe that we in the Negro American Labor Council consider the report basically sound, timely, necessary and valuable.

This does not mean that every statement in the report is accurate. The value of a report on a broad social question such as discrimination in the labor movement cannot be judged in terms of its accuracy with respect to every date involving the beginning of a case on discrimination, every figure concerning numbers of workers involved in a case, or a decimal point concerning the percentage of workers involved in a situation.

No one questions the fact that mistakes may be made, and are usually made, in most reports. But these problems of accuracy in minutiae, with respect to numbers of workers involved in a given situation, or the exact date when a local union eliminated the color bar, have no effect or meaning in relation to the basic thesis that Negro workers are second-class citizens in the labor movement today.

This is the paramount issue before organized labor and Negro workers and the Negro American Labor Council.

It is the position of the Negro American Labor Council that the report in question gives evidence and reenforcement to this fact of second-class citizenship of Negroes in the House of Labor which has always existed. Thus, the fury and fuss against the report and, apparently, against the NAACP are completely without any foundation in reason and logic and reality. The problems concerning discrimination and segregation in the labor movement cannot be resolved in terms of statistical exactitude but only through a broad policy of action against not only isolated trees of racial bias in the forest, but against the forest itself.

This does not mean that the Negro American Labor Council or the NAACP are not to take cognizance of the importance of correct statement of the case concerning discrimination in various trade unions. They do. They have. They will in the future. Moreover, the Negro American Labor Council can, without reservation, state that not only are the basic statements of the report true and sound, but the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters have presented these facts to convention after convention of the American Federation of Labor for a quarter of a century.

It is unfortunate that some of our liberal friends, along with some of the leaders of labor, even yet do not comprehend the nature, scope, depth and challenge of this civil rights revolution which is surging forward in the House of Labor and all areas of American life. It is destined to shake all of the institutions of our country.

As a result, some of our liberal brothers, in a vain attempt to defend what is alleged to be progress in the struggle against discrimination and segregation in the labor movement, direct criticism and unfounded charges against the NAACP and the Negro American Labor Council.

They elect to view with alarm practically any and all criticisms of the AFL-CIO because of racial discrimination. In this respect they assume to speak for Negro trade unionists and Negro workers. This is easily understandable. The reason for this situation is that, for generations, everybody and anybody who was white has elected to speak for the Negro. Few people take the trouble or the time to attempt to find out whether the Negro wants to, or should, speak for himself. This attitude on the part of some of our liberal and labor friends is an outgrowth of the color caste system of our American culture which has given rise to certain racial habit systems that provide for the white man speaking for the black man.

But this civil rights revolution marks the end of this era of white leadership serving as the spokesman of Negro America.

This does not imply that the struggles of Negroes for human dignity must be viewed as some "sacred cow," immune from criticism. This is certainly not the case. In the struggle of Negroes against color caste they need allies; allies possess the right of criticism. Criticism, instead of being harmful, may be helpful.

Therefore, this vast uprising of Negroes against the old order of white supremacy in America must and will be subjected to the fires of hostile comment.

Every great and new revolution for the redirection of social forces into new paths of creativity of promise and hope must pass through a crucible of trial.

Because of the profound soul-searching that began with the advent of Negro trade unionists upon the stage of history as a new force in organized labor, leaders of labor and leaders in other areas of American life have set about determining upon the course of its orientation.

Hence, let us briefly say a word about the Negro American Labor Council.

What can the Negro American Labor Council achieve?

It can give Negro trade unionists a sense of unity, both among themselves and with their white brothers. It can also provide them with a sense of purpose, direction and mission and dedication to the philosophy of trade unionism and the program for equality of Negro trade unionists in the labor movement.

It can promulgate its philosophy, to the effect that racially segregated, or Jim Crow, unions do not have the right to exist within the framework of a free trade union movement but since they do exist they do not have the right of final decision as to whether or when they shall cease to exist and conform with the national policy on discrimination and segregation as set forth in the constitution.

The Negro American Labor Council can help the AFL-CIO to cleanse the House of Labor of color caste discrimination and segregation, which will help it win the confidence and faith in its declarations of democracy and freedom among the laboring masses of Africa and Asia.

In order that there may be no misgivings and misapprehensions about the policy of the Negro American Labor Council on certain basic questions, it is pertinent to indicate:

It is not a labor union and will not seek to become the collective bargaining agent of any group of workers to negotiate agreements concerning rates of pay, hours of work, or rules governing working conditions. It has no visions of becoming a black Federation of Labor. It is not anti, but pro-AFL-CIO. It is pro-AFL-CIO leadership.

It is non-partisan, but not non-political. It is pro-Republicans who are pro-civil rights and pro-labor. It is pro-Democrats who are pro-civil rights and pro-labor. It is anti-Communist and anti-Fascist.

The Negro American Labor Council is necessary to achieve greater contact and communication among Negro trade unionists for the achievement of their common goals that involve their fight for equality.

It is necessary because the AFL-CIO, though committed to a national policy against discrimination and segregation, will not voluntarily move toward the implementation of this policy unless it is caused to move, and it cannot be caused to move except through an organization which is committed to the elimination of discrimination and segregation.

The fact is, the practice of racial discrimination and segregation has reached the stage of institutionalization in the labor movement. It is taken for granted. It is viewed with utter complacency, apathy, unconcern, if not indifference. This has been true from the very foundation of the labor movement in the United States up to the present time. There are historical, socio-economic, political and ethnic reasons for this attitude, but it is important to point out that this is not peculiar to the labor movement.

Racial discrimination has reached the stage of institutionalization in Government, in the Church, in business and industry, in the schools, colleges and universities, in sports and entertainment. The segregation system of various institutions of the country is given rigidity and resistance because it is encrusted with the dogma of white supremacy. The labor movement, being an integral factor of the American community, naturally reflects the mores and attitudes that prevail in the community.

It may not be amiss to observe that the Negro American Labor Council is not a new phenomenon in the labor movement.

The early Jewish immigrants to this country set up the United Hebrew Trades, the purpose of which was to advance the cause of Jewish workers. Today, the Jewish workers have developed the Jewish Labor Committee, a movement of considerable proportions which has worked effectively in the civil rights field, not only for Jews, but other minorities. It is recognized and accepted as a legitimate phase of the American labor movement by the AFL-CIO. Jewish workers also receive moral and public relations support from the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee and B'nai B'rith.

On account of the fact that the early Irish immigrants were the victims of religious persecution, they found it necessary to establish Catholic trade unions. In addition to Catholic trade unions, the Hibernians, the Knights of Columbus, the Holy Name Society, and other Catholic organizations work with vigor and determination to eliminate discrimination agaist Irish Catholics in this country.

Realizing the futility of depending upon outside forces to advocate their cause against the evil practices of discrimination and segregation, Puerto Rican workers are now in the process of establishing a Puerto Rican Labor Committee.

The Negro American Labor Council can play an effective and progressive role in opposing anti-labor legislation such as the "right-to-work" laws. Although "right-to-work" laws were defeated in California and Ohio in 1959, the movement for the extension of these laws in various states and, finally, the enactment of a federal "right-to-work" law still has vitality.

Be it said to the credit of the NAACP, in cooperation with the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO, it waged a vigorous and effective campaign against "right-to-work" laws in the aforementioned states. It is an understatement to add that were it not for the relentless educational campaign of the NAACP against the "right-to-work" laws, they might not have been defeated.

The Negro American Labor Council can be effective in joining hands with trade unions in opposing anti-labor politicians and supporting pro-labor political leaders in government and out of government.

We have been asked, "Will the Negro American Labor Council promote black nationalism?"

While the Council does not accept black nationalism, it recognizes its virtues as well as its vices.

What is black nationalism?

It is, basically, the Negro's reaction-behavior pattern to white nationalism. White nationalism is the cause - black nationalism is the effect.

Black nationalism is a ghetto people's defense and offense mechanism against persecution, insult, oppression and poverty. In this respect it is comparable to Zionism.

Black nationalism is psychological compensation for social, economic and political rejection by the dominant racial power system. It is a manifestation of disillusionment with the concepts, professions and practices of Christianity and democracy.

It is an expression of fear and frustration, despair and desperation on the part of the Negro, with the violence of race hate. It is a bitter outcry against the empty and mocking, conservative, liberal, religious and labor, white paternalism. It's a direct, if awkward, expression of belief in the simple fact that the salvation of a people must come from within - that our friends may help us, but they cannot save us.

One of the dangers of black nationalism is that it tends to breed hatred against white people merely because they are white, not because they have committed some wrong against Negroes. This is the behavior pattern of white nationalists.

Black nationalism tends to direct its venomous attacks upon white people, instead of discriminatory practices of some white people.

Black nationalism tends to develop into a conspiracy against Negroes themselves, by opposing the Negroes' fight for freedom on the grounds that freedom from discrimination and segregation will lead to racial mixing and the loss of proper devotion to the black man's African heritage - which is both folly and a fallacy.

It is based upon the false assumption of the capacity of Negroes for self-sufficiency in this age of science, industrialism and technology.

The basic remedy for black nationalism - which can become a danger to social peace, as white nationalism is a danger to social peace - is the abolition of white nationalism, which expresses itself in lynchings, mob law, disenfranchisement, segregation and discrimination.

While black nationalism, like white nationalism, is unsound and leads to violent forms of extremism, it is not to be equated with rational racial unity which may be constructive, creative and healthy for self-defense and various forms of cultural, political, economic and social achievement.

Black nationalism is unsound because it disallows contact between the races. Without contact there cannot be communication, and without communication there breeds suspicions, doubts, fears and frustrations that prevent understanding, confidence and cooperation between Negro and white workers.

Thus, to the question, "will the Negro American Labor Council promote black nationalism," the answer is no. Instead of promoting black nationalism, the Council will serve to remove the basis of black nationalism by working to eliminate discrimination and segregation in the labor movement and the government, or white nationalism.

It is said in Holy Writ: "For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to battle?"

While the Negro American Labor Council rejects black nationalism as a doctrine and practice of racial separatism, it recognizes the fact that history has placed upon the Negro, and the Negro alone, the basic responsibility to complete the incompleted Civil War Revolution through keeping the fires of freedom burning in the Civil Rights Revolution. It is well-nigh axiomatic that only he who wears the shoe can feel the pinch,

Only the Negro, who feels the sting and humiliation of racial discrimination and segregation, can be depended upon uncompromisingly to fight in labor unions, government, industry, the Church, and schools.

Only Negro students will march in the South and face police brutality and prisons for civil rights. Only Negro students would bear insult and abuse to enter Central High School in Little Rock.

Only Negroes would walk for a whole year to boycott Jim Crow buses in Montgomery.

Only Negro trade unionists would introduce resolutions in the AFL-CIO San Francisco Convention for the expulsion of two powerful railroad unions because of the color bar.

Only Negro trade unionists can be depended upon to build the Negro American Labor Council to fight to cleanse the House of Labor of the evil of racial bias.

And while the Negro American Labor Council has not, and will not, have a color bar, we do not apologize for pointing out that the primary and sole purpose of this movement is to organize Negro trade unionists to eradicate the evil of racial discrimination from which they, alone, suffer.

The question which the Council seeks to answer is not whether success was achieved in getting a Negro carpenter on this or that building construction job, or whether a Negro trade unionist sits on this or that executive board, or is on this or that staff. While these developments may have statistical significance, the problem is bigger than that.

Our goals are not just so-called success in inolated instances but basic accomplishment, in the sense of bringing new values into the life of the Negro, such as acceptance into the mainstream of American life - social, economic, political, upon a basis of worth, talent, ability, character; recognition as a first-class citizen, and member of the trade union movement; elimination of the conditions that render these isolated cases of so-called progress necessary.

This movement is the creative and social agent of a great, authentic, and majestic revolution - a moral revolution, a civil rights revolution, which is engrossed in and affected by the broad and vast flow of human events, and the direction of the course of history in the labor movement in particular, and our country and the world in general. Its major historical mission is to help complete an incompleted social and moral revolution.

The growth, health, moral and spiritual strength of our country stem from, and are rooted in, the completion of this incompleted moral revolution of civil rights. Let me add that history has placed the basic responsibility for the achievement of this monumental task of completing this incompleted civil rights revolution upon the shoulders of the Negro.

In the nature of things, no other social force in American life has the spiritual preparation to lead the forces of the Civil Rights Revolution which is only born in social suffering, sacrifice and struggle, economic oppression and political persecution, except the Negro, the chief victim of this adversity.

Thus, Negro trade unionists and workers must bear their own cross for their own liberation. They must make their own crisis decisions bearing upon their life, labor and liberty. Nobody else can, will, or should do this for them.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE speeches

Sept. 7,-Nov, 1960

(2)

STATEMENT BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT THE
FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE OF THE
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, HOTEL COMMODORE,
NEW YORK CITY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1960.

THE FIGHT AGAINST BIAS IN LABOR UNIONS, INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT

The complete eradication of discrimination and segregation based upon race or color in trade unions, industry and government is the central, major and controlling issue in relation to the future of labor and the Negro.

Until all forms of inequalities of opportunity in industry, trade unions and government are abolished, like a cancer, racial bias will eat at the heart of our American democratic society.

Where racial bias exists in trade unions, organization may be numerically strong but morally and essentially weak, since the influence and future of organized labor does not stem alone from the position of economic and organizational strength but also from its moral affirmation and indentification with the total good and advancement of the community.

From the days when the exclusion of Negroes from union membership forced them to enter various basic industries, such as steel and packinghouse, as non-union workers to the present time, despite the fact that much progress has been made by Negro workers in the organized labor movement, in industry and government, he still occupies a status of second-class citizenship in the labor movement.

Negro workers are virtually the forgotten wage earners in certain areas of industry and the trade union movement even though the Constitution of the AFL-CIO is definitely committed to the elimination of discrimination and segregation based upon race. The leadership of organized labor in George Meany, president and Walter Reuther, one of the major vice presidents, along with all of the members of the Executive Council, are unquestionably opposed to racial discrimination in its various forms in the labor movement.

But since the American labor movement along with all other American institutions, including the church, school, industry and government, has not viewed racial discrimination with the deepest concern, many of the leaders of labor with the best intentions and recognition of the evil and menace of racial bias in labor are not yet fully aroused or awakened to the great dimensions and challenge of the civil rights revolution in the House of Labor and other American institutions. The leaders of American labor, government and industry do not yet grasp the fact that the civil rights revolution is a part of a world revolution for human rights and that if our modern democratic society is to survive it must be free from all distinctions and proscriptions based upon race and color which, together with religious bigotry, constitute the worse forms of man's inhumanity to man.

It is a matter of common knowledge that though progress has been made by Negroes in labor, industry and government it is obviously and undeniably too little and too slow. Gradualism of education in racial relations in the labor movement, industry and government as now obtains may require a millennium before Negroes reach the status of equality as workers in the House of Labor, government and industry. Even the most conservative men of labor, government and industry must realize that this is more time than the swift flow of world events will allow if justice is to be done all men, regardless of race or color, and if our Western democratic society is to survive in the struggle against world communism.

Moreover, organized labor and the Negro are face-to-face with the giant strides of automation under which the working machine is displacing workingmen. Unless all workers, without regard to race, color or religion, are embraced in the bosum of organized labor, Negro and white workers face a position of competition for decreasing jobs which is certain eventually to eventuate into racial tensions.

Finally, the organized labor movement cannot continue to march at the head of the international fellowship of free democratic unions of the world until it sweeps its house clean of every vestige of racial discrimination and segregation.

Can anyone honestly and logically doubt the fact that American discrepancies between democratic ideals and practices vitiate and compromise, if not nullify its world potential?

Verily, if American democracy were unembarrassed by the national scandal of Little Rock and Fayette, Tennessee and similar notorious racial discriminatory incidents, it would give our country a leadership of democratic achievement and a status as challenging as our economic, technological and military capabilities.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

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Founding Members

FAY BENNETT
Executive Secretary

LINDA W. LEWIS
Assistant Executive Secretary

STANLEY HAMILTON
2104 Chester Pike
Richmond, Indiana
Field Representative

MAIL VOTE

RESOLVED: That the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, having completed its effective function, be dissolved as a separate entity; and that the Board of the National Sharecroppers Fund be requested to carry on the work by creating a National Committee on Farm Labor, made up of an advisory committee including present NACFL members who cannot be active but who want to remain associated with the work, and an executive committee composed of six or seven people who can be active and come regularly to meetings.

YES ✓

NO ____

(Signature) A Philip Randolph
Member of NACFL

(Date) Oct. 8, 1968

201

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

October 2, 1968

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Executive Secretary

ROWLAND WATTS
Counsel

GAIL HERSHBERGER
Administrative Assistant

STANLEY HAMILTON
Route 1
Walk-in-the-Water Heights
Lake Wales, Florida 33853
Field Representative

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President Emeritus
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street - Room 301
New York, N.Y. 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

As you know, the AFL-CIO Executive Committee voted to give the $10,000 requested by the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor. Thank you for giving this matter your support when it came up at the Executive Council meeting.

Frank Graham was pleased to have the good news and also to have your regards, which I passed along to him. He sends regards to you, too.

Enclosed are copies of Mr. Meany's letter to NACFL and the reply sent by Dr. Graham.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Director

FB:w
enc.

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OCT 3 1968
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112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

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FAY BENNETT
Executive Secretary

LINDA W. LEWIS
Program Secretary

STANLEY HAMILTON
2104 Chester Pike
Richmond, Indiana
Field Representative

October 2, 1968

Mr. George Meany, President
AFL-CIO Executive Council
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Meany:

On behalf of Mr. A. Philip Randolph and our Committee I send you sincere thanks for the contribution of $10,000 from the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

This timely gift will bolster our work of educating the American people regarding farm labor needs and building support for the organizing efforts of farm workers.

We are deeply grateful for the consistent support which you and the Executive Council have given to our work.

With appreciation and all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Frank P. Graham
Co-Chairman

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SEP 27 1968

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

September 24, 1968

Mr. Frank P. Graham, Chairman
National Advisory Committee
on Farm Labor
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Mr. Graham:

Your letter of September 10 was brought to the attention of the AFL-CIO Executive Council at its recent meeting.

I am pleased to advise, in response to your appeal, the Executive Council voted to contribute $10,000 to assist in the work of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor.

I am, therefore, enclosing a check in the amount of $10,000.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Geo. Meany

President

enclosure

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

October 2, 1968

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Richmond, Indiana
Field Representative

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President Emeritus
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Committee Member:

I am writing to you on a matter of great importance -- the future of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor. The major problem continues to be lack of funds. NACFL's Executive Committee has met with representatives of the Board of the National Sharecroppers Fund, which has been subsidizing NACFL, and it was agreed that action must be taken to resolve this situation.

Please read the enclosed minutes of the joint NACFL-NSF meeting, which detail the financial problems and the reasons why future financial prospects are poor. Out of this discussion came the resolution which is now being presented to you, to dissolve NACFL as a separate entity, and to have its work carried on by the National Sharecroppers Fund.

While we all regret the need for this action, it appears to be the responsible thing to do. I am pleased to report that NSF, at its last Board meeting, provisionally accepted the proposed recommendation on NACFL, and as soon as the resolution is officially voted on by the NACFL members, the appropriate organizational changes can be made.

Enclosed is a sheet with the resolution and space indicated for your vote. Please return your vote as soon possible in the envelope provided.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB/lm
Encs.

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OCT 8 1968
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201

Meeting of Executive Committee,
National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor
with representatives of National Sharecroppers Fund Board
May 1, 1968, 4:00 p.m.
Council Room, ILGWU, 1710 Broadway, New York City

Present: For National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor -- Helen Gahagan Douglas, Shirley E. Greene (representing Arthur S. Flemming), Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary (representing Robert W. Hudgens); for National Sharecroppers Fund -- James Lipsig, Rowland Watts; staff -- Alan Swenson, Gail Hershberger.

It was decided to dispense with a formal agenda and discuss the central issue -- the future of National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor -- taking up specific items as they arose from the discussion.

Action is needed because NACFL is without funds and in debt to NSF for several thousand dollars, and the prospects for adequate financing are not hopeful.

Mr. Lipsig: NACFL has always had, and still has, a vital function to play; why can't we keep it alive?

Mrs. Douglas: The Committee members are inactive, and NACFL cannot continue without a core of active members (many members live out of town, and others are prevented from attending meetings by ill health or the pressures of their own work).

Miss Bennett: It is possible that the work could be carried on by the National Campaign for Agricultural Democracy, based in Washington, with two full-time staff members and a larger budget than NACFL ever had. The obstacle to this is that NCAD was created specifically as a single-purpose organization, to coordinate the campaign for NLRA coverage for farm workers, and it is not supposed to devote time to other farm labor issues; its by-laws state that it is to dissolve as soon as the goal of NLRA coverage is won. Unfortunately, NACFL is now in the position of competing with NCAD for financial contributions from the AFL-CIO and the IUD, its major sources of funds in the past.

Mr. Lipsig: What is needed is massive education on the whole issue of farm labor, not just concentration on NLRA, since public support for NLRA cannot be developed without awareness of the whole farm labor problem. NCAD is unable to do this kind of job because of the limitations on its action.

Mrs. Douglas: NACFL has done its work; perhaps it is time to let it die.

Miss Bennett reviewed for the members present the origin of NACFL and some of the accomplishments for farm labor that were made partly as a result of NACFL's work over the past 10 years since its formation. The formation of NACFL came out of recommendations of a National Sharecroppers Fund conference in 1957, which proposed that a committee of distinguished Americans be formed to speak out and gain wide public attention for the needs of farm workers. NACFL received much publicity at its public launching with a hearing on farm labor, held in Washington, D.C., in 1959. A report of the hearing was published, and a major pamphlet followed nearly every year.

NACFL's impetus was in great part responsible for the establishment of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor and the production of the CBS-TV documentary, Harvest of Shame, which brought unprecendented national publicity on farm workers' problems. The long struggle to bring an end to Public Law 78 (the Mexican farm labor importation program) was finally won in 1963, and another major victory came with enactment in 1966 of minimum wage coverage for farm workers, for the first time in history (it covered about 35 per cent of the national total). Other legislative gains were made in the areas of migrant health, migrant education, registration of crew leaders, migrant housing, and further limitations on child labor. There have also been new breakthroughs in union organization of farm workers, the most hopeful campaign currently being waged among the grape workers of California's central valley. NACFL has supported the campaign by working to develop public support, with publication of two pamphlets, The Grape Strike, followed by Farm Labor Organizing, 1905-1967: A Brief History, aimed both at supporting the union's efforts and at winning coverage for farm workers under the National Labor Relations Act. The NLRA campaign has been given top priority by a number of labor, church, and civic organizations, and NACFL has published, in addition to the latter pamphlet, a fact sheet on this issue.

Mr. Greene: Is there any function that NACFL could not perform as a subcommittee of NSF?

At this point there was discussion of the financial situation, and the fact that NSF has always underwritten a certain amount of NACFL expenses and has carried all NACFL expenses for several months since NACFL funds were depleted. Mr. Swenson presented financial statements prepared by the accountant. The statements showed that, in the period October 1, 1967-March 31, 1968, expenses had exceeded income by $2,325. In addition to covering this amount, NSF has also absorbed $2,375.35 of NACFL expenses since January 1, 1968, and made a grant subsidy of $2,540 to NACFL in 1967. It was estimated that approximately $12,000 per year is required to enable NACFL to function on a minimum basis. Since recent experience indicates that only about $1,000 can be raised annually from small individual givers and from contributions for literature, the balance would have to be obtained from unions or other large-scale supporters.

Mr. Lipsig: What about seeking to expand NCAD to include a broader program?

Mr. Greene: NCAD was set up at the time of the dissolution of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, with the recognition that "general purpose" organizations, such as NCALL had been, were no longer the most effective groups; the trend is now toward ad hoc groups working on a specific issue, such as NCAD. Perhaps NSF could be seen as a "general purpose" organization subsuming specific action committees -- NACFL could be one, and NSF already has its Rural Advancement Fund for its southern field program and educational work.

Mr. Watts: We could keep NACFL mainly as a letterhead committee, under the organizational structure of NSF, and make use of it when the need arises.

M

Mr. Lipsig: There is a need for a core of active people to stimulate national publicity on farm labor. What about involving the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights?

Miss Bennett: They should become involved, and Bayard Rustin has asked us to prepare some materials for his use in preparing proposals for LCCR involvement.

Mrs. Douglas: Can we still involve the people on the NACFL letterhead in some way?

There was discussion of the value of keeping the name of NACFL alive, since it is now well known to the people and groups who are most involved in farm labor issues. Since the name specifically refers to farm labor, it would be more meaningful on these issues than National Sharecroppers Fund or Rural Advancement Fund. At the same time it was agreed that overhead costs and staff time could be conserved by combining NACFL as an integral part of NSF. NACFL at present is an independent unincorporated entity.

Mr. Watts moved that a recommendation be placed to a mail vote of NACFL members, as follows:

RESOLVED: That the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, having completed its effective function, be dissolved as a separate entity; and that the Board of the National Sharecroppers Fund be requested to carry on the work by creating a National Committee on Farm Labor, made up of an advisory committee including present NACFL members who cannot be active but who want to remain associated with the work, and an executive committee composed of six or seven people who can be active and come regularly to meeting.

Mr. Greene seconded the motion, which was passed.

Mrs. Douglas: The letter to NACFL members asking them to vote on the recommendation should emphasize the difficulty of raising funds.

Mr. Lipsig: We need to be related to people who can be counted on to get out widespread publicity. Two suggestions are the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and the National Community Relations Advisory Council. One of them could assign a regular staff person to help out when the need arises; they could be more effective than we are because they have a national constituency and the organizational machinery to do an effective job.

Miss Bennett: What is needed for a functioning committee is a core of representatives from various interested groups (labor, major religious organizations) who are available and can become closely involved.

There was discussion of whether the Information Letter of NACFL should continue to be published. While farm labor is related to the whole issue of rural poverty, and NSF's publication, Rural Advance, could include a whole page devoted to farm labor, there is no other organization putting out a round-up of farm labor news like the Information Letter, and it has been useful and in considerable demand by various church, labor, student, and civic groups.

Mrs. Douglas moved, and Mr. Watts seconded, a motion that the Information Letter continue to be published if funds are available. The motion was passed.

Mr. Watts moved that NACFL send Stanley Hamilton its appreciation for the devoted work he has done with citizens' groups as NACFL field representative, and that NSF continue to use his services on an ad hoc expense basis if funds are available.

Mrs. Douglas seconded the motion, which was passed.

Mrs. Douglas moved a resolution of appreciation to Fay Bennett for her devotion and dedication to efforts on behalf of farm workers over many years, and for her leadership which has enabled NACFL to accomplish so much despite financial problems and her increasing burdens as executive director of the National Sharecroppers Fund.

Mr. Greene seconded the motion, which was passed.

Miss Bennett moved that NACFL send official letters of thanks to all the staff people who contributed to NACFL's work since its inception: Sue Keisker D'Isselt, Helen Shettle, Russell Benedict, Robin Myers, Linda Lewis Tooni, Gail Hershberger and Lena Manderville.

Mrs. Douglas seconded the motion, which was passed.

The meeting adjourned at 5:15 p.m.

STATEMENT OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT THE MEMORIAL
MEETING OF THE BULGARIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT CENTER, NEW YORK CITY,
SEPTEMBER 24, 1960.

First of all, permit me to say that I feel greatly honored to have been invited to share in the fellowship of this occasion honoring Nikola Petkov, and in commemoration of the Day of Struggle for Freedom and Independence of Bulgaria.

Verily, you pay tribute and homage to the memory of that fearless protagonist of freedom and democracy, Nikola Petkov, leader of the United Democratic Opposition in the Bulgarian Parliament, at an hour of grave crisis in world history. It is truly one of those "times of troubles" that have challenged man's highest genius and most generous spirit.

It is eminently fitting, proper and timely that your generation of freedom-loving patriots of Bulgaria should bow in grateful memory of Nikola Petkov whose martyred blood not only hallowed the ground of liberty in Bulgaria but of the free world.

Yes, the spirit of Petkov bears the banner of democracy and human dignity at the head of the long march of the international fellowship of freedom fighters, a symbol of inspiration of a world of liberty, justice, brotherhood, peace and plenty.

But just as he bravely and stubbornly fought against Communist conspiracies, outrages, terror and violence, and freely gave of his life and blood that the great cause of freedom and democracy might not perish from the earth, not only in his native Bulgaria but in all areas of the world, new Petkovs must arise if liberty is to live and the free world survive.

As we are here assembled in this little gathering in an effort to recapture the nobility and greatness of the struggles, sacrifices and suffering of this champion of the cause of the revolution of human rights, the Assembly of the United Nations - probably man's last great hope of peace - is in session with their eyes fixed upon Africa, swept by the raging fires of nationalist revolutions, revolutions of rising expectations, new hopes and new faiths for new human horizons.

Africa, a mighty black giant, awakened and aroused from the sleep of the centuries, stands upon his feet and, with head erect, strides forward for freedom and independence.

And let me remind you, sons and daughters of Bulgaria, because freedom is indivisible, Africa cannot shake off the yoke of the slavery of colonialism and racism without weakening the chains of the slavery of the new Russian and Chinese Communist imperialism, in the grip of which your country is held. Thus, the fight for freedom against Western capitalist colonialism in Africa is the fight for freedom against Eastern Communist colonialism behind the Iron Curtain.

While imperialistic colonialism in Africa has been marked throughout the long nights with unspeakable human horrors, your unhappy country, Bulgaria, along with the puppet satellite countries, such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Roumania and Albania, languish under the ruthless and cruel heel of Communist imperialistic barbarism.

Albeit, the chains of human slavery know no boundaries of race of religion, color, nationality or ancestry. By the same token, God's sunlight of human freedom will shine in the hearts of all the children of men.

But man's inhumanity to man will only retreat into the limbo of history when all men accept the faith and philosophy of the universality of the unity of the human family and the sacredness of the dignity of the human personality.

This means that we accept and honor the doctrine that God is the Father of all men and, therefore, all men are brothers. If all men are brothers, then all men are equal, and if all men are equal before and under God, all men are entitled to equal treatment before God and under the laws of man.

Thus, the personality of every human being is precious and has value. Therefore, the denial of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to any human being is a crime against God and a sin against man.

I am sure I bespeak the sentiment and position of President George Meany of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations when I say that there must be no doubt about the fact that the 100 million peoples in the captive nations behind the Iron Curtain are entitled to their God-given right of self-determination and to exist as free and independent countries and free peoples.

The labor movement is unequivocally committed to the doctrine that mankind cannot live half slave and half free. Either mankind will become all free or it will become all slave.

Hence, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations is committed to struggle for the liberation of all peoples - whether under the slavery of Western capitalist colonialism or under the slavery of the colonialism of Communist imperialism such as obtains with the captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

Let us ever be mindful of the fact that there are two different systems of values in the world that are maintained by two different world societies; namely, the Western democracies and the Communist nations led by the Soviet Union.

The former believe in, and are committed to, the values of truth, honesty, justice, freedom, equality, freedom of speech, assembly, freedom of worship, press, thought, association, free elections, representative government, free democratic labor unions and a free enterprise system. They stand by the principle that moral means are essential to the achievement of moral ends.

On the other hand, the value system of the Communist world is oriented to a drastically different world view.

Communists are committed to the unmoral doctrine that the end justifies the means. This means that if murder, lies, concentration camps, political purges, slave labor, systematic deception and misrepresentation, the enslavement and colonization of peoples are necessary for the implementation of the dogma of Moscow's Marxism-Leninism and the Communist power forces, then these practices must be employed as the ruthless religion of a monolithic dictatorship.

In the light of the basic difference between the two value systems of the Western democracies and Russian Communism, the African leaders, who wisely struggle to prevent Africa from becoming the battleground of the Cold War, are to be congratulated upon their exhibition of an high order of statesmanship in rejecting the resolution of the Soviet Union which sought to discredit the United Nations and its able and resourceful Secretary, Dag Hammarskjold, brilliantly assisted by Ralph Bunche.

If the position of Communist Russia had prevailed it would definitely bring Africa within the orbit of the Cold War. It could be a mortal blow to not only the authority but the very life of the United Nations and the future usefulness of Mr. Hammarskjold.

Needless to say, any action which results in undermining the United Nations strikes at the very heart of hope of the newly emerging free independent states of Africa. No nation can properly claim to be the friend of Africa and at the same time attempt to strike down Africa's best friend - the United Nations.

Realizing that the voting majority in the Assembly is about to pass to the Afro-Asia nations, and convinced that the Communist world is riding the wave of the future, Premier Khrushchev, boss of international Communism is on hand to woo the new African leaders, with a view to building a beachhead on the African continent.

It is indeed encouraging to note by the resolution of the new African states, supporting the United Nations and Dag Hammarskjold, that they have grasped the fact that the United Nations represent the direction in which the world is moving, which is toward closer interdependence of peoples, the result of the march of science, technology and industrialism, as well as nationalist revolutions for the rights of man.

Africa must not only move as a great world moral force to save the United Nations in order to save itself, but also to save mankind.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
TO THE LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS
CLUB, HARVARD UNIVERSITY
NOVEMBER 16, 1960

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THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION AND LABOR

WORLD HUMAN RIGHTS REVOLUTION

The big, central, commanding fact of our times is not the technological revolution for control over space, through sputniks or moon satellites, but the revolution of man for the rights of man, or the revolution for human rights.

Among two-thirds of the population of the world the revolution of human rights is symbolized by the fires of nationalist revolts sweeping over Africa and Asia against colonialism and racialism. In America, the world revolution for human rights takes the form of the Civil Rights Revolution, or the revolt against second-class citizenship and a bold affirmation of the status of first-class citizenship for every citizen, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

The Civil Rights Revolution is the outgrowth of the fact that the Civil War - the liberal-capitalist American revolution of 1863 - was never fully completed. It was never fully completed because the completion of the Civil War Revolution was no longer a necessary condition to the consolidation of American capitalism, the new order to replace the feudal-plantation-slave oligarchy as the ruling social, economic and political system.

THE GREAT COMPROMISE

Thus, the counterrevolution to achieve the nullification of the 13th Amendment of 1865, the 14th Amendment of 1868, the 15th Amendment of 1870 and the restoration of the old slavemaster class to power with the return of the slave states to the Union, rolled into full swing during the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876.

This famous and sinister political deal of compromise at the expense of the freedmen, was made between the newly formed Republican Party, backing Rutherford B. Hayes, and the Democratic Party, sponsoring Samuel J. Tilden. It provided, in the main, that if the doubtful electoral votes of Oregon, South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida were adjudged shifted to Hayes, thereby electing him President, the new Republican Party of the rising industrial and financial capitalism would pay the price for this concession by withdrawing the Federal troops from the South, leaving it free to handle the freedmen as it wished.

FROM SLAVE TO DEBT PEON

Since the one absorbing objective of the former ruling slavemasters was to rebuild the shattered cotton plantation economy - an impossible task without the former slaves, now the freedmen - it was imperative to devise a racial economic arrangement which would take the place of slavery, the labor system upon which the Southern slave society was structured. Labor, in the post Civil War South, above all, must be cheap, if not slave.

Thus, the rise of plantation farm tenancy and sharecropping became the foundation of the new economy of the South. Tenant and sharecrop farming enabled the plantation owners to avoid the wage system for the freedmen. Slavery was merely transformed into a form of serfdom.

The chattel slave became a sharecropper, a farm tenant, a debt peon. Even many of the poor whites were trapped in this sharecropper-farm tenant-debt system.

BLACK CODES NULLIFY CIVIL RIGHTS OF FREEDMEN

To protect and advance this new economic order of the South, Black Codes were invented and enacted into law. The purpose of these Black Codes was to strip the freedmen of their civil rights so that the police and courts could round up thousands of freedmen to labor on plantations. This was easily effected since most freedmen had no visible means of support and were subject to arrest as vagrants. They were fined and sentenced to imprisonment. The planters paid the fine; the freedmen had to pay the debt. Since they had to live, and had no money, they piled debt upon debt. Because the account of their debts was kept by the planter, some of the fines were never fully liquidated. In fact, the freedmen were virtually bound to the plantation by debt.

This economic system which insured large profits for planters, from the production and sale of cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar and lumber, was protected by legislation, as well as violence. Legislation took the form of Jim Crow and vagrancy laws, poll taxes, grandfather clauses, white primaries and devious registration devices. Thus, an elaborate system of racial segregation and discrimination in schools, transportation and recreation was maintained for the purpose of effecting the subordination, subjugation and exploitation of black labor.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the original basis of legislation, custom, and practice of racial segregation and discrimination was not to maintain the doctrine of white supremacy or to prevent miscegenation but, rather, through psychological warfare, lynching, and mob action against the former slaves, to break their spirit and will to freedom and citizenship equality, which would reflect itself in a demand and fight for wages for work, if not unionization.

Southern planters cared next to nothing about preventing the mixing of races. This is obvious by reason of the fact that racial mixing was already a social fact. At the beginning of the Civil War there were practically a half-million mulattoes in the South. Racial mixing existed long before laws to establish segregation of the races in the South were thought about as a general racial policy.

CENTRAL FACTOR OF CIVIL WAR REVOLUTION

It is thus evident that the Negro slave was the central factor of the Civil War Revolution. By the same token, the struggle to effect the transformation of the freedman into a free worker and a free peasant proprietor and citizen, by seeking to complete an incompleted revolution, is the central causal factor today of the Civil Rights Revolution. Because freedom is indivisible, white workers can never achieve full freedom until all workers, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic, achieve full freedom.

Exploiters of black labor are also exploiters of white labor. Exploiters of workers make no distinction with respect to race, color, or religion except with a view to effecting the division of workers since the object of exploitation of labor is profit. The exploitation of workers provokes resistance. Resistance is strong or weak according as the workers lack of organization, or that their organization is strong or weak. If black and white workers are divided by color bias, both will be the victims of economic oppression, since both will be weak.

LABOR HAS FAILED TO LEARN LESSON OF UNITY

Only a strong labor organization is the answer to labor exploitation. A labor organization can only be strong if it brings within its folds all workers in the trade or craft, class or industry. This is a basic lesson the American trade union movement has yet fully to learn. The price organized labor pays for the failure to learn this lesson of the unity of workers is evident by the present plight of labor in the South.

Every single campaign to organize the workers into trade unions in the South, either by the AFL or by the CIO, or by the united labor movement, the AFL-CIO, has been an utter and miserable failure. The failure was not due to the lack of financial resources. It was not due to a lack of organizing personnel. It was not due to the lack of organizational know-how.

Failure was due to fear and frustration; a lack of faith and fortitude when faced with the problem of race - a fierce fact of life in the South. Failure was due to a compromise with racialism as a policy of trade union opportunism. Organized labor had no faith in its own cause. White and black workers in the South had no faith in organized labor.

Following the discredited doctrine of "separate but equal" handed down by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1896, in the case of Plessy against Ferguson, Jim Crow local unions, like Jim Crow schools, were formed and winked at, if not justified, by organized labor. This policy of racial separation of workers created division instead of unity of labor. Employers who exploited white workers and black workers in the South promptly and effectively played upon this division of labor upon a basis of race.

RACIAL WAGE DIFFERENTIAL

Employers have profited from a racial wage differential. While Negro workers' wages, as a rule, are lower than wages of white workers performing the same work, the wages of many white workers, too, are lower than the wages of workers performing the same work in areas under trade union organization. White workers in the South suffer from a substandard wage for service in a given craft, class, or industry because of a lack of strong trade union collective bargaining power, resulting from the division of labor upon a basis of race.

RACIALLY SEGREGATED UNIONS

The heart of the problem of trade union organization in the South is racial segregation and discrimination. These Southern racial mores, which block the progress of union organization, highlight the fallacy of the policy of racially segregated unions. We cannot too forcefully emphasize the fact that racially segregated local unions of a national or international union are just as morally unjustifiable and organizationally indefensible as racially segregated public schools, housing, recreation, or transportation. They not only subject workers of color to humiliation but, in some instances, to certain forms of exploitation.

For instance, some racially segregated local auxiliary unions possess no local autonomy comparable to the average local union, but are guided, supervised and regulated by the nearest white local union of the national or international union. These auxiliary unions, not having the right to designate and elect delegates to the convention of the national or international union, are deprived of the right and privilege to express opinion about, or exercise influence upon, the basic policies of the national or international union that affect the life, work, wages and living of the members of these segregated local unions.

ECONOMIC DISADVANTAGE OF RACIALLY SEGREGATED UNIONS

It is also clear that a racially segregated union operates at an economic disadvantage to its members. This obtains as a result of separate lines of job progression. The racially segregated lines wind up in an industrial blind alley where promotion and upgrading are impossible. This is, undoubtedly, at the bottom of the fact that quite infrequently will a Negro worker in a factory, mine, mill, merchandising establishment, or even the Government, rise to a supervisory position. Moreover, racially segregated local unions lack contact or influence with the mainstream of employment opportunities.

It is a well-known fact that the salary differential of colored and white teachers in the South was, and is, the direct outgrowth of racially segregated schools. Although, as a result of court action, equalization of white and colored teachers' salaries have been theoretically established, I am informed that salary differentials between white and colored teachers still obtain in a large number of areas in the South because of the absence of any agency to enforce an equalization salary plan for white and black teachers. As a matter of fact, inequality in Negro and white teachers' salaries in the South cannot be effectively abolished until segregated public schools are abolished.

COLOR BAR IN RAILWAY OPERATING UNIONS

On the railroads colored locomotive firemen are rejected as members by the white firemen's union. The Union went into court last year to maintain the color bar.

In 1941 the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen negotiated an agreement with the Southeastern Carriers' Conference

Committee which contained a "non-promotability" clause. This clause provided that no worker could be eligible for employment as a locomoti fireman unless he was also eligible for promotion from locomotive fire man to the class of locomotive engineer. Such a contract, if valid, would result in the automatic elimination of Negroes as locomotive fi men since in the South, where Negroes have been employed as locomotive firemen, a locomotive engineer is recognized as a white man's job. Bu as a result of Supreme Court decisions, in the Tunstall, Steele, and Graham cases, this agreement was knocked out. Today, Negro workers become locomotive firemen and, if they pass the examination, are elig to become locomotive engineers, even though not employable because of long line of furloughed engineers.

MULTIPLE SENIORITY RIGHTS FOR WHITE FIREMEN

There exists a seniority differential of doubtful advantage to colored locomotive firemen. Because of longer service Negro railroad firemen possess a higher seniority than white locomotive firemen on Southern roads. Negro firemen were the rule when the job required ha back-breaking shoveling of coal into a blazing-hot engine which was virtually sufficient to consume the most hardy and sturdy of men. It a notorious fact that the colored locomotive firemen, because of raci discrimination, are confined to one seniority roster - locomotive firemen, whereas the white locomotive firemen, who have always been promotable to the job of locomotive enginemen, have rights on three seniority rosters - locomotive firemen, locomotive enginemen, and hostler helpers.

Thus, if a locomotive engineer is furloughed, he may bid and bump in on jobs under the roster of locomotive firemen, from which he was promoted to engineer. If, as a result of reduction of forces amo locomotive firemen, he is furloughed, he may bid and bump in on a job of hostler helper. This is not true of a colored locomotive fireman. Here, then, is an instance of the evil of racially segregated lines of job progression and union membership bias.

PASSING OF COLORED OPERATING RAIL WORKERS

It is significant and important to observe in this connection that Negro railway workers, who have always constituted the largest number of workers in any American industry, are rapidly passing out of the operating departments of the industry. I refer to the jobs of locomotive firemen, brakemen, flagmen and switchmen. In the South today, most of the railway yards have been practically transformed from black to white, in terms of employees.

On the Seaboard, Atlantic Coast Line, Louisville & Nashville, and practically all Southern railroads, colored locomotive firemen who, at one time when the work was hard and the pay was low, constituted, easily, 80 percent, more or less, of the workforce, now represent less than 10 percent. Among the switchmen, brakemen and flagmen there have been comparable losses on the part of Negro railroad workers. The reason for the loss of jobs by Negro railroad workers is the lily-white, anti-Negro policy of the Big Four railway unions, and also because of the fact that when a Negro worker in the operating department of the railroads is fired, dies, or retires, no Negro is employed in his place. Thus, it is evident that it is only a matter of time before the operating area of the railroad industry will be completely lily-white unless some change in the hiring policy of railroads, in relation to Negroes with jobs in the operating department, can be effected.

SEEK RAIL OPERATING JOBS FOR NEGROES ABOVE MASON-DIXON LINE

The Provisional Committee for the Organization of Colored Locomotive Firemen is seeking to secure jobs for Negroes in the railroads' operating departments above the Mason-Dixon line, as well as below. In states where there are Fair Employment Practice laws some progress in this direction has been made. Plans are afoot to seek employment for Negroes in the categories of train conductors, locomotive enginemen, as well as firemen and trainmen. But this effort has no promise of immediate success in view of the drastic reduction in railway passenger and freight operations, and the general contraction of the railroad industry.

RACIALLY SEGREGATED UNIONS DESIRED BY SOME NEGRO WORKERS

Now, I am not unmindful of the fact that there are a few racially segregated local unions that are, as a result of short-sightedness and selfishness, demanded and maintained by Negro officials and members themselves. But racially segregated local unions are just as morally unjustifiable and indefensible when requested by Negro officials and members, as when they are arbitrarily imposed upon them by a national or international union.

No one can logically contend that local unions, Communist-dominated, or under corrupt influences, have any validity for existence as a part of a national or international union merely because their officials and members have expressed the desire for Communist or corrupt unions.

It is obvious that Negro officials and members of racially segregated local unions who request the maintenance of the said unions do so either because of a woeful lack of understanding of sound trade union principles or because of fear of losing union jobs in the event of a merger of their local union with a white local union.

While one can understand that Negro officials and members of a racially segregated union may have a legitimate concern about their fate as officials in a merger of two unions, especially where the white membership is much larger, it is not sound to sacrifice the interests of the rank-and-file members and the principle of union integration to protect a few union jobs. Moreover, it does not follow that a merger of a racially segregated union with a white union will always result in a complete elimination of colored officials. When Negro officials are competent and dedicated it is not only possible but probable that some white workers, along with the Negro workers, will recognize and require their ability.

SEGREGATED LOCAL UNIONS

In this context it is important to observe that a separate, all-Negro local union is not necessarily a racially segregated local union. This is evident by the fact that all of the local unions of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in the United States are composed of Negroes, Filipinos, and some Mexicans in the Southwest. The membership composition is solely due to the hiring policy of the employer. Practically all of the locals of the Dining Car Employes' and Redcaps' unions are similarly all-Negro, which is, again, the result of the hiring policies of the employers. In St. Louis and Denver the Redcaps' local unions have all-white redcaps, which is the result of a hiring policy. Unless these local unions have color bars or a color bar policy they could not be considered racially segregated.

In Canada all of the local unions of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters are interracial and highly international in membership composition, which is also the result of the hiring policy of the

Canadian Pacific Railroad and the membership policy of the Brotherhood, which is to accept in membership any worker on the job covered by the contract between the Union and Management.

It is quite true that there are some white local unions, the membership composition of which is chiefly due to the hiring policy of the employer. But if a Negro, Filipino, or Puerto Rican worker is employed in the craft, class, or industry represented by an all-white local union, the union should be required to accept this worker as a member. The same thing should apply to an all-Negro local union if, and when, a white worker is employed in the craft, class,or industry represented by the Negro local union. Moreover, a worker should be required to join the local union representing his craft, class, or industry, regardless of its racial composition.

Now, just as it was necessary for the U. S. Supreme Court to hand down a decision, May 17, 1954, requiring the desegregation of public schools to provide the basis for their integration, so it is necessary for the AFL-CIO, decisively and vigorously, to proclaim and issue an order with directives to all national and international unions to eliminate segregation and discrimination in their local unions at a given deadline; requiring and demanding national and international unions, city central bodies, state federations, departments or councils, whose policies are in conflict with, and in opposition to, the constitution of the AFL-CIO to begin to develop compliance with the constitution on discrimination immediately. Compliance with the non-discrimination order of the AFL-CIO should be required as a condition of continued affiliation.

Just as Communists and corrupt influences have been, and are being, effectively driven out of the labor movement, so segregation and discrimination based upon race or color can, and must be eliminated from trade unions in affiliation to the AFL-CIO by a forthright, uncompromising, relentless and vigorous policing campaign through the Civil Rights Committee and Civil Rights Department, under the supervision of the president and executive council.

METHODS

The methods and techniques for the accomplishment of this objective are simple.

In the first place, every member of a local union, as well as workers in general, should be made aware of the existence and purpose of the Civil Rights Department and they should be informed of the fact that any complaint of segregation or discrimination involving a union may be presented to the Civil Rights Department and will receive prompt, firm, fair and impartial investigation and action.

In addition to attempting to achieve complaince by every national or international union with the provisions of the constitution outlawing discrimination based upon race or color, national and regional civil rights seminars or conferences should be held periodically for members and officials of national and international unions, in the interest of keeping the problem of civil rights before the membership and officials of trade unions.

These seminars,or conferences, may serve as effective agencies of education in trade union principles and policies, as well as to enlighten the membership and officers as to the moral foundation of civil rights and emphasize that racial discrimination, as a union practice, does not pay.

CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE

An objective analysis of the social forces at work in the areas of race relations will reveal that the country is in the midst of a vast Civil Rights Revolution, the task and purpose of which are to complete the incompleted Civil War Revolution by sweeping into the ash-can of history the remnants, vestiges, and survivals of the old Slave Order. It seeks to fulfill its historical mission of abolishing the status of second-class citizenship based upon the mythology of racial superiority. No institution or segment of our American society plagued by the sickness of racial second-class humanity can escape the impact of this revolution.

And if there be any of you who would berate trade unions as the chief villain of the piece for the imposition of second-class membership upon Negro workers, let me remind you that Negroes are treated as second-class citizens in every institution in America. They are second-class citizens in the Church. They are second-class citizens in the Government. They are second-class citizens in the medical and bar associations, schools, sports, women and youth movements, business and industry.

But organized labor, which is itself the victim of limitations upon its freedom, as shown by the Taft-Hartley Act, "right-to-work" laws, and the Landrum-Griffin law, has no alternative save to cleanse its house of all forms of segregation and discrimination against a worker, or suffer moral decline and its right to leadership of the international fellowship of free, democratic trade unions.

Verily, organized labor must project a massive revolution within its house to effect a transition of the Negro worker from the status of second-class to first-class economic citizenship. The transformation of relationships of Negro workers in the house of labor will constitute the second phase of the moral revolution which labor initiated in the prastic program of expulsion of unions under corrupt influences, racketeering and gangsterism; an indispensable condition to the maintenance of the self-respect, dignity and influence and spiritual development of the American labor movement.

PRIOR REVOLUTIONS

Prior revolutions that have challenged and shaken the American labor movement include the conflict between craft and industrial unionism, and Communist infiltration and subversion of trade unions during the Twenties and Thirties. In each of these revolutions the American labor movement frankly faced and successfully grappled with the challenge, and it is now the stronger in spirit, if not in numbers, for that fact. I am confident that the AFL-CIO, under its present leadership, will rise to the occasion and successfully meet the challenge of the Civil Rights Revolution within the movement.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the AFL-CIO has failed to implement the provision in its constitution outlawing discrimination on account of race or color. However, it needs to be said that some progress toward racial equality has been made and is being made. But no one will gainsay the fact that the progress is quite inadequate and much too slow, especially in view of the bewilderingly rapid march of automation, a technological revolution in industry and business.

Unfortunately, the constitutional provision against discrimination has not been taken seriously by trade union leadership. This was made clear by the timely, factual, sound, and recent report on discrimination in trade unions by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

STEPS OF PROGRESS

A list of a few major steps of progress of Negro workers toward first-class economic citizenship in the labor movement may not be without some interest.

Let me suggest, first and foremost and of primary importance is the fact that there are one million-and-a-half, more or less, Negro members of the AFL-CIO. Moreover, these Negro workers are awakening, both to their rights and their power.

Second, the leadership of the AFL-CIO, in the personalities of President George Meany and Vice President Walter Reuther, as well as the members of the Executive Council, are strongly committed to the AFL-CIO's program of civil rights. But it is no secret that the AFL-CIO leadership lacks an adequate sense of urgency of the civil rights revolution in the house of labor. The problem consists in implementing the program. This must come from the top - the president and the executive council. This was true with respect to handling the revolutions involving the conflict between craft and industrial unionism, and communism and corruption.

But, despite good-will and commitment against racial bias, it is highly doubtful that the leadership fully comprehends the nature, scope, depth, mission and moral challenge of the Civil Rights Revolution in the United States today.

The Civil Rights Revolution is symbolized by the following historic struggles:

First, the long series of notable court victories against legalized segregation and discrimination based upon race or color.

Second, the memorable boycott movement of Jim Crow buses by virtually an entire Negro community in the deep Confederate South, under the brilliant and dedicated leadership of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, an apostle of the Gandhian doctrine of non-violence, good-will, direct action.

Third, the Negro students' sit-in demonstrations in the South for equality and human dignity - a major challenge to the whole color-caste system of the South and the conscience of America.

Fourth, the struggle of Negro trade unionists for first-class citizenship in the house of labor.

Fifth, the battle of Negroes for the ballot in the South with which to fight for complete citizenship equality.

Verily, the winds of the Civil Rights Revolution are blowing hard upon all American institutions, movements and leaders, including the federal, state, and local government, Church, school, business and labor. It will never end until bias of race and color ends.

The national and international presidents, as well as most of the local union officials and members, will support the civil rights program when they clearly understand its significance to labor. But, of course, they will need motivation. This motivation must come primarily from Negro trade unionists themselves, the victims of racial bias.

A third step of progress is that all of the national and international unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO have eliminated the color bar from their constitutions except the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. This, of course, is not to imply that all unions without the color clause against Negro membership are, ipso facto, free from the evil and practice of segregation and discrimination. There is also discrimination by racial exclusion membership policies by tacit consent.

Fourth, the election of Negro trade unionists to the executive boards of city central bodies and state federations, some of which are in the South.

Fifth, the election of two Negro trade unionists as members of the AFL-CIO executive council, the highest policy-making body of the AFL-CIO, even though, following the death of one, Willard Townsend, a Negro did not take his place.

Sixth, designation of Negro trade unionists to represent the AFL-CIO in international labor conferences in Europe, Africa and Asia. This is one of the new, progressive steps of the American labor movement which is destined to give it strength and influence among the working masses in Africa and Asia.

Seventh, the new manifest interest and concern of the AFL-CIO in the problems of the laboring masses of Africa and Asia, through financial support of their labor unions and schools, with a view to bringing them within the orbit of international free, democratic trade unionism.

Eighth, the increasing integration of Negro technical and professional personnel in the varied departments of the AFL-CIO at the national headquarters in Washington, as well as in an increasingly larger number of offices of national and international unions.

Ninth, the legislative program on civil rights of the AFL-CIO.

WHAT IS NOW TO BE DONE

First, a national Negro labor committee, comparable to the Jewi Labor Committee and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, has been organized to fight and work to implement the civil rights progra of the AFL-CIO, every member of which should be urged to become a member of the NAACP.

Second, the members of this committee should come primarily, though not exclusively, from the Negro members of the national and international unions of the AFL-CIO.

Its purpose should be both to secure membership of Negro worke in the unions and employment and promotion on the job, as well as par cipation in the executive, administrative and staff areas of the unio It should be concerned with the election of Negro trade unionists as delegates to the conventions of their national and international unio executive boards of city central bodies and state federations, as wel as to the biennial conventions of the AFL-CIO. It should work to mak Negro trade unionists more trade union conscious so that they will actively participate in the program of the Committee on Political Education, fight "right-to-work" laws and all anti-labor legislation and propaganda, support their national or international union and the AFL-CIO, and work to advance the general cause of civil rights and la rights.

It must set its head, hands, and heart against Communism withi and without the unions, and against corruption and racketeering withi unions, in any form.

It must not participate in jurisdictional disputes.

Verily, I am happy to inform you that a Negro labor committee now exists. It is known as the Negro American Labor Council, organized in Detroit, May 27, 28, 29, 1959, with national headquarters in New York City.

If there is anything more reprehensible than the practice of discrimination upon a **people,** because of race or color, it is for the people discriminated against to accept it without protest or resistance. It is an evidence of an utter lack of self-respect - the most priceless possession an individual or a group can have, without which there can be no human dignity.

It is conceivable that to preserve self-respect one might give up this world's goods or even liberty - yes, even life itself.

In very truth, the sun of freedom is too high up in the heavens this mid-twentieth century for the humblest of God's children to **tolerate** discrimination of any kind at any time, anywhere, for any cause.

Finally, discrimination, because of race, color, religion or national origin is an affront to God; an affront to man. It is an affront to history; an affront to reason. It is an affront to those brave and heroic souls who have ever struggled, through blood and tears, for the ageless cause of human freedom and human dignity.

Racial discrimination is not only morally wrong; it is disastrous to organized labor and organized democracy.

2 DICTATORS, 2 BALCONIES: As did Mussolini (left), Khrushchev takes to balcony to "belch forth" totalitarian venom.

AFL-CIO FREE TRADE UNION NEWS

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Appeal to Afro-Asians: Fight ALL Colonialism!

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Address by A. Philip Randolph, a vice president of the AFL-CIO and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, at a meeting on September 24, 1960 of the Bulgarian National Committee honoring the memory of Nikola Petkov, freedom leader murdered by the Communists.

FIRST of all, permit me to say that I feel greatly honored to have been invited to share in the fellowship of this occasion honoring Nikola Petkov, and in commemoration of the Day of Struggle for Freedom and Independence of Bulgaria.

Verily, you pay tribute and homage to the memory of that fearless protagonist of freedom and democracy, Nikola Petkov, leader of the United Democratic Opposition in the Bulgarian Parliament, at an hour of grave crisis in world history. It is truly one of those "times of troubles" that have challenged man's highest genius and most generous spirit.

It is eminently fitting, proper and timely that your generation of freedom-loving patriots of Bulgaria should bow in grateful memory of Nikola Petkov whose martyred blood not only hallowed the ground of liberty in Bulgaria but of the free world.

Yes, the spirit of Petkov bears the banner of democracy and human dignity at the head of the long march of the international fellowship of freedom fighters, a symbol of inspiration of a world of liberty, justice, brotherhood, peace and plenty.

But just as he bravely and stubbornly fought against Communist conspiracies, outrages, terror and violence, and freely gave of his life and blood that the great cause of freedom and democracy might not perish from the earth, not only in his native Bulgaria but in all areas of the world, new Petkovs must arise if liberty is to live and the free world survive.

As we are here assembled in this little gathering in an effort to recapture the nobility and greatness of the struggles, sacrifices and suffering of this champion of the cause of the revolution of human rights, the Assembly of the United Nations—probably man's last great hope of peace—is in session with their eyes fixed upon Africa, swept by the raging fires of nationalist revolutions, revolutions of rising expectations, new hopes and new faiths for new human horizons.

Africa, a mightly black giant, awakened and aroused from the sleep of the centuries, stands upon his feet and, with head erect, strides forward for freedom and independence.

And let me remind you, sons and daughters of Bulgaria, because freedom is indivisible, Africa cannot shake off the yoke of the slavery of colonialism and racism without weakening the chains of the slavery of the new Russian and Chinese Communist imperialism, in the grip of which your country is held. Thus, the fight for freedom against Western capitalist colonialism in Africa is the fight for freedom against Eastern Communist colonialism behind the Iron Curtain.

While imperialistic colonialism in Africa has been marked throughout the long nights with unspeakable human horrors, your unhappy country, Bulgaria, along with the puppet satellite countries, such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Albania, languish under the ruthless and cruel heel of Communist imperialistic barbarism.

Albeit, the chains of human slavery know no boundaries of race, of religion, color, nationality or ancestry. By the same token, God's sunlight of human freedom will shine in the hearts of all the children of men.

But man's inhumanity to man will only retreat into the limbo of history when all men accept the faith and philosophy of the

(*Continued on Page* 6)

A Program for Inter-American Democracy and Unity

By **ALFONSO SANCHEZ MADARIAGA**

Alfonso Sánchez Madariaga is general secretary of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT).

NOT only the free trade union movement, on the national and hemisphere levels, but also all the democratic and liberal forces of the Americas, the legitimate governments that rule the existence of our peoples constitutionally, and, in a word, the whole of inter-American democracy, are threatened and should prepare to resist renewed attacks by Soviet imperialism.

The Kremlin has chosen our America as its preferred battleground in the "cold war." Communist activities are no longer restricted to simple ideological explanations. A whole offensive has been unleashed, a carefully planned offensive that seeks the breakdown of our political and economic systems and the disintegration of democratic forces simultaneously on the national and continental levels. It is no longer merely a question of preserving unity among the free workers in each of our countries and, at the same time, in America as a whole. It is hemisphere unity and inter-American democracy that are seriously threatened.

Accordingly, action in the strictly trade union field is not enough to combat the danger. The ORIT would like to have this understood in such terms by the governments, the social labor and non-labor forces, and all those interests and factors that are obligated to cooperate in a broad, intelligent, and well-coordinated action of resistance to the penetration we describe herein.

Eliminate Social Ills

The defense of inter-American democracy and hemisphere solidarity must be based primarily upon the elimination of the causes of social irritation that enrich the field in which the demagogy of the Kremlin and Peking agents flourishes. It is time to adopt rational and practical measures.

The ORIT delegation to the economic conference held recently in Bogotá drew up a statement pointing out the necessity for adopting decisions on the following points:

1) Financial Resources for Industrial and Other Economic Development—Substantial financial resources are needed to develop the Latin American economies. Assistance to the different countries should be channeled, as much as possible, through inter-American institutions.

The various countries must obtain supplementary funds, in addition to those now available, for industrial and other economic development. Credit policy must be guided not only by the intention of expanding each nation's financial capacity, but also by the aim of putting into practice special projects to help balance general expansion.

Questions and Answers on American Labor and World Affairs

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For human reasons and also as a basis for economic progress, funds for social development projects, particularly rural development, education, housing, and health services, must be given priority in granting loans.

Improved machinery should be established to help make the administration and distribution of funds better able to coordinate aid from the various international and United States agencies.

Foreign private investment can also contribute greatly to sound development, if foreign investors comply fully with their social and economic obligations to the workers and, in general, the countries involved.

2) Agricultural Development—Agricultural development and improvements in living standards of the rural population are particularly urgent points requiring the greatest efforts. Equitable distribution of land is necessary. Agricultural methods must be improved and production stimulated. Reliable markets must be created for agricultural products, and small farms and holdings must become economically productive. Finally, it is vitally important for agricultural workers to receive a fair share of the benefits of increased agricultural production,

Stabilize Export Income

3) Commodity Agreements—to aid their economic expansion, most Latin American nations need to stabilize their income from exports of basic commodities they produce. International commodity agreements must be formulated in order to: a) avoid sharp fluctuations in commodity trade, and b) establish fair price levels. The United States, as the principal raw-material importer, can make a valuable contribution by refraining from unilateral restrictive trade action which would be harmful to the Latin American economies.

4) Planning—To make available resources more effective, and to avoid fluctuations which might upset general development, over-all long-term planning is necessary. In turn, programs should be established on the national and international scale.

International cooperative efforts for progress can provide lasting benefit only if each country seeks to develop favorable bases for economic and social growth. The national measures required vary from one country to another. Undoubtedly, however, common decisions are advisable regarding tax systems, encouragement of savings and investment, reduction of military expenditures, prevention or checking of runaway inflation, as well as the adoption of modern labor legislation to stimulate the development of strong, independent, democratic trade unions.

Regional cooperation through common market and joint integration zone programs should also be encouraged and aided.

5) Technical Assistance—Increased international sharing of technical knowledge and exchange of specialists and workers between economically-advanced and less well-developed countries should be vigorously promoted.

6) Distribution of Benefits—Expanded development should not serve to enrich a few. Development programs should meet the aspirations of all the peoples, with a marked improvement in general living standards.

Plans for economic and social progress must include specific measures to ensure a fair distribution of the benefits.

7) Representation of the Labor Movement—The free trade union movement is the direct voice of the working people. Therefore it has the right to be represented in national and international organizations charged with planning development programs and putting them into practice.

Nevertheless, the sense of urgency and the absolute necessity of obtaining immediate results were only partially perceived at the economic conference that has just taken place in the capital of Colombia. The statement of position prefacing the Act of Bogotá explicitly recognizes that the underlying motivation for these recommendations is "the preservation and strengthening of free and democratic institutions in the American republics." Aside from a recognition of the need to regulate excessive fluctuations of raw material prices, the new and most significant consideration contained in the Act is the attention given to programs of agrarian reform designed to ensure "a wider and more equitable distribution of the ownership of land."

Inter-American Fund

To this end, a more satisfactory tax structure and the extension of credit to small farmers are proposed. The Act of Bogotá also recommends the formulation of long-range programs of housing construction to include the establishment of private loan institutions and the study of new construction techniques. It urges measures designed to combat illiteracy and to promote the training of professional personnel and the adoption of health services and social security systems. The creation of an Inter-American Fund for Social Development, initially endowed with 500 million dollars supplied by the United States, to be administered by the Inter-American Development Bank, constitutes one of the most outstanding aspects of the recommendations adopted by the conference.

However, taken as a whole, the results of the Bogotá conference were not equal to the urgency of the situation in which we find ourselves. It is only a beginning of the very broad action that the democratic forces in this hemisphere must carry out in order to resolve the gigantic economic and social problems that oppress the Latin American nations.

Faced by current events, we must act quickly and with true and realistic vision. It is essential that the Latin American countries begin to receive as soon as possible the material effects of continental solidarity and of the eradication from our societies of corruption, the domination of privileged castes, and the indifference with which part of the ruling classes have to date contemplated the spectacle of misery and helplessness in which the majority of the American people still live.

U.S. LABOR AND FOREIGN TRADE

By A. J. HAYES

[redacted]

Excerpts from recent address by the president of the International Association of Machinists and AFL-CIO vice president before the Industrial Management Club of Port Chester, N. Y.

TRADITIONALLY, organized labor's position with regard to foreign trade has been that low and reasonable tariffs at home are necessary to keep markets open for American goods abroad.

After World War II the United States enjoyed a distinct advantage in world markets. The industrial capacity of Japan and many of the European nations was so shattered by the war that we had practically a monopoly of many world markets. We didn't have to compete.

Of course, this was an abnormal situation, and we, ourselves, took positive measures to correct it. The objective of the Marshall Plan and Point Four was to re-establish a healthy and productive economy in the free world so as to prevent the economic chaos on which Communism feeds. Having succeeded, we should not despair because Europe and Japan are competitive again. Rather, we should rejoice at our own success.

While we are again facing competition from foreign producers, the situation is not so desperate as some people would have us believe.

I am convinced, for example, that this issue was purposely exploited during the steel strike. Industry raised this issue in order to convince steelworkers—and the public—that American wage rates were already pricing American goods out of world markets and that the industry's refusal to bargain on these rates was necessary and patriotic.

I want to make it clear that if America were truly pricing itself out of world markets because of high wages, this would be a matter of real concern to the labor movement. We have no desire to destroy our own jobs.

Favorable Trade Balance

If we exclude imports and exports of gold and silver, we find that not once in this century has the United States suffered an adverse trade balance. Not once have our annual imports of merchandise exceeded our exports. It is true that last year our balance of exports over imports fell by one-third as compared to the previous year. Nevertheless, we still sold $16.2 billion worth of American goods overseas.

By April of this year, our exports were at a three-year high. In the first four months of 1960, exports were running 20 percent ahead of the 1959 pace, and according to the latest Department of Commerce estimates, foreign nations will buy $18 billion worth of American goods this year. This will be between $2.5 and $3 billion more than we will buy from them.

In other words, the trade balance, once more, will be very much in our favor. These figures do not substantiate the charge that American labor is pricing itself out of world markets.

What do these exports mean in terms of jobs and profits at home? The United States Department of Labor has estimated that the jobs of 4.5 million workers—or approximately seven percent of our labor force—depend on foreign trade. This means that foreign trade provides more jobs than the iron, steel, machinery, and automobile industries combined.

But what about the workers whose jobs are threatened by foreign imports? Figures released by the impartial Commission on Foreign Economic Policy show that if we abolished all tariffs, the total displacement of American labor would affect a range of from less than 200,000 to slightly more than 400,000 jobs.

In other words, at the one extreme of high tariffs, we would threaten the jobs of 4.5 million workers—because of certain retaliation against our goods. At the other extreme of complete free trade we would threaten the jobs of only one-tenth that number.

No one seriously proposes either of these extremes. Rather, we seek a national trade program that balances the realities of the world situation with the legitimate requirements of labor and management at home.

Buy As Well As Sell

America needs to buy goods as well as sell them. A great number of these goods are vital to our national defense. We are self-sufficient in only nine of the 39 minerals vital to our industry. We must import 86 percent of our manganese, 78 percent of our bauxite, 80 percent of our cobalt, 97 percent of our nickel, and 100 percent of our tin, graphite, and industrial diamonds.

Our newspapers must import about three-fourths of their paper. Imports are the only source of coffee, tea, cocoa, chocolate, tapioca, brazil and cashew nuts, and the major source of sugar, spices, olives, lobsters, and bananas.

Some of these are luxuries that we could possibly do without, but a reduction of imports will automatically reduce the dollars that other nations use to buy our products. Any such reduction would logically result in a contraction of the economy.

In view of the spectacular recent growth of the Russian and Chinese economies, we must expand, not reduce, our economy at home. In addition to these economic reasons, political considerations also preclude our withdrawal from the stream of world trade.

Although we are the world's chief trading nation in terms of volume of goods exchanged, our economy is so large that imports account for only seven percent of our total consumption. This is not true of the nations that are allied with us in the free world. While we could survive with a greatly restricted world trade, our friends and allies could not.

For many of these nations, trade is essential. If they cannot trade with us they will certainly look elsewhere, even in the direction of Soviet Russia, which would be only too happy to draw their economies into the Soviet orbit.

Japan faces a special situation. Many people who resent the presence of Japanese goods in American stores are completely unaware of how much America sells to Japan. In 1958, for example, we sold $835 million worth of our goods to the Japanese and received only $671 million in return. We must understand that here again we are dealing with a nation that must trade or perish. Japan has only one exportable commodity—the skill of her people.

Having established the necessity for foreign trade, it is still necessary to consider the question of whether American wages threaten that trade by pricing domestic production out of world markets. Actually, we have been doing very well in these markets despite the undisputed fact that American wages are the highest in the world.

One of the reasons is, of course, that low-paid labor—foreign or domestic—is not necessarily cheap labor. The true measure of labor cost is not hourly wages, but unit labor costs. In Europe, when a manufacturer calculates his costs on a unit basis, he finds that what costs less by the hour often costs more by the piece.

In addition, a European worker gets many fringe benefits in the way of health care, housing, retirement, and so forth that go far beyond those enjoyed by American workers, but are not considered as direct hourly wages. It has been estimated that in some countries these "fringes" run as high as 80 percent of direct wages.

Even if there remains a margin between American and European wages, this margin is fast disappearing as wages rise faster in Europe than in America. Wage levels in the U.S. are now 141 percent of 1947-49 levels as against 165 percent in Britain, 166 percent in West Germany, 169 percent in Norway, and 202 percent in France.

Wages Excuse, Not Cause

But wages are only one of the costs of production, and even if Europe enjoys a wage advantage in some industries, it does not necessarily enjoy a competitive advantage. In many industries, the European businessman pays two or three times more for his capital than does his American competitor. In every industry his power costs are higher and, in most industries, his costs for raw materials are higher.

If American industry is having difficulty competing in world markets, it must look elsewhere than at wages for the reasons. High wages in America are the excuse, not the reason, that we are meeting difficulty in our effort to compete on world markets.

One of the factors that complicates this whole picture is that, increasingly, American capital overseas is competing with itself at home. More and more of our manufacturers are opening, or buying control of, manufacturing facilities abroad. Between 1950 and 1958, the value of direct American investments in other nations rose from $11 billion to $27 billion.

This means that many goods and products which formerly would have been manufactured at home for shipment abroad are today manufactured abroad for shipment back home.

It is obvious, in the short run, at least, that American production overseas means less production, and, therefore, fewer jobs at home. We are aware of this problem and we do not discount its importance. We also know

(*Continued on Page* 7)

Meany: Nigerian Independence Prelude to United Africa

From goodwill message of AFL-CIO President George Meany on behalf of American workers to the workers and people of Nigeria on the occasion of Nigeria's attainment of national independence.

ON the occasion of Nigeria's accession to independence, it is a great pleasure for the AFL-CIO and its 15 million members to express our most fervent wishes that this newly gained freedom will lead to your final and complete economic and social independence. We are certain that, in such a national endeavor, our trade union friends with whom we are united in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions will be able not only to function as a free and independent movement, but will contribute to the basic economic and social expansion of the nation.

We believe and hope that the fight for the emancipation of individual African countries will be not only a prelude to an independent and sovereign continent, but to a united, democratic and independent Africa; yes, if possible, a United States of Africa.

As trade unionists, we are unalterably dedicated to these human and international goals of freedom everywhere. That is why we are redoubling our efforts to have our own government give the fullest possible support to nationalist movements everywhere in Africa—especially as in the present case of the war for independence in Algeria.

In being identified with these African nationalist movements, we are thus reaffirming our own democratic and revolutionary heritage, dating back to the days when the 13 American colonies made the first successful revolt in the world against colonialism.

Towards this end, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO has urged upon our government the following:

(1) To use every effort to persuade our European allies that the survival of the free world requires that the African people attain independence as rapidly as possible; to inform our allies frankly that the United States intends to assist the African peoples to achieve their objectives by peaceful and orderly means.

(2) To recognize these new states speedily after their creation and to extend to them the fullest co-operation.

(3) To develop as speedily as possible programs of economic and technical assistance to promote social progress and create viable democratic institutions.

BUILDING A FREE, PROSPEROUS NIGERIA

Excerpts from a statement issued by the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria to mark the nation's independence on October 1, 1960.

THIS manifesto, addressed to the workers of Nigeria, is at once a clarion call for action and a sacred act of rededication. In this historic hour, the TUCN proudly proclaims the role of the Nigerian worker in the national struggle for freedom. We pay homage to those who suffered and labored for and towards this glorious day of independence. And, while we identify ourselves with the cherished aspirations of our people, we rededicate ourselves to the task of building a Nigeria independent, prosperous and free.

Independence will indeed be a hollow and meaningless thing if it does not mean for the worker freedom from want, from poverty, from ignorance and tyranny.

The worker must know that he is the happy citizen of a great new nation. He must know that with the coming of independence he has a vital and important contribution to make in the building of a better Nigeria, where himself and his children will enjoy a fair share of the national prosperity, secure and free from hardship, privation and want.

The workers' contribution can best be made in and through active membership to an organized and democratic trade union movement.

Conscious of the fact that the Nigerian labor movement can never be truly great until its greatness is firmly established in the fact that it continues to remain an independent, free and democratic organization and able at all times to give adequate protection to every worker in Nigeria regardless of sex, religion, status or the branch of the economy in which he or she is engaged;

Convinced that the fostering of a great Nigerian labor movement is essential to the building of Nigeria into a truly great nation; confident that the independence era will create those conditions favorable to the realization of the above;

Proud of the vital role the Nigerian trade union movement has played in the fierce struggle for Nigeria's political freedom; the Trades Union Congress of Nigeria hereby

Expresses the joy, happiness and satisfaction of Nigerian workers at the attainment of Nigeria's national independence on this glorious day October 1, 1960;

Reaffirms its belief in free and democratic trade unionism and its adherence to the principles of liberal democracy;

Urges the government and people of independent Nigeria to exert unrelenting resistance to every type of totalitarian or authoritarian rule because such a rule inhibits the growth of a free democratic labor movement and leads inevitably to the violation of human dignity, the destruction of man's freedom and the rule of law.

On this occasion the TUCN declares its reasonable expectation that its duties, status and responsibilities in an independent Nigeria can be no less, but rather greater than what they had been during the period of colonial and imperialist domination. Consequently, the TUCN considers it a compelling obligation on the part of the federal and regional governments of independent Nigeria to accord it full consultative status at all levels of state and national activity in the industrial, social and economic fields.

On its part, the TUCN fully accepts its obligations to the workers of Nigeria and expresses its readiness to give reasonable co-operation in the patriotic task of building Nigeria into a truly great and democratic welfare state.

The TUCN urges that the motivation of every state action and that of the individual citizen in an independent Nigeria should be unalloyed patriotism in all matters, internal and external. It is to be regretted that the generality of our people, and some national leaders in certain spheres of endeavor have not as yet succeeded in freeing their thinking and behaviors in public life from the influences and traditions which the colonial system had established. In consequence, the new nation finds itself the inheritor of a chain of misplaced emphasis and priorities not only in the personal living behaviors of

(*Continued on Page* 6)

World Unions Hail Free Nigeria

THE Trades Union Congress of Nigeria and the invited trade union organizations from Liberia, Nyasaland, Kenya, Senegal, Trinidad, Sierra Leone, Tunisia, Algeria, Malaya, Germany and U.S.A. meeting in Lagos, October 2, 1960, on the occasion of Nigeria's accession to independence and the solemn celebration of this event;

GREET the government, the workers and all the people of Nigeria on this great political advancement which is a reward for the long and patient efforts of everyone to attain their freedom in peace and friendship;

NOTE with satisfaction the brilliant success of these great and history-making demonstrations of the celebration in which the great variety and methods of organization have caught the imagination of all the delegates from Africa and the entire world;

BELIEVE that the hour has arrived when independent Nigeria must have a strong, united, free and democratic trade union movement which will make decisions for itself exclusively based upon its own national interests and needs, against any external attempt of domination;

TAKE pride in the progress already achieved by the Trade Union Congress towards the basic goal of an effective participation of the trade union organizations in the economic and social advancement, and to assist in the development of the nation through the increase of production and the standards of living;

INVITE all the working masses of Nigeria to join together and become a force on behalf of this inspiring national work;

REAFFIRM that the independence of the trade union movement and its national loyalty do not exclude international co-operation based upon the historic solidarity of the working class. And in the spirit of equality and mutual reciprocity provide, in this evolving Africa, a trade union movement capable of carrying out its sacred mission of securing happiness, in peace, freedom and democracy.

Long live independent Nigeria!

SOUTHWEST AFRICANS VOW CONFIDENCE IN THE U.N.

The Southwest African petitioner referred to in the following letter sent September 19 to U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold is J. Kozonguizi. The remarks cited by his colleagues who have repudiated him were made by him on August 28, 1960 in a radio address in Peiping.

It is significant that Kozonguizi's line of attack against the United Nations and its Secretary General—first made in Peiping—is identical with the one made subsequently (September 23, 1960) by dictator Khrushchev at the U.N. Fifteenth General Assembly. Obviously, the Khrushchev line of assault against the U.N. had been decided and planned much before his arrival in New York.

WE, the undersigned members of the National Executive Committee of the South West Africa Peoples Organization, address this statement to you with a view to clarifying our people's position on a matter of mutual concern to both our people and the United Nations. We do this in order that the real issues in the case of South West Africa not be confused in the forthcoming deliberations of the United Nations' General Assembly.

We have taken serious note of a statement made by one South West African petitioner on August 28th, 1960. We do not endorse this statement and we assert that it does not represent the view of the vast majority of the South West African people.

We take particular exception to the following two remarks:

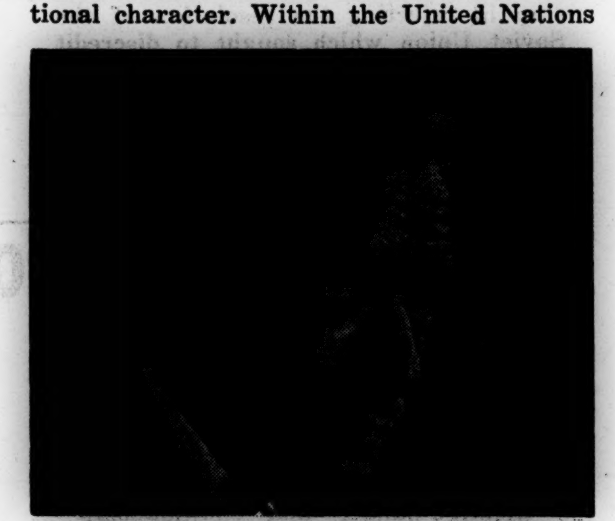
"It is the dollar that maintains the United Nations and the Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold; for 14 years they have not been able to do a thing to free South West Africa."

"But in spite of its noise about justice and freedom, the U.S.-dominated United Nations has not been able to raise its finger to help the people of South West Africa."

Our people generally share the view that if the United Nations had fulfilled its aims on the basis of principle in South West Africa our question would no longer be an item on the agenda of the United Nations, but that our people would be represented here as a sovereign state.

We have suffered disillusionment and disappointment through the years as we have stated and restated in our petitions before the United Nations General Assembly. Our people's blood has been shed because they refused to submit to the South African tyranny and oppression. Our organization is being ruthlessly suppressed because it has become an effective expression of African resistance to the inhuman and immoral system of Apartheid which is illegally being imposed upon us. In spite of this we acknowledge that the United Nations and its machinery offer the most constructive possibilities for regaining our sovereignty with a minimum of strife and bloodshed.

Without the United Nations, South West Africa would not have retained its international character. Within the United Nations men of genuine goodwill and constructive intentions all over the world have come to support our just struggle for self-determination. Under the aegis of the United Nations we expect to achieve complete sovereignty according to the wishes of our people. As in the past, we welcome the support of all countries who sincerely want to help us achieve what we want and shall inevitably achieve for ourselves.



Dag Hammarskjold: His role is upheld

We issue this statement as a representative African political organization. We hope that this general clarification of our position in regard to the United Nations will assist your office and all states in an effort toward an early solution of our dispute with the government of the Union of South Africa.

The people of South West Africa seek to destroy no one, but we reassert our determination to rid ourselves completely of foreign domination, to defend by all means, our lives and integrity, and to rebuild our country according to our own will. In our aspiration we feel that we are united with the people of the world and that we reflect the noblest principles of the United Nations.

We repeat that it is precisely because the United Nations has not yet completely realized its principles or exercised its full authority that there remains a "question of South West Africa." And aside from considerations of our people's welfare, the United Nations itself may well stand or fall on the basis of how it conquers the challenges that our question poses. However, we approach this General Assembly session with confidence in the United Nations' ability to take decisive action and we look to the Secretary-General to exercise the will of the international community with imagination and courage.

Sam Nujoma
Jacob Kuhangua
Mburumba Kerina

A Congolese Looks at American Unions

By A. R. KITHIMA

DURING a private visit made last July, August and September to several African countries and the United States of America, I had the opportunity to arrive at certain conclusions in my study of trade union movements, especially the great American trade union federation AFL-CIO.

Sometimes the opinion is voiced that an independent trade union federation is bound to be an enemy of the government. In order to forestall this alleged hostility, certain countries advocate that the trade union federation be subjected to state control. However, does a country just freed from colonial rule not need liberty? Is the struggle against colonialism not a means for a country to liberate itself from oppression and to attempt to breathe the invigorating air of freedom?

By whom was this struggle waged? I think by the citizens and in particular the workers of that country. Does it make sense if, after victory has been achieved, the workers are not allowed to form their own organizations in order to defend their cause?

This is the main issue, and in this connection certain governments must understand that a trade union federation must be free of all political control. Otherwise we would be faced with a situation where a people who freed themselves from colonial rule were recolonized, so to speak, by their own government. This would be dictatorship.

A. R. Kithima is secretary-general of National Union of Congolese Workers.

In this connection I would like to express my admiration for the American people and especially the AFL-CIO, a democratic trade union organization. The American worker, whatever his intrinsic worth, enjoys democratic rights, breathes the invigorating air of freedom and voices his demands.

The AFL-CIO is independent in regard to political parties.

Whenever the government pursues a policy unfavorable to the workers, the latter protest through the AFL-CIO. After a term of office of a government has expired, the AFL-CIO decides on the basis of the record of this government's policy towards the workers whether the AFL-CIO should recommend to its members to support the government at the polls or not.

I think that in view of these facts nobody can deny that the AFL-CIO is a democratic organization. Freedom of association and the right to strike exist The workers are not under the domination of capitalists. In addition to a high living standard they enjoy a democratic way of life. They have their own hospitals, health centers and dining-rooms operated by their unions. Unemployed workers receive unemployment benefits. I found that the American worker is pleased with his fate.

In conclusion, as an African I would like to recommend a complete democratization of our African countries and the adoption of a system similar to the American system. Since a trade union movement is dependent upon local conditions, I do not suggest that Africans copy exactly American methods, but they should at least follow the American example in regard to trade union structure and trade union freedom. Totalitarianism is a system that must be rejected because a people who were suppressed under a colonial regime need freedom and not terror.

Appeal to Afro-Asians: Fight ALL Colonialism!

(*Continued from Page 1*)

universality of the unity of the human family and the sacredness of the dignity of the human personality.

This means that we accept and honor the doctrine that God is the Father of all men and, therefore, all men are brothers. If all men are brothers, then all men are equal, and if all men are equal before and under God, all men are entitled to equal treatment before God and under the laws of man.

Thus, the personality of every human being is precious and has value. Therefore, the denial of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to any human being is a crime against God and a sin against man.

I am sure I bespeak the sentiment and position of President George Meany of the AFL-CIO when I say that there must be no doubt about the fact that the 100 million peoples in the captive nations behind the Iron Curtain are entitled to their God-given right of self-determination and to exist as free and independent countries and free peoples.

The labor movement is unequivocally committed to the doctrine that mankind cannot live half slave and half free. Either mankind will become all free or it will become all slave.

Hence, the AFL-CIO is committed to struggle for the liberation of all peoples—whether under the slavery of Western capitalist colonialism or under the slavery of the colonialism of Communist imperialism such as obtains with the captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

Let us ever be mindful of the fact that there are two different systems of values in the world that are maintained by two different world societies; namely, the Western democracies and the Communist nations led by the Soviet Union.

The former believe in, and are committed to, the values of truth, honesty, justice, freedom, equality, freedom of speech, assembly, freedom of worship, press, thought, association, free elections, representative government, free democratic labor unions and a free enterprise system. They stand by the principle that moral means are essential to the achievement of moral ends.

On the other hand, the value system of the Communist world is oriented to a drastically different world view.

Communists are committed to the unmoral doctrine that the end justifies the means. This means that if murder, lies, concentration camps, political purges, slave labor, systematic deception and misrepresentation, the enslavement and colonization of peoples are necessary for the implementation of the dogma of Moscow's Marxism-Leninism and the Communist power forces, then these practices must be employed as the ruthless religion of a monolithic dictatorship.

In the light of the basic difference between the two value systems of the Western democracies and Russian Communism, the African leaders, who wisely struggle to prevent Africa from becoming the battleground of the Cold War, are to be congratulated upon their exhibition of a high order of statesmanship in rejecting the resolution of the Soviet Union which sought to discredit the United Nations and its able and resourceful Secretary, Dag Hammarskjold, brilliantly assisted by Ralph Bunche.

If the position of Communist Russia had prevailed it would definitely be a mortal blow to not only the authority but the very life of the United Nations and the future usefulness of Mr. Hammarskjold.

Needless to say, any action which results in undermining the United Nations strikes at the very heart of hope of the newly emerging free independent states of Africa. No nation can properly claim to be the friend of Africa and at the same time attempt to strike down Africa's best friend—the United Nations.

Realizing that the voting majority in the Assembly is about to pass to the Afro-Asia nations, and convinced that the Communist world is riding the wave of the future, Premier Khrushchev, boss of international Communism, is on hand to woo the new African leaders, with a view to building a beachhead on the African continent.

It is indeed encouraging to note by the resolution of the new African states, supporting the United Nations and Dag Hammarskjold, that they have grasped the fact that the United Nations represent the direction in which the world is moving, which is toward closer interdependence of peoples, the result of the march of science, technology and industrialism, as well as nationalist revolutions for the rights of man.

Africa must not only move as a great world moral force to save the United Nations in order to save itself, but also to save mankind.

FOR FREE AND PROSPEROUS NIGERIA

(*Continued on Page 4*)

our people but also in state planning in the social and economic fields.

There has been, for instance, a tendency to place emphasis and priority on national projects and pursuits which satisfy primarily the prestige-hunger and showmanship of those at the top as against the basic but essential and urgent needs of the teeming millions of our country's men and women. The result is that the common people had been robbed of an opportunity of developing a feeling of belonging and of having a stake in the fate and fortune of the country.

A feeling of resentment has, therefore, replaced willing co-operation in the onerous task of nation building. It is evident, therefore, that it would be a national tragedy for an independent Nigeria to continue to maintain the policy of the colonial era which subordinates the over-all welfare of the masses of our people to the luxury and glamour-hunt of the few.

Independent Nigeria cannot afford to betray the nationalist ideals and the spirit of patriotism which inspired our resentment and contempt for colonial rule and sustained our struggles for freedom.

The TUCN, therefore, demands of every citizen and, in particular, the leaders of the new nation a reoriented national outlook—an outlook firmly embedded on patriotism and uncompromisingly dedicated to the total liquidation of every relic of colonialism in the new society. We are confident that thus motivated and dedicated, the new Nigeria can build a buoyant and prosperous national economy.

The TUCN recognizes that as a new nation of today our tomorrow's greatness depends on a soundly planned national economy, adjustable to the constant structural changes in our society, and aimed at a balanced economic development.

The Nigerian labor movement is painfully disturbed at the fact that at the moment our national economy is characterized by adverse trade balance, a widening of the gap between the prosperity of the few and the degrading poverty of the masses of our people, a growing unemployment made more acute by the mass retrenchment of thousands of workers in the major industrial concerns in the country.

Perhaps more important still is Nigeria's complete dependence on crop economy, a fact which places our national finances and economy at the unkind mercy of fluctuations in world trade.

In the light of this it cannot be too strongly urged that the aim of the economic policy of an independent Nigeria should be to seek to eliminate the poverty and misery we see and feel around us. It must fulfill our people's yearnings for full employment, a stable currency and above all, raise general prosperity through just distribution of income and wealth.

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Khrushchev's 'Friendship' for India

By A. D. GORWALA

> This article by A. D. Gorwala, a prominent Indian journalist, appeared in the July 31, 1960 issue of Janata, weekly publication of the Praja Socialist Party of India.

FOR many years the government of India deceived both itself and the people about the extreme friendliness of Communist China for this country and its very great cordiality towards it. Under government's active patronage, "Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai" became the slogan of the multitude. The people have now learned better and so, it may be hoped, has the government. But is it now embarking on a similar campaign in regard to the Soviet Union? Is high authority in Delhi, feeling the loss of its courteous Communist Chinese sympathizers, attempting to replace them by the equally tactful and obliging Soviet Communists?

The questions arise because of the recent overwhelming appearance of cordiality between the two governments, the constant visits of dignitaries, alone and in delegations, to the Soviet Union, and the declarations about the deep friendship of the Soviet Union for India even by men in power ordinarily recognized as sober-minded and not apt to be swept away by adolescent enthusiasms. Before, then, the government of India declares its profound belief in the everlasting affection of the Soviet Union for India and in its profound sincerity, and "Hindi-Rusi Bhai-Bhai" becomes, under its aegis, the new cry, it may be worthwhile examining to what extent there can be a union of hearts between the Soviet Union and India.

The principal leader of the Soviet Union, Comrade Khrushchev, recently declared that he hoped during his life-time to see every country in the world under the Communist flag. That to him is the noblest of all ideals. Is it to us? Do we wish to see, let alone every country in the world, our own, under the Communist flag? Members of the Communist Party and a crypto-Communist or two, high in authority, may be so desirous. But is anyone else in the country? No. Our own flag is good enough for us, and unless most ingeniously deceived and sabotaged, we would certainly resist every attempt to get us under the Communist flag.

Clearly then, to friend Khrushchev's onward march, India presents a not unformidable obstacle. Are we to suppose that this is not apparent to his perspicacious mind or that his charitable heart takes no account of it, and in spite of it continues to be sincerely devoted to this country? We may, of course, if we are quite as blind to things as they are as the government of India sometimes seems to be.

Communist Aggression

That the Soviet Union, in spite of its current economic assistance and offers for the future, desires India little good is clear from its extreme reluctance to call to order Communist China, the aggressor who has seized 12,000 square miles of Indian territory and claims many thousand more. Of the Soviet Union's ability to get its 'younger brother' to accept its wishes, there can be no doubt. The 'younger' is dependent for every single item of complicated equipment, every expert technician, upon the 'elder'.

Even those wishful-thinking Westerners, who for some time sought comfort for their own weakness in a supposed rift between the two, have now been compelled to conclude that they were wrong and that the policy of international Communism remains what it has always been, united and one, with the head of the Soviet Union primarily in charge.

In fact, correspondents have reported that Soviet officers solved the more difficult logistic problems for the movement of Communist Chinese troops into Ladakh. Whatever the appearances sought and the representations made to deceive, there can be no doubt that the Soviet Union feels that the passing of the Himalayas into Communist Chinese hands would serve the interests of international Communism, and consequently its own.

In ideas as in ideal, a gulf yawns between the Soviet Union and India. Whether it be in the value to be attached to the individual, in the importance of the rule of law and of an independent judiciary, in the need for honest elections, in the maintenance and free exercise of civil liberties, the conceptions of the two countries are totally different. Briefly, the Soviet Union is a despotism. India, in spite of its many errors and transgressions, remains a democracy. Great is the difference indeed between tyranny and freedom, and little the possibility of any lasting friendship between the two.

The Soviet Union, moreover, in its capacity as the fountainhead of international Communism, is an ever-present danger to this country. In its view no land is free unless it is ruled by the Communists. For tactical reasons, it may make all kinds of declarations of friendship with non-Communist governments but this is its basic belief. It is moreover bound by its principles to 'liberate' all countries not free in its sight, in other words, to establish in such countries, as and when it appears to it feasible, Communist governments.

Subversive Efforts

For this purpose, it maintains and directs what Stalin called his 'shock-brigades', local Communist parties whose efforts, open and underground, are directed towards the uprooting and destruction of all those institutions and activities that come in the way of the fulfillment of its aim. It finances, instructs and guides such parties and its special staff, expert at conspiratorial technique, takes a prominent part in the instruction. The liberalization in the Soviet Union reported in recent times, which is said to have reduced the burden on Soviet citizens somewhat, has not affected this international aspect of Soviet Communist activity in the least.

High government personages reiterate their belief in the peaceful disposition of the Soviet Union. In reality, to war as such the Communist has never had any objection and the only thing that prevents the Soviet Union from launching a most destructive attack on the free world is that it still does not consider itself to have sufficient ability to escape with only slight damage from retaliation.

The moment its inventors place in its hands some device which will make its chiefs feel they have such an advantage, there will be no hesitation. Men to whom the killing of millions of their own countrymen, in the interests, as they saw it, of a cause, came quite naturally, are not likely to be backward in destroying other nations and peoples for their own and the cause's final victory.

Let us then be quite clear that in ideals, ideas, behavior and disposition, there is nothing in common between us and the leaders of international Communism. Our interests are diametrically opposed. Any sincere friendship in these circumstances is impossible. To declare it is either to be deluded or hypocritical. In dealing with the Soviet Union, for us the only wise course is a combination of cool correctness and continuous vigilance.

Labor and Foreign Trade

(*Continued from Page 3*)

that American labor is the most efficient and productive in the world. And we believe that in the long run American investments will help to raise living standards—and consumer demands—overseas. These factors eventually will create even greater markets for goods made at home.

These are some of the factors and considerations that underlie organized labor's traditional policy of liberal trade. The main consideration is, of course, that we cannot bury our head in the sand. We must not only trade, we must use our trade to expand our own prosperity and that of our allies.

This does not mean that we have to give other nations an unfair advantage by forcing American producers to compete with the cheap imports that result from exploited, sweatshop labor in some under-developed areas. This is a problem the labor movement recognizes and that within the framework of the world labor movement it is working to solve.

In cooperation with the International Labor Organization, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and other international labor groups, we are trying to combat labor exploitation through democratic trade union programs. We believe this is the proper approach. We believe that the answer to exploited labor is the upgrading of that labor, and not the downgrading of American labor.

We also know that we must give special protection to industries that use processes and skills vital to national defense.

We recognize that we cannot follow a liberal trade policy if other nations stack the cards against us. Trade must be a two-way street, both for them and for us. When other nations establish discriminatory quotas, license restrictions, high tariffs, arbitrary customs valuations, and special taxes on our goods, it is entirely proper for us to take reasonable countermeasures to protect jobs and production at home. But, over-all, our objective must be a continuing expansion of world trade so that there may be an expansion of jobs and production both at home and abroad.

Strength to Defend the Free World

By GEORGE M. HARRISON

WE must face the fact that the free world is in danger. We have been openly threatened with annihilation by the leaders of the Communist conspiracy.

At this moment the Communist dagger is pointed at us from a new beachhead of Soviet imperialism only 90 miles from these shores. We have been warned that if we attempt to take any steps to defend our interests, our nation will be attacked by devastating missiles and rockets.

You in the American Legion and we in the free trade union movement are firmly united in the determination to make America so strong that no aggressor will dare to threaten us or to risk a test of the capacity of our country to defend itself and the free world.

The Soviet dictator may smile or sneer. He may lavish bear-hugs or resort to blackmail. He may engage in tricky disarmament maneuvers or rocket-rattling. No matter what his antics or strategems may be in Moscow, Paris, Peiping or the United Nations in New York, we must never forget that the overriding aim of Khrushchev and his henchmen is to conquer the entire world and put it under the yoke of Soviet-Communist dictatorship.

Appeasement Means Ruin

In contending against this basic and unwavering Soviet objective, we must always remember that appeasement spells eventual ruin and that negotiations can be productive only if we lead from strength.

It has been said time and time again, but it is still completely true that the only thing the Communist leaders respect is superior strength.

How can we attain it? I want to submit this three-point program for your consideration:

1. America must give priority to the attainment of first place in military power. This must include a crash program in missiles and rockets, where we have fallen behind.

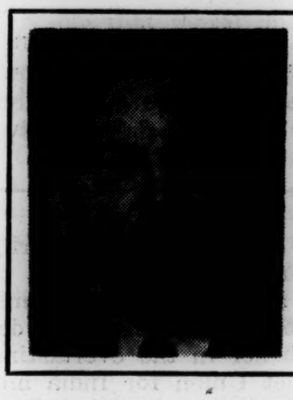
2. Our national economy must be sharply invigorated. We cannot support the kind of defense program we need unless we have full production and full employment in our country. Our economy must grow and keep on growing at a faster pace.

3. To improve America's world position, we must be prepared to give more effective cooperation to all other nations that prize human freedom and dignity and are willing to work and fight for the preservation of peace and liberty.

Our people are deeply disturbed. There is a growing feeling that in the struggle between democracy and Communist despotism, the balance of power has been shifting in favor of Moscow as against the free world.

There is plenty of room for debate and differences of opinion on the events leading up to the perilous position the nation now occupies. But the only important consideration—and the one on which all Americans can agree—is that we must get off the spot in the shortest possible time.

The key to success lies in building up the real source of American strength—our national economy. In spite of Soviet gains, our country is still unmatched in its ability and capacity to produce whatever is needed for national defense or for the well-being of our people.



Following are excerpts from an address by AFL-CIO Vice President George M. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, to the American Legion Convention meeting in Miami Beach on October 19, 1960.

Yet the most immediate danger we face is another industrial recession that would weaken the entire fabric of our nation and sap our strength.

Khrushchev and his puppets can sneer at us when millions of Americans are unemployed through no fault of their own, when production in a basic industry like steel is down to 50 percent, when we have a shortage of schools, well-qualified teachers and, above all, the casual indifference of the government itself toward these danger signs.

We of labor firmly believe the government has a vital role to play in revitalizing industrial production. Private business must be encouraged to expand production to meet the needs of the American people now and in the coming decade. The government cannot merely sit back and let George do it. It must act, it must point the way, it must get things moving ahead again.

Who else but our government can tackle the enormous job of rebuilding our school system? Are we going to quibble about whether this is a federal responsibility at a time when the states and communities have failed to discharge theirs?

Who else but the federal government can finance the building of modern airports, new roads and power projects? Why has the government dragged its feet on encouraging, through favorable credit policies, the building of millions of new homes urgently needed by our growing population?

Galvanize the Economy

Programs like these would quickly galvanize the entire national economy. Steel, lumber, glass, furniture, textiles and many other basic industries would get a welcome lift. Millions of new jobs would be created. More mass purchasing power would stimulate retail trade and the factories that supply it.

Of course, the objection is raised that such programs would increase government spending, cause budgetary deficits and debase the dollar. Such arguments are nonsense. Once business is restored to health, the federal treasury would gain greater income than the amounts invested. It is sinful to confuse necessary government investment with reckless spending.

A return to economic prosperity would improve, rather than stifle, the strongest kind of national defense program. Our federal government would have the revenues to pay for the cost of expanded military programs. These, in turn, would further stimulate industrial activity and help to maintain peak production and peak employment.

In our country, economic health and military strength go hand in hand. We can't have one without the other. When they are harnessed together, America can present to the world not merely a posture but the living reality of unconquerable power.

There is another field where progress is of the utmost importance. If we are going to mobilize the human and technical resources of our country for the defense of freedom, we must establish the blessings of freedom on a firm and unquestioned basis here at home.

Besides handicapping us at home, discrimination has damaged American prestige abroad. It has enabled the Soviet demagogues to get away with spreading vile suspicions of our honesty and sincerity among the non-white peoples of the world.

Somehow, our leaders have failed thus far to overcome anti-American prejudice in these areas. They have failed to underline and emphasize the hypocrisy of Communist claims as the protectors of humanity. We have allowed the Soviet leaders to get away with this pose despite the record of Hungary, Poland and East Germany and the brutal and ruthless extirpation of any vestige of human freedom anywhere behind the Iron Curtain.

The American press and other news media also have failed to call the turn on the Soviet dictators. They reported the rantings and ravings of Khrushchev at the United Nations without exposing in between every propaganda thrust the evil facts on record.

To defeat Communist efforts to win over vast areas in Asia, Africa and even Latin America by deception, we should launch an expanded program of economic, military and technical assistance to those nations who want to remain free.

American labor realizes how grave a threat to world peace the gigantic Soviet colonial drive poses throughout the world. Castro is already acting like a little Khrushchev in Cuba. He is conspiring and intriguing to infest other nations in Latin America with the Communist virus.

Our country can and must become much stronger at home and abroad. We in the trade union movement and you in the American Legion know all too well that the words of Khrushchev must be evaluated the same way we would interpret the pledges of Hitler. When a dictator talks peace, he really means war. When the Soviet Chairman talks disarmament, he means disarmament for us, not for the Communist nations. The real significance in his repeated proposals for total disarmament is that he has never come close to agreeing to conditions of inspection that would give us any assurance of the Communists carrying out their side of the bargain.

The only certain way we know of preventing war is to keep our guard up and to make certain that we cannot be destroyed by surprise attack. That we are determined to do at any cost. In supporting the strongest possible defense program, the workers of America and the veterans of this nation are making a vital contribution to peace and security.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE Speeches

Jan. 26-June 30, 1961

(1)

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT YALE UNIVERSITY, NEW HAVEN,
CONNECTICUT, MARCH 12, 1960

MINORITY GROUPS IN LABOR AND POLITICS

THE PROBLEM

The problem of the Negro is the problem of the color line. The color line is the test of America's democracy, humanity and Christianity in labor unions, industry and government. In fact, the color line is a test of America's moral leadership of the democratic forces of the world.

The color line is the line which not only divides black and white peoples from each other but pronounces a qualitative judgement with respect to the worth and value of the ethnic groups on either side of the line. The basis of the color line is prejudice, which stems from the concept of fundamental biological differences in races that make for superior or inferior racial groupings. This concept of the existence of superior and inferior races is wholly without validity in science, reason or religion. While, no doubt, there have been various manifestations of prejudice in ancient and medieval times because of differences in color, religion, tribal and national origin of peoples, the racial doctrine of white supremacy is distinctly of modern vintage.

ECONOMIC OVERTONES

The economic overtones of the color line required that certain rationalizations be invented by the slave masters in America and imperialist colonialists in Africa and Asia to justify the perpetration of enslavement and exploitation upon a defenseless people. Thus, it became not only necessary to establish the doctrinal anthropological inferiority of the exploited millions of color in Africa and Asia but to secure the acquiescence of these exploited millions in their alleged inferiority.

Verily, the color line in America is a specialized variant of the worldwide problem of color resulting from around a half a thousand years of subordination and oppression of peoples of color in Asia and Africa.

WHAT OF THE COLOR LINE AND EMPLOYMENT?

It is a matter of common knowledge that the distribution and mobility of Negro employees in industry and government are far from any semblance of equity and justice. In fact, the job ceiling has historically been a sort of racial ne plus ultra to promotions on jobs and entrance into new areas of employment for non-white workers.

Job ceiling may be appropriately equated with the color line since it has its reflection in the internal structure of the white and colored communities, taking the form of limitations upon types of jobs for which Negroes are available, just as there are limitations upon areas in cities in which Negroes may live because of the specter of social equality and the fear of racial competition.

While as a result of a depression or recession white and colored workers alike suffer from the impact of unemployment, according to the report of the Department of Labor of January, 1960, non-white persons, who made up 11 per cent of the civilian labor force in December, 1959, accounted for 22 per cent of the unemployed. In each group, according to the report, the unemployment rate for

Negroes was significantly higher than for white workers. Moreover, the report continues, Negroes are heavily concentrated in occupations with the highest unemployment rates - laborers, farm laborers and operatives.

This report is fairly representative of the employment position of non-white workers in the country during periods of nationwide unemployment, and the ratio of unemployment between white and non-white workers during periods of normal industrial activity is not greatly different from the position during abnormal times.

LIFTING THE JOB CEILING

Since the job ceiling of non-white workers is low, confining, as it were, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos and Mexicans to unskilled and semi-skilled occupations, the major problem confronting non-white workers, organized labor and the government is the lifting of the job ceiling or, rather, its complete elimination.

In factual demonstration of this problem of racial discrimination in industry, let me present, herewith, data compiled in a recent brochure issued by the labor department of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, indicating occupational distribution of employed men, by color, in the United States as of 1940 and 1950 percentage. This data may be verified by reference to census records of this period. The racial occupational distribution picture is as follows:

OCCUPATION	NON-WHITE		WHITE	
	1940	1950	1940	1950
Professional and technical	1.9	2.2	6.6	7.9
Farmers and farm managers	21.1	13.5	14.2	10.5
Proprietors, managers and officials, except farm	1.6	2.0	10.6	11.6
Clerks, etc.	1.2	3.4	6.5	6.8
Skilled workers and foremen	4.4	7.6	15.9	19.3
Semi-skilled and kindred workers	12.4	20.8	18.7	20.0
Household service workers	2.3	.8	.1	1.1
Service workers, except household	12.3	12.5	5.2	4.9
Farm laborers	20.0	11.3	7.0	4.4
Laborers, except farm and mine	21.3	23.1	7.6	6.6

The data shows that while Negroes advanced in skilled-craft jobs by 3.2 percentage during the decade, 1940-1950, they lost .2 percentage to whites during the period; needed, in 1950, an improvement of 11.7 percentage places to equal white skilled-craft distribution; and had not advanced as significantly as their contemporaries in semi-skilled occupations.

THE NEGRO AND APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING COURSES

Since a lack of skills limits the availability of Negro workers for certain crafts and trades it is obvious that the exclusion of the Negro wage earner from apprenticeship training courses tends to lower the job ceiling. In the aforementioned brochure of the NAACP reference is made to Negro apprentices with the following statement:

> Underlying the absence of Negroes in significant numbers from skilled-craft employment is their almost total exclusion from apprenticeship training programs. No matter what the causal factors, at the present time Negroes are not becoming apprentices, even to the degree needed to offset natural losses occurring among non-white craftsmen. Historical evidence, however, suggests

that apprenticeship for Negroes, both formal and informal, did not fall into disuse until craft unions and other interests erected a color bar for many skilled-craft occupations following the Reconstruction Period.

Obtainable data substantiate the absence of Negroes in large numbers from apprenticeship programs. Part of this relationship can be seen in 1950 census figures:

Occupations	Total Apprentices	Negro Apprentices	Negroes as a Percentage of the Total
Auto Mechanics	3,600	90	2.50
Bricklayers & Masons	6,510	270	4.14
Carpenters	9,930	60	0.60
Electricians	9,360	90	0.96
Machinists & Tool Makers	14,550	60	0.41
Mechanics, other than auto	6,720	210	3.12
Plumbers	11,010	90	0.81
Building trades	3,690	150	4.06
Printing trades	14,160	180	1.27
Other skilled trades	11,610	450	3.87
Trades not specified	13,440	90	0.66

As is readily apparent, Negro apprentices do not even constitute as high a proportion of skilled novices, 1.69 percent, as Negro artisans compose of skilled craftsmen, 3.62 percent. It is also evident that Negro youth are particularly disadvantaged in obtaining apprenticeships as carpenters, electricians, machinists and tool makers, plumbers and pipe fitters, and in the printing industry, the most important apprenticeable trades.

Other census data reveal that the lack of Negro apprentices is not a function of contemporary southern occupational mores but extends throughout the nation. Thus, Negroes constituted only 1.5 percent of the apprentices, but 5.4 percent of the employed male labor force in New York in 1950; a state with effective machinery for the elimination of discrimination in apprenticeable occupations.

WHITE MEN'S JOBS

Not only are Negroes virtually excluded from apprenticeship training courses to acquire skills for the performance of certain crafts, but the practice has reached the point of institutionalization as shown by the existence of so-called "white men's jobs."

All of the more lucrative supervisory and technical positions in the economic system and those carrying a high degree of responsibility are "white men's jobs." Negroes do not serve as plant superintendents, personnel men, department heads. Where men exercise industry-wide authority and execute the policies laid down by boards of directors, bankers, and industrialists, the color line is tightly drawn. The "lines of promotion" operate to eliminate Negroes from competition far down the line and the knowledge of the difficulties involved in placement deters Negroes from securing the kind of business training in academic institutions that would qualify them for such positions if these were, by chance, made available.

Negroes have an even smaller proportionate representation among lower supervisory-personnel and technical workers in private industry. The lower supervisory-personnel and technical workers are largely recruited through promotions based on seniority and performance in skilled labor and clerical positions. Competition is very keen, favoritism plays a large part in promotions, and the individual prejudices of foremen are often decisive. Since a tight bottleneck on the skilled labor and clerical levels has prevented Negroes from securing such positions in private industry they are usually not in strategic spots for promotion into the next highest brackets of employment.

The governmental structure is flexible enough to allow Negroes to serve as supervisors of some local agencies, as principals of public schools, (in Negro neighborhoods) and as functionaries in the United States Employment Service and similar agencies. But there are frequent attempts to bar Negroes from such positions even when they have passed Civil Service examinations or have fulfilled the service age under the seniority rule governing the succession of legislators to the chairmanship of certain powerful and important committees in the Congress.

There was a significant and notorious instance of a popular, prominent and highly respected Negro political leader in Cincinnati who, in one city election, won the right, by receiving the highest vote of the nominees under the City Management Plan, to function as the Mayor, and was persuaded to forego assuming the position for certain so-called diplomatic reasons. Fearing lest he might change his mind and decide to serve as Mayor if elected again, the ground rules of the election system were appropriately changed so as to render his future election impossible. He was defeated when he last put his hat in the ring.

Be it said to the credit and sense of fair play of New York, under both Democratic and Republican administrations in the State and City governments, Negroes have been appointed heads of some of the most important departments. Only last year, a Negro, James Dumpson, was upgraded from Deputy Commissioner to the responsible post of Commissioner of the Department of Welfare of New York City, which is the largest in the United States.

THE COLOR LINE IS THE CHEAP LABOR LINE

Historically, psychologically and economically, trade unions have been conditioned by boom and bust cycles reflecting periods of virtual full employment and joblessness, and thus developed a sort of business-monopoly-job unionism which responded rather faithfully to the ideology of the free enterprise, competitive market economy where scarcity has a value property.

Thus, in addition to setting up barriers to unlimited membership of white or black workers, some craft unions especially sought to exclude workers of color by resorting to the practice of the job ceiling. But the trade union movement in embracing the ideology of the color line strengthened the position of management in combatting the overall struggles of organized labor for union recognition, higher wage rates, shorter hours of work and fringe benefits, because they abandoned the unorganized Negro workers to become the prey of the company union.

This is basically true since the job ceiling-color line formula is an alleged protective device of the members of craft unions, but in reality it is a negation of the basic function and purpose of the trade union which is the organization of the unorganized workers.

Recognizing the weakness and fallacy of trade unions adhering to the job ceiling-color line dogma, big corporate business promptly and effectively employed the strategy of divide and conquer against the struggles of labor and blocked effective strikes in the steel, packinghouse, automobile, rubber, railroad and other basic industries.

Corporate management utilized the job ceiling-color line formula to exploit the forces of labor on a basis of race and color. As a result of this maneuver by big management, labor lost many major battles for recognition, improved wage rates and shorter hours, including the Pullman Strike of 1894, the Homestead Strike of 1893, the Shopmen's Strike of 1922, the Steel Strike of 1919, the Packinghouse Strikes of 1904 and 1921.

In all of these major industrial battles Negroes were brought in as strike-breakers, which resulted in adding to the conflict between labor and management a racial conflict between Negro and white workers. Management had no humanitarian interest in introducing black labor from the South into their industrial plants. This was done in order to make use of the supply of cheap labor for high profits. Thus, the job ceiling-color line which craft trade unions sought to employ to increase the wage rates of skilled workers, by a limitation upon the supply available in the labor market at any given time, served as a boomerang and broke the back of organized labor in these great industrial crises.

In very truth, the job ceiling-color line is not only a cheap labor line, it is an anti-labor organization line. In fact, it is a union-busting line.

It is a matter of common knowledge in trade union circles that the trade union movement has a problem of survival. Thus, it has no alternative save to organize the unorganized workers, including unskilled and semi-skilled Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, farm workers and marginal white wage earners. Hence, the life and hope of the trade union movement consist in carrying the gospel of craft and industrial unionism to low wage employees, regardless of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry, such as the exploited hospital labor forces that receive a bare subsistence wage. While these workers cannot pay high dues and taxes immediately to pay for organization campaigns, they constitute the basic source of the moral power of organized labor.

Not until the forgotten workers that still remain in the vast areas of unskilled labor are brought into the fold of the trade union movement can the labor movement recapture its spiritual dynamism and sense of democratic idealism which gave hope and faith to the leaders and rank-and-file workers that waged a veritable crusade of the freedom and dignity of labor in the early Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.

CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

The struggle of Negro trade unionists for complete integration into the labor movement; the brilliant battle by the NAACP in the courts for the desegregation and integration of public schools; the inflexible and courageous determination of Negro youth to exercise their constitutional rights as set forth in the memorable decision of the United States Supreme Court, May 17, 1954, to enter the white public schools; the massive, non-violent uprisings of Negro students against segregated lunch counters in the big chain stores in the South, undoubtedly one of the most authentic and challenging demonstrations of the democratic liberal spirit in the history of this country, constitute a veritable revolution. It is a Civil Rights Revolution. The Civil Rights Revolution is the inevitable consequence of the fact that the Civil War Revolution was never fully completed. Because the Civil War Revolution was never fully completed,Negroes, former freedmen, are not yet fully free.

Thus, the struggles of Negro students for human dignity and the gathering forces of one million and a half colored men of labor for a place in the sun of the free trade union movement, together with the non-violent boycott of segregated buses by the Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama, under the dedicated leadership of Rev. Martin Luther King, and the legal action in the courts against jim-crow in its varied and variegated forms are all major movements to complete the uncompleted Civil War Revolution.

The Civil War Revolution was uncompleted because the forces of the new capitalism and industrialism had won the war at Appomattox, and the peace in the election of Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican, over Samuel J. Tilden, Democrat, in 1876.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the 13th Amendment of 1865 was followed by widespread peonage, a form of involuntary servitude, throughout the South. It is also obvious to him who runs and reads that the 14th Amendment of 1868 was never enforced for the protection of the freedman in the exercise of his American citizenship. Moreover, we are still compelled to struggle to fulfill the mandate of the 15th Amendment of 1870 providing the right of suffrage.

The fact is that when the Civil War ended and the period of transition of the Negro from the status of slave to that of freedman set in, the whole process of the Civil War Revolution was halted by the reaction, which consisted in the restoration of the old slave masters to state power - a counterrevolution, designed to re-establish the old plantation system, and hence it forthwith proceeded to strip the freedmen of their citizenship rights.

Thus, today, here we are, together with the NAACP, the AFL-CIO, the Church, and the Negro students' uprisings for equality, waging a memorable battle for civil rights solely because Negroes are not yet fully free.

Now, it is highly important that Negroes direct their attention to the question of their status and rights on the labor and political fronts. In this complex age of advancing science, industrialism and technology, and political power blocs, only the fit and the strong can or will survive. The fit and the strong are the educated and the organized. But it is not enough merely to be a part of an organization; a member of an organization has the responsibility to help make the organization move in the direction for which it was formed. In the field of labor, trade unions must develop and use the struggles of workers for economic, racial, and social justice, and help advance the improvement of all communities, believing that what is good for American communities is good for American free trade unions.

But, obviously, one wants more than survival. Slaves may survive, but only as slaves. Negro workers want, and insist upon, survival with dignity, freedom and equality.

TRADE UNIONS INDISPENSABLE

But this cannot be achieved without vast economic strength, the basic source of which is the craft union and industrial union organization. This organization is the law of the life of labor. This is so, not because it is right or because it is good but because it is a condition to the strength, health, and well-being of the worker. The cause of craft and industrial trade unions has its roots in the conflict between labor and capital for a larger share of the production of labor, capital, management, and land, the major factors of production.

Without powerful labor unions wages would tend toward a bare subsistence level. Where unions are weak, wages are low, and the converse is also true; where wages are low there either is no union or there are weak unions. Moreover, the emergence of big, powerful labor unions are just as natural and inevitable as the rise of large-scale corporate capital. Our free enterprise, competitive economy created big capital and big capital was a motivation of big labor and, in the main, big capital and big labor constitute the raison d'etre of big government.

In fact, our mass production system, such as automobiles, steel, food, clothing, building and railroads are only possible with, and must rest upon, mass consumption. Mass consumption can only obtain where and when there is high purchasing power; high purchasing power can only stem from high wage levels; and high wage levels of wage earners are only achieved through collective bargaining through powerful, well-disciplined labor unions under sound, intelligent, courageous, aggressive, honest leadership.

Trade unions are bulwarks of American democracy. This is the movement that stood inflexibly against Communist infiltration in American life.

Since this analysis shows that Negro workers cannot live the good and abundant life outside trade unions, they face two problems:

(1) Joining unions. (2) Becoming first-class members, or economic citizens of the union.

This involves breaking down the barriers to membership based upon race or color, including the elimination of the color bar from the constitutions and rituals - the general practice of discrimination and segregation by unions without the color clause, and the abolition of racially segregated local and auxiliary unions. It also involves Negro workers commanding and exercising the right of becoming a part of the policy-making machinery of their unions and seeking appointments and election to various offices of national and international unions. It involves activity in the locals as loyal and progressive members, with participation in the leadership. It also involves Negroes becoming delegates and officials to the central bodies, state federations, and the biennial conventions of the AFL-CIO.

SOME TRENDS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN LABOR

Discrimination in some of the trade unions do not only bar Negroes from membership but limit Negro members in exercising their democratic rights of full and free participation in the wide range of union activities. While the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen is the only international union which exclude Negroes by constitutional provision many international unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO continue to exclude Negroes by tacit consent and other AFL-CIO unions limit Negro membership in most instances to segregated or "auxiliary" locals. Among these are the:

International Association of Railroad Telegraphers
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry
Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees
Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers
Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America
Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes.
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers
International Union of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers
Sheet Metal Workers' International Association
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America
United Brotherhood of Paper Makers and Paperworkers.

It is important to note in this connection that some of the aforementioned unions that have racially segregated locals also have racially integrated unions. This is true of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

It must also be recognized that some national and international trade unions have maintained racially segregated local unions at the behest and request of their Negro members. This attitude of Negro trade unionists is purely selfish and due to their desire to hold on to certain appointive and elective paid jobs in the segregated locals.

Former President James Petrillo of the Musicians' Union told me that he desired to integrate the Negro locals with the white locals, or abolish locals based upon race, but that the Negro locals objected. Now, while I don't consider that the position of Negro locals in the Musicians' international union is a defensible excuse on the part of the international to maintain racially segregated local unions, it is obvious that there is an internal problem of carrying on sound trade union and workers' education among Negro trade unionists so that they will not agree to jim-crow themselves for selfish gain in violation of sound trade union doctrine and racial and social equality.

I recall that Negro freight handlers of Chicago during the 1930's, demanded separate local unions in the Railway Clerks as a condition to affiliation. But, here again, an international union is not justified in establishing an undemocratic trade union membership system to satisfy a few workers, just as no group of workers can be permitted to maintain communist-dominated unions or unions under corrupt influences on the grounds that they wish to be separate. A church, for instance, would hardly permit a group of its members to establish a separate branch for the propagation of atheism and remain a part of the church. By the same token, a group of Negro members of a national or international union cannot be permitted to violate the spirit and letter of the constitution of the AFL-CIO by refusing to un-jim-crow a jim-crow local union on the grounds that they want to control and operate a separate Negro union.

PROGRESS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

While the night is dark, in terms of realities of the racial situation in the country at this hour, developments on the trade union and civil rights fronts indicate that the dawn of a brighter day is breaking.

It was not many years ago when Negro workers in trade unions were few and far between. Today there are a million-and-a-half, or two million, Negroes in the trade union movement. They are business agents, presidents and secretary-treasurers of local unions. There are Negro international vice-presidents of the Packinghouse Workers and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union. Two international unions, the Transport Service Employees and the Sleeping Car Porters are headed by Negroes. The Sleeping Car Porters has an international membership, composed of white men, Filipinos, Japanese, Hindus, Koreans and Negroes. Two Negroes have served as members of the highest policy-making body of the AFL-CIO, the Executive Council, Willard Townsend and myself. Only a few years ago some 25 or 30 unions in the American Federation of Labor had color clauses in their constitutions. Today, only one union in affiliation to the AFL-CIO has the color bar.

The AFL-CIO is committed by constitution to the abolition of discrimination and segregation in its affiliated unions. A Civil Rights Committee and Civil Rights Department have been set up for the implementation of the constitutional provision against union racial bias.

COSTLY WASTAGE OF NEGRO MANPOWER

But the employment records will show that discriminatory policies toward Negro workers in some unions and industries constitute a tragic and monstrous and costly wastage of manpower and possible skills and talents that might serve America in its competition for survival with the growing material might of the Soviet Union.

The marked disparity in the comparable economic positions of Negro and white workers and their vulnerability in periods of economic maladjustment is clearly reflected in the facts of unemployment and income distribution.

In confirmation of this observation, it is sufficient to point out that during the week of March 9, 1958, 14.4 percent of the total non-white civilian labor force in the United States were unemployed. The comparable rate for white workers was 6.9 percent. It is significant to observe that although only one out of every ten persons in the labor force is non-white, more than one out of every five persons then unemployed was non-white.

In 1954 the average wage or salary income of the Negro worker had risen to $1,589, while the average white worker earned $3,174, or twice as much as the Negro. In 1954, 17.6 percent of all white families in the United States were living on an annual income of $2,000 or less, but of non-white families, 42.3 percent were living on an annual income below $2,000.

During the Great Depression, according to the National Health Survey for 1935-36, 36 percent of the colored males and 28 percent of the colored females in the urban labor force were unemployed or were on emergency work. The corresponding figures for the white urban labor force were 21 and 19 percent, respectively.

THE NEGRO AND NATIONAL ECONOMIC GROWTH

United States Government statisticians foresee a domestic task force of 87 million workers nudging our economy towards a goal of 700 billion dollars gross national product by the year 1970. This growth will precipitate momentous changes in the economy; the service industries will continue to grow faster than the production industries; professional, office and sales jobs will augment the fastest; one out of every three workers will be a woman; two out of every five workers will be 45 years or older.

When it is further assumed that barring a war or other major catastrophe, the present high levels of economic production and employment will allow us to continue our present mode of consumption, the corollary not usually emphasized is that ture economic and scientific growth presupposes a fuller utilization of all available and potential creative manpower. For if the Soviet Union's spectacular advance in space science have set our heads askew, a good look at a geography book will reset our sights and help us visualize the stark reality that the potential manpower center of the world lies on the continent of Eurasia not on that of North America.

Whether we continue our position of world supremacy in the scientific and technological race may well depend upon the extent to which we utilize the untapped growth components within our manpower reservoir. Generally speaking, this would relate to the deployment of 26 million young workers who will enter the labor market over the next ten years; it especially is germane to the full utilization of 18,000,000 Negroes in our economy.

Seldom does one realize the expensive economic consequences of racial segregation until they are viewed from our national or global needs. For example, if Negroes had equal facilities in education there would be 24,000 Negro college graduates a year instead of 9,000. As the overpowering fact of our manpower needs indicate a better trained incoming worker into the white collar and professional ranks, the most logical conclusion would suggest as priority number one, immediate and forthwith integration of our nation's schools.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Only when all workers, Jew and Gentile, Negro and white, Catholic and Protestant, native and foreign, work together in the same industry, on the same job, utilizing similar skills, solve their industrial and craft problems in the same union halls and build their unions together under the same leadership in the true spirit of unity and brotherhood, will the American trade union movement fulfill its historic mission, enrich our democratic heritage and uphold our Judeo-Christian traditions.

Though Negro workers possess faith and confidence in the soundness of the leadership of the AFL-CIO on the question of race, they do not consider this as any good reason for their not developing a national Negro labor committee to serve as a sort of watchdog over their interests, rights and problems in the American trade union movement since the present leadership, being human, is impermanent. It may change or die, or be replaced by leaders with less vision, integrity, moral courage and sense of trade union brotherhood. Besides, it is unsound for Negro workers to rely wholly upon a force involving their vital interests of jobs, wages and life which they do not control.

Moreover, Negro workers in the trade unions need, as other disadvantaged groups in the economy, an instrumentality with which to defend and advance their interests and rights which they themselves control and which can and will serve their needs. For the formation and maintenance of such an instrumentality, Negroes must furnish the funds just as Jewish workers supply the funds for the maintenance of the Jewish Labor Committee, for one can only control that which he pays for.

Racially segregated lines of job progression and job classification must be abolished. Just as there exists a Code of Ethical Practices which has set forth standards of conduct for officials and members of trade unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO, there ought to be a Code of Ethical Racial Union Practices which would set forth standards of conduct for officials and members of international and local unions.

REVOLUTIONS WITHIN THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

It must be understood within and without the labor movement that the gathering struggle against discrimination and segregation in their varied and various forms is a part of one of three revolutions that have shaken, but helped to purify and strengthen, the AFL-CIO. This struggle against racial discrimination is as inevitable as the night follows the day.

The first of the three revolutions was ideological, involving the conflict between communism and free, democratic trade unionism. It shook the very foundations of the American labor movement. It was crucial because history has shown that whenever and wherever the recognized bona fide labor movement of a democratic country went communist, the democratic government either collapsed or lost its stability and orderly democratic procedure. For whenever workers turn to communists and communism they wind up as traitors to their own union, their own country, their own race, or their own religion. This is so because communists are patriotic to only one country, Soviet Russia; one organization, the Communist Party; one religion, communism; and one race, the Communist race.

WAR BETWEEN FREE TRADE UNIONISM AND COMMUNISM

This ideological revolution, lead by William Green, late president of the A.F. of L.; George Meany, then secretary-treasurer; and two vice-presidents of the A.F. of L., Dave Dubinsky and the late Matthew Woll, culminated in a resounding triumph for free, democratic trade unionism. It was a long and bitter struggle, involving much labor and pain, with some unions wholly captured by communists and others shattered and lying in ruins. But from the time warfare was openly declared against communists and communism there was no compormise or letup until this evil and menace was completely driven from the AFL or reduced to impotence and silence from within.

What happened to the communists and communism within the AFL also took place in the Congress of Industrial Organizations, under the leadership of Phillip Murray, president of the CIO, and Walter Reuther, president of the UAW.

Today, thanks to the vision, intelligence and courage of these leaders and many others, in both the AFL and CIO, the American labor movement is free of the menace of communists and communism and because of this fight by organized labor against the Kremlin forces they are no longer the danger they formerly were.

CONFLICT BETWEEN THE AFL AND CIO

The second revolution was organizational.

When the American labor movement was riven in twain in 1935 over the issue of craft unionism versus industrial unionism the very stability and continuity of organized labor was threatened. Intra-labor warfare was prolonged, venomous, violent and vicious; neither side asked for any quarter nor would it give any. The battle extended from the picket line, which was violated freely, to the courts, city councils, state legislatures, the United States Congress and World Labor Conferences.

But efforts to resolve this conflict began practically as soon as the split was effected and they never ended until the collective good-will and good sense of the leadership and membership on both sides prevailed, and the AFL and CIO were finally united in 1955 after twenty long years of strife and conflict.

George Meany was, undoubtedly, the chief architect of this unity of labor, but not without the unselfish and able cooperation and support of Walter Reuther. The solution of this problem was not easy but the leadership on both sides never ceased to work at it. They had the faith it could be done.

THE MORAL REVOLUTION

Now, the third revolution within the American labor movement is moral. The first phase was initiated and developed against corruption, racketeering and dishonesty in national, international and local unions by the American Federation of Labor, for while the CIO was plagued by communists it had no problem of corruption.

The impetus and momentum in the war declared by the AFL-CIO against crooked, double-dealing, selfish labor leaders was probably supplied, but not initiated, by the Douglas and McClellan Senate Committees that uncovered shocking and incredible cases of thievery, collusion and dishonest manipulation of the welfare, pension and regular funds of a dozen or more unions.

Be it said to the integrity, courage and understanding of the leadership of George Meany, backed by the Executive Council, when once the fight against corruption within the labor movement was begun it was kept up at a high tempo until the major offenders were routed, with their unions, out of the AFL-CIO. It is still under way.

SECOND PHASE OF THE MORAL REVOLUTION

Now, the second, major and final phase of the moral revolution is just under way. It has to do with cleansing the house of labor of the virus of racial discrimination and segregation, which is an attack upon and insult to the sacredness and dignity of the personality of Negro and all non-white workers. Until this revolution runs its course and is fully completed, the American labor movement will be plagued with a guilty conscience of preaching free, democratic trade unionism while its non-white members are un-free in unions with racial discrimination and segregation, or unions with racial exclusion membership policies.

MORAL DILEMMA OF LABOR

Until the second phase of the moral revolution, relating to the elimination of discrimination and segregation based upon race, is completed, the civil rights revolution of the labor movement will remain unfinished.

Thus, the AFL-CIO is bound and obligated to face and grapple with the forces of the second phase of the moral revolution with the same resolution and uncompromising commitment to the values and standards of a free, democratic society that was employed in the ideological and organizational revolutions and the first phase of the moral revolution of corruption.

But, in order that this second phase of the moral revolution may not be too long delayed and, when started, maintained uncompromisingly, movements such as the Negro American Labor Council, now in the process of development, is a sine qua non.

The Negro American Labor Council will be composed of only bona fide trade unionists. It can work from within trade unions on the local and international levels and, it goes with saying, that it must not and, I am sure, will not ever compromise and betray its ideals by becoming anti-trade union or anti-white but, of course, it will remain pro-Negro. Such a movement, in order to be worthy to live must be pro-AFL-CIO and anti-communist, and non-partisan while not non-political.

Regardless of the merit and justice of the cause of the Negro or labor, neither will get far unless the Negro or labor can bring effective pressure and influence to bear upon the political party or governmental power system. For inevitably, the government, a political party, a national or international trade union, or even the AFL-CIO will not move voluntarily or automatically. They will only move on vital issues when they are moved. And only organization can cause another organization to move in a given and desired direction. This is why the Negro trade unionists need the Negro American Labor Council.

Even when the leadership of a movement is friendly and considers the demands of a group just and fair, pressure must sometimes be brought to bear upon it to give the leadership an opportunity to show to hostile forces that the demands are not only fair but irresistible and unavoidable. This is true with respect to the behavior of the power system of any movement, whether government, political party, school, church or business. It is equally true of labor.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT NEGRO AMERICAN
LABOR COUNCIL WORKSHOP AND INSTITUTE
METROPOLITAN BAPTIST CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C.
FEBRUARY 17-18, 1961

> For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound,
> who shall prepare himself to battle? - Corinthians 14:8

Negro workers and the Negro community are in trouble. In fact, the American economy is in trouble. But the trouble of Negro workers involves far-reaching joblessness; it has reached the frightening proportions of a crisis, a major crisis which includes opportunity and danger. In this crisis there is danger that we may fail to rise to this challenge, and there is opportunity forthrightly to meet it.

If white workers are beset by dismaying violence of this winter's storm of a recession, Negro workers are plagued and buffeted by paralyzing and sharpening economic convulsions in the pattern of a depression as they struggle with the harsh, bitter conflict of racial strife.

Now, what about the brutal facts of this problem?

Reports from the Nation's Department of Labor show that white workers only infrequently reach relatively high levels of unemployment such as obtains today but Negro workers are victims of a veritable chronic condition of staggering unemployment.

It is enough to know that about 14 percent of non-white workers were unemployed and seeking work in 1958, compared with an average of 6 percent of white workers. In 1959 unemployment of Negroes was 13.9 percent, while whites had climbed 6.2 percent.

Verily, Negro workers are at the crossroads and, like their white brothers, distressingly unwitting of their way.

Just how tragic is the Negro workers' job crisis?

It is estimated that there are now practically six million wage earners unemployed. If Negro workers constitute one-third of the Nation's work force they would normally represent one-tenth of the unemployed, but since the rate of unemployed Negro w orkers is twice, if not more, than the rate of unemployed among white workers, the jobless among Negroes will reach the dizzying figure of 1,200,000.

According to the AFL-CIO News of January 14, 1961, in the next month or so it is anticipated seven out of every one hundred Americans looking for jobs will be unable to find them. In the Negro community, fourteen or more black Americans out of every one hundred looking for jobs will be unable to find them.

No one can gainsay the fact that when any section of the Nation is confronted with unemployment at more than the Nation's rate, their economic situation is critical. Certainly, the economy of the country is in grave danger because of an increasing number of idle men, idle money, idle machines, while there is human want and need.

Economists estimate that if the economic growth rate of the country jumped from the present stagnant state of around two and one-half percent to five percent this year, at the end of 1961 unemployment would be cut from seven out of every one hundred job seekers to six. But even this relatively slight improvement in the general unemployment status of the American worker would still leave Negro workers at the alarming rate of twelve out of every one hundred seeking work without getting it.

ETHNIC-ECONOMIC TRAP

These economic storms that sweep through the Negro community in periods of industrial and financial maladjustment are a sin against God and crime against man since they are largely preventable.

Periodic recessions constitute a form of suicidal economic folly and a travesty upon human morality and common sense. While these violent economic maladjustments are viewed with alarm, the curative instead of the preventive remedy is always employed.

Why should Negro workers be the hardest hit by these cyclical economic disasters that, like a plague, befall the country?

Why does this economic-racial trap esixt?

1. The largest agglomeration of workers is the concentration of Negro workers in the categories of unskilled and semi-skilled. Thus, they are the first to be fired in times of recession and depression and the last to be rehired.

2. Negro workers, because of their lateness of entry into certain industries, have accumulated no considerable seniority status.

3. Numberless Negro workers are relegated to racially segregated lines of job progression that wind up in more easily dispensable job classifications of production operatives.

4. Negfo workers have been the victims of a veritable conspiracy by trade unions, industry and government in that they have been systematically denied job opportunities by blocking their entrance into apprenticeship training programs for the building trades' skilled crafts.

5. The march of the automation revolution, with its displacement and liquidation of unskilled workers, creates an incredible cost in poignant human suffering, in not only joblessness but hopeless hopelessness.

While all workers face the challenge and problems of advancing technology, or automation, with its new machines and processes, techniques and skills, that displace white and black workers. alike, Negro workers, because of a lack of skills, having little if any occupational status or rank and, correspondingly, little job mobility, must bear the most burdensome brunt of all workers.

This economic insecurity of Negro workers flows from a uniformly prevailing concept among circles in trade unions, industry and government that people of color bear the mark of hereditary inferiority and are, therefore, entitled to inferior treatment and place.

It is a matter of common knowledge that after one hundred years the most fortunate, highly educated, and even wealthy Negro has not escaped or risen above the status of second-class citizenship in the United States of America. Thus, not only the Negro worker but Negroes in all levels of American life are caught up in a socio-economic-political-ethnic complex of discrimination and segregation that constitute a roadblock to their progress.

RACIAL DIFFERENTIAL WAGE

Thus, the national lower median wage of Negro workers should occasion no shock. It is inevitable and, of course, it is unusually large.

The reports of the U.S. Department of Labor Statistics indicate that in 1958 white men earned a median wage of $4,569, compared to $2,652 for non-white men. White women averaged $2,364 compared with $1,055 for Negro women. It is a notorious fact that the Negro male worker in 1958 earned 58 percent as much as a white male worker.

But when the Negro worker goes into the market as a consumer to buy goods and services he cannot presume to pay only 58 percent for comparable goods and services, such as food, clothing, shelter, education and recreation, purchased by white workers.

The fact is, Negroes pay relatively much higher prices for goods and services than do whites because they buy,qualitatively and quantitatively, at the big profit prices of the black ghettoes in the great metropolitan areas of the country, partly because of limitation of choice in relation to the operation of the law of supply and demand.

WHAT OF THE DECADE OF THE SIXTIES?

Now, there is much speculation abroad among professional economists, [illegible] students of social politics, and leaders of labor and capital about the coming changes in industry, business, occupations and the workforce.

How will these population, industry, and labor projections affect Negroes?

It is roughly estimated that the population explosion will reach 208 million in 1970 and that the workforce will increase to 87 million. If the ratio of the Negro population and the workforce remain constant to the national population and workforce, Negro workers who represent one-tenth of the population and the workforce will constitute 28 million of the population and 8 or 9 million of the workforce in 1970.

But it is important to note that the decade of the Sixties will not only be significant for the burst and boom in population, workforce, and gross national product, but also because of the basic changes in occupational and industrial structure.

Now, to support this population, according to the National Industrial Conference Board, by 1970 the gross national product will probably reach around $800 billion, at present price levels. Naturally, to accomplish production of these huge proportions will require a tremendous increase in capital formation and outlay. This means an annual total capital expenditure for new material and mechanical facilities substantially higher than the $35 to $38 billion now being invested annually. It is expected to average $58 billion annually, advancing to the end of the decade when it should reach $70 billion. It is conservatively estimated that by the end of the decade there will be an annual outlay of $15 billion on research in various areas of industry alone.

DROP IN UNSKILLED WORKERS

It is important for the Negro worker to note that although during the twenty-year period between 1939 to 1959, when the population increased 32 percent and the volume of goods and services had grown 382 percent, with the labor force moving upward 30 percent, the absolute number of unskilled persons in the workforce substantially dropped.

By 1970 the increases in segments of the workforce will be found almost exclusively in the ranks of the skilled workmen and the professional, managerial, technical, clerical and white collar areas.

The trend then is definitely toward the continued reduction of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers. But it is into these two categories that high agglomerations of Negro workers are concentrated.

COLOR BAR TO APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

Thus, while the revolution of automation technology which is just beginning requires skilled, technically and scientifically qualified workers, racial barriers prevent the entry of Negro youth into apprenticeship programs for the skilled crafts.

It is estimated by Harry Kursh in Apprenticeship in America that less than one percent of building construction apprentices are Negro. Even in New York, probably the most liberal state in America, in 1940, according to the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, only 36 of the 7,421 apprentices were Negro. By 1950, out of 10,111 apprentices only 152 were non-white. Hence, though non-white males constituted 5.4 percent of the employed males of the state, they made up only 1.5 percent of the apprentices. Currently, only 2 percent of the approximately 15,000 registered apprentices are Negro.

According to the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination, among the 19 railroads operating in New York and New Jersey that employed 594 apprentices, only 4 were Negro.

The New York State Commission Against Discrimination states that in a recent survey in San Francisco it was revealed that there were no Negroes in electrical, plumbing, carpentry and ironwork apprentice programs and only one in the metal trades.

Analysis of the Negro labor forces of Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids and Muskegon, Michigan indicates the same low levels of participation by Negroes in the apprenticeship process. The same holds true for Connecticut. A similar inability to gain indentures in the building trades is reported for Negroes in Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland and Detroit, Louisville and Evansville, Memphis, Birmingham and, for that matter, throughout the South.

In fact, Negroes are losing ground in the traditional trades in which they once were prominent in the South. Between 1910 and 1940, according to Robert C. Weaver's Negro Labor: A National Problem, Negro carpenters decreased from 23.2 to 13.7 percent of the total in this occupational category in ten southern states. For painters, the decline was from 25.3 to 14.5 percent; bricklayers, 54.7 to 31.5; and plasterers, 66.5 to 54.5 percent.

Thus, it is properly pointed out in The Negro Wage Earner and Apprenticeship Training Programs, by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, that, given a continuation of the present rates of advance, it will take Negroes 138 years to secure equal participation in the skilled-craft training and employment.

PREDICTED LABOR SHORTAGE AND THE NEGRO

What about the predicted labor shortage by the U. S. Department of Labor during the decade of the Sixties? Does it offer opportunity to Negro workers?

Let us see.

At the outbreak of World War I there was a labor shortage, but it was a shortage of unskilled workers, partly due to the drastic limitation upon immigration from Europe. Thus, immigration of blacks from the South to the North began. They found employment in iron and steel, meatpacking, shipbuilding, automobile, street maintenance, building labor and other heavy industries.

But such will not be the case during the decade of the 1960's. This labor shortage will relate to skilled, technically qualified workers, along with trained white collar and service employes. Thus, the largest section of the Negro work-force may not be in demand since they fall within the area of unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

It is estimated that New York State, alone, will require an annual increase of 12,000 skilled craftsmen to meet the growth needs of its economy, and an additional 16,000 skilled craftsmen will be needed to offset attrition due to death, retirement and geographical and occupational changes; or a total needed accretion of craftsmen yearly of 28,000.

If Negroes are unable to take advantage of this industrial opportunity, the responsibility may be properly placed at the doors of the trade unions, industry and government.

If a group of workers, on account of race, are denied the right to learn a job in order to get a job, President Kennedy, who properly made a proposal for distressed areas in his message to the Congress, may also be confronted with the problem of finding a solution for the economic plight of Negroes, the most distressed of the distressed of American citizens, who have never gotten a fair break to get a job from trade unions, industry or government.

Lest there be some doubt about the validity of this assertion, let us direct attention to three cases of racial job discrimination.

The first concerns fruitless efforts of two Negro electricians of Cleveland, Ohio, over a period of two years, to get a membership card in Local 38 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. They were finally given membership in the union after the intercession of President Meany. They suffered two long jobless years, not because they lacked the qualifications but only because they were not born white.

The second case relates to Negro electricians who sought for two years a job on government buildings in Washington, D. C.

After two jobless years from his craft, one Negro electrician as a result of the mediation efforts of George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, was given a job on one of the government buildings paid for out of the tax dollars of all of the citizens of the country, black and white, after some disgraceful shenanigans about the failure of Negro electricians to pass examinations on heavy conduit electrical work which, it is said, requires special experience. Even if the charge is true, the question may well be raised: How can a union deny a Negro worker the opportunity to work on a job and then condemn him for his inability to do the job if, as, and when he is assigned to it?

It is comparable to a policeman knocking a pedestrian down on the sidewalk and then arresting him for blocking the sidewalk.

The third case involves the intercession of the New York State Attorney General, Louis Lefkowitz, in behalf of the first young Negro becoming indentured by the Plumbers' Union for apprenticeship training for a journeyman plumber in New York State.

Some liberal labor friends of the Negro broadcast these events as evidence of major steps of progress on the part of Negro workers in the trade union movement, while Negroes scoff at these piecemeal, fragmentary, isolated instances as wholly inadequate to cope with grave problems of racial discrimination in organized labor.

Negro workers wouldn't if they could, and couldn't if they would, be content to wait two years for a union to decide to permit them to work by giving them a membership card. The time for freedom is now!

No union, industry, or even government, has the moral right to refuse a worker his God-given right to earn a living for himself and family because of the color of his skin. If Alfred Smith lost the race for the Presidency the day he was baptised, a Negro worker loses his race to learn a job to get a job before he is born.

Now, let me, because of some distortion and misrepresentation of the aims and purposes of the Negro American Labor Council, set forth affirmations of the basic philosophy, principles and policies upon which we in the Council take our stand on the aforestated problems affecting Negro workers.

(1) We assert our belief in and commitment to the proposition that it is the God-given right of every human being to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, including the right of every worker to equal opportunity of employment and the right to learn a job to get a job.

(2) We assert our belief in and commitment to the idea that the salvation of a people must come from within; that he who would be free must himself first strike the blow; and that freedom is not free. It must be paid for; it must be fought for; it must be won.

Thus, Negroes have as their primary responsibility and task to provide the leadership of struggle, sacrifice and suffering to fight for the destruction of the color caste system and achieve first-class citizenship in the United States, in terms of political, economic and social equality.

(3) We assert our belief in and commitment to the democratic society with its pluralistic sources and centers of power designed to prevent the centralization of authority in a monolithic power system, with emphasis upon the Judeo-Christian traditions and values of individual liberty, human dignity and equality; with recognition of the principle of federal, state and municipal planning through public government agencies, to the end of developing and maintaining full employment

and a high purchasing power in the interests of a dynamic and expanding economy.

(4) We must assert our belief in and commitment to the principle of free, democratic trade unionism, as represented by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in which all workers, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, shall be eligible for membership, not only in city, central and state federated bodies and federal unions directly chartered by the AFL-CIO, but in every local union of every national and international union affiliated with the Federation.

(5) We assert our belief in and commitment to the policy and program of alliance and cooperation between the Negro community and the Labor community, as represented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the AFL-CIO, as natural, necessary, sound and inevitable because of common interests and objectives in the cause of the achievement and maintenance of civil rights and labor's rights and basic democracy, as well as for the fact that both have, as a rule, common friends and common foes.

But, of course, such an alliance in order to have reality, vitality and promise, must stem from the concept and principle of equality. Moreover, the alliance must not and should not imply or connote the absence of, or opposition to mutual criticism of failures on either side, through commission or omission, to profess, support and practice principles of ethnic-union brotherhood and human rights.

The importance and necessity of cooperation between the Negro community and the Labor community was clearly indicated in the fight of the AFL-CIO to defeat the right-to-work laws' movement in Ohio and California in 1958. It is, no doubt, and understatement to point out that had it not been for the all-out support of the fight of labor by the NAACP, it would have lost, and right-to-work laws would now exist on the statute books of these two states. Such a victory for the right-to-work laws' movement would have given momentum of incalculable weight to this anti-labor fight.

By the same token, the fight for civil rights legislation by the NAACP in the Congress, states, and cities, has received consistent support from the AFL-CIO. It is accurate and fair to state that most, if not all, of the fair employment practice legislation in the 17 states and cities, more or less, could not have been enacted without the active support of the AFL-CIO state and central bodies.

(6) We assert our belief in and commitment to the idea of alliance, upon terms of equality and without compromise on basic principles of the civil rights revolution, between the Negro community and minorities' communities, including Jews, Catholics, Puerto-Ricans, Orientals and Latin Americans generally, on the obvious grounds that they are victims of the common evil of discrimination and segregation because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, which, through collective action, they can more effectively challenge and oppose.

But it is eminently important for the Negro community to realize and understand that no alliance can or should serve as a substitute for reliance upon itself in the fight for first-class citizenship. Verily, history has placed the sacred mantle of leadership of the civil rights revolution upon the shoulders of Negroes, and Negroes alone.

Nor do Negroes possess the moral right to delegate the responsibility, task and mission to struggle, sacrifice and suffer under attacks of violence, trial by fire and imprisonment, if not death, for their own freedom, equality, and human dignity, to any minority, Catholic, Jew, Liberal or labor.

(7) We assert our belief in and commitment to the principle of union democracy with special reference to and emphasis upon the recognition of the value, importance and justification of the integration of Negro trade unionists into all areas of the union's life, interests and activity, such as election and appointment

to offices of leadership, policy-making bodies, staff, office and professional assignments.

(8) We assert our belief in and commitment to a broad national crash policy of integration of Negro workers into the registered apprenticeship training programs to become master and licensed journeymen in all of the varied and various skilled and technical trades and crafts under the supervision of trade unions, industry and government.

(9) We assert our belief in and commitment to the principle of the desegregation of racially segregated unions and the integration of all workers, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, into the local union covering the jurisdiction of a given craft, class or industry located in any area, without regard to the expressed wish of the members or officials of the racially segregated union or non-racially segregated union.

(10) We assert our belief in and commitment to the idea that tokenism, or piecemeal, fragmentary and nondescript progress, is the progress of illusion and constitutes an affront to the Negro since it derives from the concept of his hereditary inferiority. It is a survival and relic of slavery which required that the Negro be considered and treated as something less than a whole man. It also provides the basis for the rationalization that practically nothing is at least a beginning, with intent to keep it thus.

Tokenism is one of the most vicious and dangerous psychological weapons that can be used against the Negro for it is designed to secure his acquiescence in, and perpetuation of, his own subordination by taking on the protective coloration of benevolence, or a sort of Lady Bountiful paternalism, which provides compensation for a guilt complex for sins committed against the Negro masses.

FRAMEWORK OF PRINCIPLES

it is thus within the framework of the principles herewith set forth that the Negro American Labor Council proposes to move forward to contribute its force in the civil rights revolution for the complete liberation of black America.

PROGRAM AND TACTICS

In addition to the description and analysis of the principled positions of the NALC, it may not be amiss to indicate its programmatical and tactical approach to aforestated tasks.

What is the Negro American Labor Council: What is it not? Where is it going? Why was it born?

First of all, it is not a labor union. It does not plan to negotiate any contract on rates of pay and rules governing working conditions.

It does not intend to conduct any representation elections to become the bargaining agent of any group of workers.

It is non-partisan but not non-political. It will support the broad programs for civil rights and labor's rights sponsored by the NAACP and the AFL-CIO. It will oppose anti-civil rights and anti-labor's rights legislation. It will generally follow the policy of rewarding our political friends and punishing our political enemies, Democratic or Republican.

It is not anti-AFL-CIO or its leadership, but pro-AFL-CIO and its leadership. But it is anti-race bias in the AFL-CIO or in any of its affiliates or leadership.

It is not anti-white, but pro-Negro. It is anti-white supremacy.

It is anti-Communist, anti-Fascist, anti-racist (white or black), anti-colonialist, and anti-imperialist, but pro-African, Asian and Latin American revolutionary nationalism.

By keeping the conscience of the AFL-CIO distrubed through continuous criticism of its obvious failure forthrightly to come to grips with the moral issue of race bias, the Negro American Labor Council is rendering the labor movement a distinct service. For the history of moral revolutions contain few, if any, instances of great powerful movements, long guilty of the commission of sins of discrimination against a minority, automatically taking action for self-purification. Thus, moral movements have had to be organized to move movements to employ moral means to achieve moral ends.

MORAL REVOLUTIONS IN LABOR

One has only to note three revolutions within the house of labor in the United States to recognize the inner logic of great social change.

The first revolution in the last two generations involved the conflict between craft and industrial unionism. The labor movement was split into the AFL and CIO over this issue in the 1930's. The split was only healed under pressure of members from within and the persecution, prosecution and pressure of Big Business and Big Government from without, which forced unity of the AFL and CIO into the form of Big Labor.

The second revolution involved the conflict between free democratic trade unionism and Communism. Both sections of the labor movement, the AFL and CIO were moved to take action against Communism and Communists because of the threat of internal disruption of local and national unions, central and state bodies, and adverse criticism and pressure from the Government and public from without.

The thrid revolution involved the fight against corruption and racketeering in the unions by members from within and the pressure of the McClellan Congressional investigation and public condemnation from without.

Thus, it is apparent that the leadership of the AFL-CIO, despite its good faith, good-will and splendid pronouncements against racial discrimination, cannot be expected to move voluntarily and seriously to take positive and affirmative action for the elimination of race discrimination unless they are stimulated, prodded and pressured to do so, both from within and without.

And it is equally obvious that only the workers of color, who are the victims of the discrimination and segregation can be depended upon to apply and keep up the pressure with a view to getting the leadership to substitute cautious complacency with a deep sense of urgency of immediate, vigorous and effective action against the practice of bias throughout the entire house of labor.

WHY WAS THE NALC BORN?

The answer to the question, why was the NALC born, is that it was impossible for it not to be born in the light of the second-class status of Negro workers in the house of labor. Verily, it expresses the idea of racial equality in trade unions, industry and government whose time has come.

Now, for our proposals to trade unions industry and government.

(1) Just as the United States Supreme Court, in its decision for the desegregation and integration of public schools in 1954, required Federal courts in various areas of the South to set target dates when definite and positive action should be taken by local Boards of Education to initiate the desegregation of public schools, so the President and Executive Council of the AFL-CIO should call all national and international unions into conference and advise and require them to move within the course of six months to initiate the desegregation and integration of local unions with respect to a common and specific target date, in order to bring their unions into compliance with the provision of the constitution of the AFL-CIO on race bias.

EXCLUSION BY TACIT CONSENT

(2) Advise and require all unions to initiate action within the course of six months, with respect to a common and specific target date to abolish the practice of exclusion of workers of color from membership by the ritual of tacit consent.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

(3) Advise and require all craft and industrial unions to initiate action with respect to a common and specific target date to study and revise their policies of selection of workers for apprenticeship training programs with a view to the elimination of nepotism and cronyism and opening the door of opportunity to apprenticeship training for the skilled trades to any youth, regardless of race or color, with the necessary educational qualification.

(4) Election of Negro trade unionists to policy-making bodies of local, national and international unions, and city and state central bodies.

(5) Appointment of another Negro trade unionist to membership on the Executive Council.

(6) Integration of qualified Negro office and staff workers into all departments of the general headquarters of the AFL-CIO in Washington, D. C., as an example to the national and international unions.

(7) Place additional Negro trade unionists on the Civil Rights Committee. Members of the Executive Council should be urged to set an example by having their unions set up civil rights committees and departments.

(8) Because of the failure of the Civil Rights Department to fulfill its mission it should be reorganized with a qualified Negro trade unionist as Director, with additional professional and office personnel. This department should serve as an example of the application of the principles of civil rights to the entire labor movement. A native white Southerner, who is sound on civil rights and a sound trade unionist, should be placed on the staff to work in the South and an additional sound Negro trade unionist should also be placed on the staff, with an adequate interracial office force. We recommend that the President or Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO serve as the Chairman of the Committee.

(9) An executive order should be issued by President Kennedy to investigate the employment policies of all of the departments of the Federal government, with a view to eliminating the practice of race bias in same.

(10) Recommend an executive order to investigate the methods, promotion and upgrading on government jobs, with a view to providing an equal opportunity for every worker, regardless of race or color, to seek and occupy a place commensurate with his ability. It is most significant that about 70 percent, according to the National Urban League, of all Negro government employees are concentrated in the lower, subprofessional job classifications.

(11) We recommend that President Kennedy provide the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy with the status of White House authority for effective execution and implementation of a non-discrimination job policy in every department, agency, commission and bureau.

According to the National Urban League, the President's Committee on Government policy has been reluctant to survey practices in specific departments and has found no discrimination in 53 of 63 cases referred to it in one 18-month period. A White House-sponsored program can effectively question why large sections of some departments are all-white. It is necessary that firm and unequivocal action be taken to investigate all federal offices, especially in the South.

(12) We recommend an investigation of the administration of Federal Civil Service rules that invite discrimination by allowing choice of any of the top three applicants, and exceptions to even the "rule of three" make it possible to avoid hiring a Negro even when all three top candidates are Negro. Exceptions to the rule of three should be outlawed.

(13) We recommend that President Kennedy issue an executive order requiring that all federal government contracting agencies strictly enforce the non-discrimination clause which is not now being done. All 30 contracting agenices

have the power to terminate, amend or refuse to negotiate contracts for any failure to comply with all parts of the contract, all of which are legally binding. It is a notorious fact that under all administrations only a small portion of the more than 17 million jobs currently being performed under government contracts are in fact, as well as in contract, awarded on a non-discrimination basis.

(14) Because the supervision of apprenticeship training programs and hiring halls by some unions make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Negro workers to get the background of skills necessary to qualify for jobs in this advancing age of technology, we recommend that President Kennedy issue an executive order providing that the federal government assume a more vital role in promoting a nationwide crash program for the training of skilled workers and guarantee that federal assistance to all craft training systems be limited to programs which do not discriminate on a basis of race or color.

Finally, we call upon the President of the United States and President of the AFL-CIO and the leaders of industry, the most powerful country and labor movement and industry in the world, to issue a clarion call to the government, the workers and management to respect, recognize and support the God-given right of every human being, regardless of race or color, to earn a living in the sweat of his brow.

The Negro American Labor Council in this uncertain and hapless world, shaken and almost wrecked by the evil passions of human hate and bigotry, blind fanaticism, inordinate ambitions, intolerant materialistic ideologies, extend greetings and felicitations to the Negro laboring masses, downtrodden sharecroppers and migrant farm workers and all American wage earners.

We greet the black laboring masses of Africa, on fire with the passion for human freedom; and the teeming millions of workers of Asia, recently freed from the yoke of imperialist rule. To the Latin American workers and peasants, stirring against poverty, illiteracy, disease and dictatorship, we bid them - Forward!

A new world is coming to birth - a world of free people, of immeasurable possibility and promise, a world of sobering challenge and decision.

Only then will the march of humanity to a nobler life become possible.

Meeting of Advisory Council
New York City AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee
January 26, 1961

Louis Simon, chairman of the Central Labor Council Civil Rights Committee, explained that the reason an Advisory Council is being established was so that the New York labor movement could benefit from the advice and assistance of experts in the field of civil rights. When the Civil Rights Committee was formed, it adopted the following objectives: to oppose all forms of discrimination in hiring or terms and conditions of employment; in public and private housing; in education; in the administration of justice and in voting rights. The Committee also pledged itself to an educational campaign to eradicate the seeds of discrimination within and without the trade union movement and to propose and support any constructive steps designed to eliminate discrimination wherever it exists.

Since its inception, it has taken action on local, state and national civil rights issues, investigated complaints of discrimination and conducted New York labor's First Civil Rights Conference. A series of recommendations for action is now under consideration by the Committee which includes a civil rights training program, encouraging formation of local union civil rights committees and a civil rights newsletter or column in the official labor publication.

Simon then turned the floor over to the Advisory Council members.

Frances Levenson, referring to the Committee's concern with housing discrimination, urged the New York City AFL-CIO to actively support the amendments to the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Law to make the law more effective. The Civil Rights Committee moved to send letters to all affiliates asking them to testify in favor of the amendments and agreed to testify for the Central Labor Council.

Madison Jones said that integrated public housing requires the presence of legislation outlawing discrimination in private housing. According to Jones, a great many Federal units which might be made available to the New York City Housing Authority cannot be used because of the inability of obtaining sites. He urged labor to support an expanded public housing program.

Turning to the Civil Rights Committee itself, Emanuel Muravchik suggested that the Committee assign someone to be responsible for legislative questions and issue public statements on these issues.

Harry Fleischman, referring to the recommendation concerning a civil rights training program pointed out that there will be hundreds of interested trade unionists who will participate. He suggested that the program be limited to groups of 25 or 30 participants to provide adequate opportunity for discussion. John Burnell said that trade unionists completing the training program should be assigned to a subcommittee in one of the major civil rights areas.

Rev. Dan Potter asked what progress has been made in eliminating trade union discrimination. Simon answered that this is our first concern and pressure is being applied to unions which discriminate. Rev. Potter said that the Committee should continue its efforts to change negative attitudes of union members and to press for passage of civil rights legislation.

Turning to the question of apprenticeship, Ramon Rivera suggested that organized labor can take steps to insure the elimination of discrimination in the skilled trades. Unions can make known apprenticeship program requirements to minority group members and actively recruit minorities for the programs. Gus Edwards added that it is difficult to motivate youth to enter apprenticeship programs when the requirements are unknown.

John Burnell suggested that the Urban League meet with the Civil Rights Committee and specifically indicate what information is needed and the Committee would then try to obtain this information.

Harry Fleischman cited the example of the Oregon FEPC, State Apprenticeship Council, Building Trades, Metal Trades and State AFL-CIO which together developed an apprenticeship program opening up opportunities for minorities.

Muravchik suggested that the individual local union charged with discrimination be approached, and that if the Urban League has information about discrimination it should notify the Civil Rights Committee so that it can confront the union.

Jim Horton stated that we know discrimination is practiced and that the Central Labor Council should take action and not get involved in paper work. Gonzalez urged that trade unions be encouraged to open their apprenticeship programs to all.

The Urban League as well as any other organization or individual knowing of discriminatory union practices was urged by Simon to inform the Civil Rights Committee.

The Advisory Council moved to meet quarterly, the next meeting being Wednesday, April 19 at 10 A.M. in the Board Room of the Central Labor Council, 386 Park Avenue South.

Present: Roddie Brooks, Negro American Labor Council; Gus Edwards, Urban League; Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service, Ed Gonzales, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico Labor Department, Jim Horton, Negro American Labor Council; Madison Jones, New York City Housing Authority; Frances Levenson, New York State Committee Against Discrimination in Housing; Emanuel Muravchik, Jewish Labor Committee; Ed Nickerson, Austin Ottley, Local 3 IBEW, Lewis H. Latimer Progressive Association; Ken Parrott, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Local 251; Rev. Dan Potter, Protestant Council of New York; Marvin Rich, Congress of Racial Equality; Ramon Rivera, Urban League.

Regrets: James Farmer, NAACP; Irving Goldaber, New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations; George Hunton, Catholic Interracial Council; Reginald Ingram, New York State Committee Against Discrimination; Fred Williams, New York City Board of Education.

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ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT,
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, DURING
NEGRO HISTORY WEEK CELEBRATION AT CENTRAL
STATE COLLEGE, WILBERFORCE, OHIO, FEBRUARY 14, 1961.

America has brought the world to an awe-inspiring threshold of the future. Nuclear energy physicists are delving into the mysteries of the creation of matter. Automation has designed machines which operate and repair themselves. Our prosperity is unprecedented. Our arsenals bulge with fearful weapons. Our material wealth astounds the world. In a political sense we have become the most powerful nation on earth. This is a dazzling picture of the U.S.A. in 1961.

Yet there is a bleak side. The nation is poisoned by the plague of racial conflict. Negro children, merely seeking an equal education, have been brutally driven from their classrooms. The legal apparatus of several states, mobilized as if for war, bars children from integrated schools. The right to vote is arrogantly denied to millions. Violence, terror and murder have been unleashed to hold down a long-suffering and patient people. While the Constitution and our free traditions are thus violated, the Federal Government is gripped by paralysis. Millions of citizens remain confused, apathetic and distressingly unwitting of their way.

This is a moral and political crisis. A crisis involves opportunity and danger. There is opportunity to win the fight for freedom and human dignity, and there is danger that we will lose the fight. Whether we win or lose will depend upon what we think and do.

These are a complex of issues collectively termed Civil Rights.

Basically, civil rights are attributes of citizenship. Without them, there can be no citizenship. I refer to the right to vote and to be voted for; right to trial by jury; right to habeas corpus; right of petition; right to freedom from seizure or search; right to freedom of speech, press, assembly, and association; right to freedom of contract; right to own, buy, and sell property; right to equality of opportunity to employment, education and recreation.

Now, civil rights stem from human rights. Human rights are God-given, not man-made. I allude to the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These human rights exist, not as a result of laws of the State, decisions of the Court or Constitution, but primarily because of one's being human. But while human rights exist prior to the State, the exercise of human rights may be abridged or denied by the State or interfered with by extra-governmental agencies and forces. Thus, the raison d'etre for civil rights is to prevent even the State, such as Mississippi, from interfering with the privilege of individuals to exercise their human rights.

Since God, as Father, created all men - all men are brothers. Since all men are brothers - all men are equal. They are equal before God and should be equal under law in the State. If all men are brothers and are equal before God, they are entitled to equal treatment in our democratic society.

But this can only be assured and guaranteed by law, the State, decisions of the Court. In short, by civil rights. However, Negroes do not possess their civil rights. Thus, Negroes are not fully free. They are not fully free because the Civil War Revolution was never fully completed. The Civil War Revolution was never fully completed because the new industrial and financial circles of America no longer needed to complete the Revolution in order to consolidate their forces as the economic masters of the new nation.

It must be remembered that the Civil War Revolution was comparable to the bourgeois democratic revolutions of England of 1688 and of France of 1789. These revolutions had certain basic objectives; the achievement of which was a desideratum to the coming into being of the New Order. Thus, the historical tasks of the classical bourgeois revolutions of the 19th Century consisted in the realization of the following aims:

1. The abolition of the feudal or slave system.
2. The overthrow of the slave or feudal government apparatus.
3. Emancipation of the slaves or serfs.
4. Transformation of former slaves or serfs into free workers or independent peasant proprietors.
5. Breakup of the old slave or feudal economy and the granting of land to the freedmen.
6. Extension of a free ballot to the freedmen.
7. Establishment of a free public school system.
8. Centralization of political power in a national or federal governmental structure.
9. Economic unification of the country.

While the Civil War Revolution abolished chattel slavery, destroyed the Confederacy at Appomattox, liberated the slaves, centralized political power in a federal system, and effected the economic unification of the country, it failed to transform the former slaves into free workers. It failed to give them land. Instead, freedmen were transformed into tenant, sharecrop and debt farmers, or veritable peons. This was possible because the old plantation remained; the old masters remained, and the need and greed to rebuild the old plantation economy on cheap labor were ever present.

The Civil War Revolution never established free public schools. Instead, the freedmen were cursed with a segregated school system. There was no free ballot. When the southern states returned to the Union they promptly established Black Codes, which tended to nullify the 13th Amendment of 1865, the 14th Amendment of 1868, and the 15th Amendment of 1870. The poll tax, white primaries, grandfather clauses - designed to make a mockery of suffrage and the so-called citizenship of the freedmen - were enacted into law.

Hence, the central struggle of the Negro today is not just securing the right to vote in Alabama; the right to sit in a park in Pensacola; ride in a seat in a bus in Montgomery or Tallahassee; become a stewardess on an airplane; or secure a house in Levittown, but it involves a civil rights revolution - the historical mission of which is to sweep away all of the vestiges, remnants and survivals of the old slave order, the elimination of the old system of color caste, and the complete annihilation of the sinister structure of segregation in every area of American life. This, alone, will constitute the completion of the incompleted Civil War Revolution.

One organization resolutely pursuing these ends is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is significant that it is currently under heavy and vicious attack. Some equate it with the White Citizens Councils as extremist and a trouble-maker. This misconstrues the aim and method of the NAACP. Its purpose is to realize the rights guaranteed in the Constitution. In a democracy such a purpose cannot be extremist. Recognition will eventually come that the NAACP has made an imperishable contribution to America by insistently struggling for equal justice and thereby enlarging for all the horizons of democracy.

In your supreme bid for manhood rights, the NAACP is your most effective champion. Give of your time and talent to help build its membership to make it strong. Stand up and defend it when attacked.

If our moral complacency and preoccupation with gaudy products of our time are not transformed into a real determination for constructive action, not we along, but also future generations, will inherit a weaker nation and a less than honorable past. America can meet its challenges with strong courage and a relentless steadfastness. To this end, we summon support for this minimum program:

1. Use of the full powers and influence of the Federal Government to obtain prompt and full compliance with the decisions of the United States Supreme Court condemning state-imposed racial segregation.

2. Application by all branches of the Federal Government, executive, legislative and judicial, of the policy that federal funds should be used in that manner as to encourage and secure compliance with the Supreme Court decisions condemning racial segregation.

3. Amendment of the rules of the Senate and House of Representatives to eliminate the filibuster and all other devices that thwart the will of the majority.

4. Vigorous support by the President and adoption by the United States Congress of effective federal laws prohibiting discrimination in employment, giving greater protection to personal security and the right to vote, and strengthening the civil rights activities of the Department of Justice.

Today, we are in the midst of a vast atomic, technological and scientific revolution. The whole basis of modern production and exchange of goods and services are in the process of change. Probably the biggest task confronting the Negro today is the transformation of a body of unskilled workers into highly skilled, technical craftsmen and technological experts.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the large majority of Negro workers are unskilled and, unless trained and re-trained through apprenticeship courses and schools of science, they may be unable to participate in the operation of the vast machine of production in this age of automation.

Upon securing employment, it is to the best interest of Negro workers to join the unions that hold the contracts in the crafts, classes, or industries in which they are employed. It would not be sound strategy to stay out of trade unions because racial discrimination is in some of them. Were they consistently and logically to follow this policy it would compel Negroes to stay out of practically every institution and movement in this country, including the Church, industry, schools, sports, government, politics, social service and the professions.

Moreover, while there is a long road ahead in eliminating discrimination in trade unions, as in other institutions in the country, some substantial progress is being made. One basic asset consists in the fact that the leadership, George Meany, president, and Walter Reuther, vice president, of the AFL-CIO are unreservedly committed to the policy of eliminating discrimination in the trade unions.

Let me point out to you that neither the civil rights movement or the labor movement can survive and function and make progress except within the framework of the democratic society. Thus, Negroes, along with other minorities and labor, have no alternative except to support the Western democracies as against the Russian and Chinese Communist totalitarian regimes. Moreover, the Communist and Fascist creed is set against the freedom of individual man and is committed to the deification of the State, which cannot serve the cause of freedom.

One other basic force you must employ in the Negro liberation movement is the ballot, and the use of the ballot requires registration of the citizen. Thus, Negro youth should develop a veritable crusade in precinct after precinct, ward after ward, in every village and city, to get every eligible Negro to register and vote. Now, you need not be disturbed about whether Negro citizens register or vote as Republicans or Democrats since there is no material difference between the two parties. Your major concern should be that millions of Negroes register and vote throughout the nation. This represents power, and power is the only thing a politician, Democrat or Republican, can understand.

To this task, my fellow students, you must set your hand, head, and heart. Yours is the responsibility to achieve the status of free men in a free democratic society. The essence of the Civil Rights Revolution is a struggle for individual liberty and human dignity.

How incredible must it appear to the people of the world that in this mid-twentieth century a Mack Parker tragedy of Mississippi and a Little Rock can occur in America, the professed leader of the democratic forces of the free world.

What a mockery this outrage makes of American civilization, American Christianity, and our inherent liberties.

Look at the spectacle of 101 Congressmen from the South signing and glorifying a manifesto against the free public school system in which all children, regardless of race or color, may exercise their God-given right to secure an education, free from the insult of segregation and discrimination.

Note the silence of liberals, North as well as South. Verily, liberty is in a slump. This generation sees its liberals more futile than liberals have been at any time since the 17th Century. They are bewildered, frightened, confused; they have no followers. They are incapable of righteous anger and the fight for a moral cause. One would think, if one watched the way in which liberals behaved today, that the great liberators of human history never lived. They have forgotten what the lot of the common man was before the Bill of Rights was wrested from the hands of unwilling monarchs. They have forgotten what it means to live in communities under the rule of mob law.

Think of the fact that almost uniformly in human history the great benefactors of the human race have had to live in exile because they have given humanity new truths and have dared to challenge old beliefs. Many of us have forgotten what liberty has cost, if not what it means.

Men have had two things in mind when they have talked of liberty. The concern was concrete issues of life and labor, and the attainment of human rights.

The men of the Renaissance, when they spoke of liberty, meant freedom of the human spirit; freedom to ponder classical literature in contrast to religious obscurantism.

To the men of the Protestant Reformation liberty meant the right of private interpretation as opposed to the existing ecclesiastical hierarchy

In the English Revolution it meant the immunities of the subject in oppostion to the aggrandizement of an overreaching monarch.

But you must take courage and renew your faith in the long march of man toward freedom, justice, plenty, and peace, in the life and history of some of the outstanding champions of human liberty, such as Locke and Hume, Voltaire and Diderot, Gibbon and Paine, Ingersoll and Jefferson, Spencer, and John Stuart Mill. Your challenge is not only to acquire knowledge, but to use it in the fight in the interest of the achievement of a truly democratic society. The achievement of this goal may entail suffering, hardship, sacrifice, the loss of liberty and,sometimes, life.

Albeit, liberty must be won. It is never given by oppressors to the oppressed. Thus, the history of liberty has always consisted in warfare against oppression, persecution, intolerance, bigotry, racism, chauvinism, totalitarianism. From the days of the Athens of Pericles when the first lamp of liberty was held aloft to light the path of man, to the revolt of Negroes in Montgomery against insult in bus transportation, under the matchless leadership of The Reverend Martin Luther King and the Pullman porter, E. D. Nixon, and the Negro students' demonstrations against jim crow in stores, and the uprising of the masses in Hungary, Nyasaland and Tibet, men have fought, bled, and died for the right to be free, or the right to act in accordance with their desires.

Indeed, the struggle of man for a free world has been enriched and inspired by the history and philosophy of Greece. While the Magna Charta of England dates from the 13th Century, it would be difficult to overestimate the liberalizing influence of the Greek classics on British thinkers in the 17th and 18th Centuries. If the Renaissance was primarily an artistic movement in Italy, it resulted in a civil and political movement in England. Even the Reformation in England was subordinated to the Bourgeois Revolution for individual liberty.

No one can gainsay that the influence of Aristotle was especially stron in the early stirrings of men against despotism. Moore, Hobbes, Bacon - all wrestled with questions of human liberty that were first raised by the Athenians Milton, in the Areopagitica, cites the examples of the ancients for the struggle for intellectual liberty.

But I beseech you to set your sight beyond the horizon of Athens, with all its dreams, its doctrine of human excellence, its grace and beauty of art, its reaches and challenge of philosophy, for even Plato had no concept of the principle of the universal unity of mankind and the dignity of the human personality of every human being - the gift of the Judeo-Christian tradition, since even the culture of Athens rested upon a pillow of flesh of human slaves.

Stake your faith in the great moral values of truth, honesty, love, freedom, and justice.

While material goods of this world are necessary they are not a sine qua non for the good life. Verily, what profiteth a man to gain this world and lose his soul?

Though the Negro, in his fight for first-class citizenship, needs to develop allies, such as labor, church, and business, it is well to realize that, in the final analysis, salvation must come from within. History attests to the fact that while your friends may help you they cannot save you; you must save yourself. But you will be ill-equipped to save yourself unless you have built the character, granite-like in pattern, which can stand up for that which is rig though unpopular, under sharp test and trial.

In every age of human history, those who would be free had to bear the Cross. It was the lot of labor, and still is. It was the lot of the early Christians. It is the lot of Africa and Asia. It is the lot of the Negro in ou own land.

The night, however dark, is never endless. The star of the break of the dawn of day is not far. The hour of decision and action is now.

In the words of the Psalmist: "I will lift mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my strength."

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT THE
CONFERENCE ON AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD AFRICA,
CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT INTERNATIONAL CENTER,
NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 9, 1961

THE CHALLENGE OF AFRICA

The Color Bar

The failure of the United States to meet the challenge of emerging black Africa primarily derives from its failure to meet the challenge of black America. It is essentially a question of color bar, a deeply embedded institution that cuts across every phase of American life, being projected onto the global scene and adversely affecting our relations with the black masses of Africa. Since the United States has failed in recognizing and positively and thoroughly acting on the democratic demands of some twenty million American men and women of color, it finds itself unable to recognize and accept the legitimate demands of some two hundred and twenty million Africans for freedom and the right, the natural right, of political self-determination. The failure is as grave as it is profound, and requires a radical shift in American attitudes in relation to black people, wherever they may be domiciled.

It is frequently advanced that the United States' commitment to NATO limits, if not prevents, the United States from taking a forceful anti-colonial stance. It is argued that NATO is comprised of some of the major colonial powers seeking to control and dominate Africa, and should the United States not support these colonial powers, NATO would be undermined and the strategic position of the West would be no longer adequate to contain and resist the advance of communism.

In short, strategic considerations are given primary weighting in explaining United States foreign policy in Africa.

However, are not such countries as Great Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal laboring under white supremacist attitudes in their relations to the Africans? Do we not find the insidious institution of color bar working in full force, defining the undemocratic relations existing between these colonial powers and the heroic black people of Africa who have been struggling to win their freedom, independence and political self-determination? Is it simply fortuituous that the United States has operating within her borders the color bar, and is strategically tied to those colonial powers that have the same nefarious institution in their dealings, control and domination, with black Africa?

I submit to you it is no accident that we find this unwholesome set of relationships. We are experiencing the rotten fruits of centuries of domination and exploitation by one race of people over another. This subjugation of black peoples by whites began with the beginning of Western capitalism and has continued and developed over the years up to the present time, where it represents the most critical and urgent problem confronting the Western powers in their relations to the peoples of color.

Of course, this critical problem is compounded by the rapid rise of communism as a world force. Where less than a half-century ago, colonialism and imperialism as practiced by the Western capitalist countries had free reign to plunder and deceive unencumbered by a competing ideology, we find today a radically altered set of conditions.

The heretofore oppressed peoples of the world can now choose, are choosing, and will choose between the two competing ideologies, and they will choose on the basis of their experiences, traditions, and understanding of their own destiny. This is not to say that the choice is between capitalism or communism as such, for these major systems will be reflected on and used by the emerging people of color as they may determine to be in their best interest. What creates the crisis for the West, including the United States, is the probability that Western democracy and capitalism as practiced in relation to the peoples of color may be totally and violently rejected unless a radical, truly democratic reorientation is effected, and effected now.

This, then, provides the context for our exploration of key issues confronting the United States in her relations with black Africa. Let us now look more specifically at the historical record to determine where and how we have failed to meet the challenge of Africa. Perhaps a deeper awareness and better understanding of this failure can lead to a more sensible foreign policy in our relations to the emerging black power of Africa.

The Slave Trade and Slavery - Beginnings of Colonialism and Imperialism

As Dr. Kwame Nkrumah said in his address to the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations, and I quote:

> "For years Africa has been the footstool of colonialism and imperialism, exploitation and degradation. From the north to the south, from east to the west, her sons languished in the chains of slavery and humiliation, and Africa's exploiters and self-appointed controllers of her destiny strode across our land with incredible inhumanity without mercy, without shame, and without honor."

The colonial and imperialist domination of Africa is a story that goes back several centuries when Africa was discovered as a source of slave labor and rich natural resources. After this discovery, the conquest of Africa ensued and has plagued mankind up to the present time.

The civilizations of Africa were already greatly advanced at the beginning of the Renaissance - the rebirth of civilization in Europe. Prior to the fifteenth century, in the black Sudan nations, civilizations had existed and passed on to higher stages of African culture. Melle, one of the great African civilizations which flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, yielded before Songhay, a great Empire that flourished during the fifteenth century. Songhay was a powerful, organized nation approximately two-thirds the size of the United States, and it enjoyed a high measure of trade, commerce and culture which, through its University of Sankore, extended to Spain, Italy, and the Eastern Roman Empire. On the West Coast of Africa, the city-states and Atlantic cultures fought the attacks from the Sudan, the Arabs in the Nile Valley, and the emigration of the Bantu, who invaded the kingdoms of the Congo. Here, on the west coast of Africa, the rapacious plunder of Africa began and by its very nature transformed the world.

The level of civilization in black Africa south of the Sudan was unquestionably equal to Europe. Students of African history have revealed that the Negroid influence in the Valley of the Nile was one of the principal forces in Egypt's development from 2100 to 1600 B.C. In East, South and West Africa human cultures of a high order developed from 1600 B.C. to 1500 A.D. and left great works of art that reflected a high stage of human development. However, forces were at work in other parts of the world that soon destroyed the Sudanese empires, undermined law and order in the Nile, decimated the healthy populations of East and Central Africa, and smashed the culture of West Africa, forces set in motion by the vicious exploitation which emerged from European culture.

In Europe, between 1400 and 1800 there took place a great transformation from feudalism to the beginnings of capitalism. Science, the rejection of superstition and dogma, democratic government, discovery and trade, were some of the major developments during this time. With these developments went a new enslavement of labor which, in turn, gave rise to revolutionary demands for democracy and social freedom. There existed a need for slave labor, and the major powers of Europe turned toward Africa.

The discovery of America did not simply provide natural resources, but also provided a new and expanding market for European manufacturers through the exchange of tobacco, sugar and cotton for manufactured goods. The mercantile system came into being and world trade greatly increased. In short, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were given to trade, and trade gave rise to the development of capitalism.

Portugal, after 1530, had established an empire in Guinea and commerce expanded. Then came the death of King Sebastian, who was killed in his attack on the Moors in North Africa in 1578. Thereafter, Portugal came under the domination of Spain, and West Africa, after putting up some resistance, became a part of the

Spanish empire. Philip II of Spain fought to defend his African empire, but was weakened and eventually forced out of Africa by papal decree. After Portugal was annexed to Spain in 1581, there came the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588 by England, which all but finished the commercial empire of Spain and Portugal. Here began the rise of the British Empire.

There ensued a bitter struggle for Guinea by the English, the French and the Dutch. In 1602, the Dutch took over the Portuguese islands and settlements and formed the East India Company. The Dutch and British fought to dominate the Atlantic trade. The British, Dutch and Portuguese fought in India, and in their competitive struggle destroyed the trade of the German Hanseatic League and wrecked the economic dominance of Spain. Jamaica was taken by Cromwell and was made a center of British slavery and slave trading.

During the seventeenth century the African slave trade to America developed. However, it was not yet a trade characterized by black, for the Mohammedan rulers of Egypt were trafficking in white slaves from Europe and Asia, transporting them to Palestine, syria and the Nile Valley.

Though mercantilism continued as the dominant theory of commerce and African gold continued to pour into Europe and India, the importation of gold from Africa and silver from Peru was becoming less attractive. There arose instead a tremendous demand for human labor to raise sugar and tobacco in the West Indies and North America.

This development came about through slave labor becoming inordinately profitable. The Thirty Years' War brought great devastation and the demand for labor in Europe made impossible any sizeable exportation of labor to America. Sugar, cotton, and tobacco were most profitably produced on plantations by slave labor. This type of capitalism as a method of production, coupled with trade, became the major economic force in Europe.

With the end of the Civil War in England (in 1660), England embarked on the slave trade to provide the labor to work in her sugar and tobacco colonies. The import of slaves to America increased, thereby raising the production of sugar, cotton and indigo which, in turn were brought to England for processing. Some of these processed foods were exported to Africa in exchange for more slaves. This economic relationship became institutionalized as a major area for investment. Slaves, therefore, became an economic necessity and the slave trade rapidly expanded and became a major source of capital accumulation.

By 1750, manufacturing in England was thoroughly connected with the colonial trade. The realization of huge profits provided the capital which financially and economically supported the Industrial Revolution.

The forces which eventually came to oppose the slave trade were many. The slaves themselves, through many revolts, the American and French revolutions, the continued cultivation of sugar in Spanish and Portuguese colonies by cheap slave labor all made the slave trade, controlled and dominated by England, less profitable. Gradually, a transfer of investments took place. Black slavery and the slave trade were scrapped for colonial imperialism, and England, the architect of slavery in America during the eighteenth century, abolished the slave trade in 1807 and became, in the nineteenth century, a formidable colonial-imperialistic power.

England also attempted to outlaw the slave trade by the United States, Portugal and Spain. Not long after, in large measure sparked by the Haitian Revolution (1791-1803), which undermined the entire slave system of the West Indies and also of continental America, the African slave trade as well as slavery in America had run their course. The revolt in Haiti fed into the abolition movement in the United States and had a revolutionary impact on every island of the West Indies. The slave worker had to be pacified or else the entire economic structure based on slave labor would be destroyed. Therefore, in 1833 England abolished slavery and the Emancipation Proclamation came during the Civil War in the United States.

Though the United States did not directly become involved in colonial imperialism, after the Civil War the industrial revolution transformed the United States into a world power and, beginning in 1890, it too became involved in imperialistic adventures.

Now, I have taken this historical sketch to illustrate the beginnings of what we are here concerned about. For with the African slave trade and slavery emerge the doctrine of white supremacy, a rationalization that justified the violent and ruthless enslavement of untold millions of black peoples. The one basic and lasting result of the African slave trade and slavery on the European and American mind and culture was to degrade black labor, thereby all labor, which, in turn, negated respect for all humanity. On the pretext that black is inferior and white superior, mankind was crucified. We continue to suffer this crucifixion.

Contemporary Colonial and Imperialist Domination of Africa

The colonization and imperialist domination of Africa fully got underway during the latter half of the nineteenth century and was fully established during the early twentieth century. After the traffic in slaves, the merchant traders in search of other profitable sources penetrated inland and staked out territorial claims. Political conquest followed and was accomplished during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Thereafter ensued the initial stages of economic control by building systems of transportation and making capital investments (some from the United States) in mining and agricultural enterprises along with the migration of Europeans to the principal areas of investment.

This economic conquest was finalized after World War II by the systematic and accelerated extraction of Africa's resources, with government investment, including the United States, assuming and important role.

It is important to note that when the scramble for territory throughout Africa was approaching a crisis, brought on by conflicting claims, a conference of the colonial powers assembled in Berlin, from which came in February, 1885, the General Act of Berlin, which was, in effect, a gentleman's agreement for the partition of Africe. United States representatives participated in this conference.

Europe had advanced in industrial production and by 1870 had to seek foreign markets. Africa was ideally suited, for it had rich natural resources, a cheap source of black labor and unlimited possibilities for the realization of profits. France, Great Britain, Germany, Belgium and Portugal organized investment capital in a miscellany of companies, and the grab of African land was on. Between 1880 and 1900, there took place an unparalleled seizure of property all over Africa. By 1900 an area larger than China, India and the United States had been colonized by these European powers. There remained only Morocco, which was occupied by France in 1912; Ethiopia, which successfully withstood an Italian invasion in the battle of Adowa in 1896; and Liberia, which was spared by its close economic tie to the United States.

After World War I, Germany's colonies were distributed to Britain, France, Belgium and the Union of South Africa in the form of "mandates" under the League of Nations. These "mandates" were to be held as a "trust" to be administered in the interest and welfare of the native inhabitants. These "trusts" have been crudely and thoroughly violated.

In essence, there has developed a set of economic and political relationships that have sought, and are still seeking, to tie Africa to the West. The colonial powers have great economic stakes in Africa, and have collaborated with each other to promote the exploitation of African raw materials. In September, 1952 the fourteen-member Consultative Assembly of Europe met and formulated the "Strassbourg Plan." This plan, which specially emphasizes Africa, decreed that there should be an "open door" in the colonies for economic interests and nationals of all member states, colonial powers and otherwise. It was concerned with the coordination of investment programs in every region of Africa and every natural resource.

Another meeting took place in October 1955 and committees of experts were created to make a thorough study of all problems involved. In 1956, a common market was agreed upon by France, Belgium, West Germany, Holland, Italy and Luxemburg. This agreement was formalized by a treaty signed in Rome on March 25, 1957. The creation of an economic Eurafrica was one of the main features of this Agreement, which focused on the development of African natural resources.

The United States, though not formally a part of this agreement, nonetheless has played an active role in the planning of these economic schemes. The Organization for European Economic Cooperation, established by ECA in 1948, brought Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal together to discuss the method by which their colonies could assist in the rehabilitation of Europe.

In addition to American investors being eagerly interested in investment opportunities in Africa, the U. S., through its Mutual Security Commitments and the need for strategic raw materials, has found it necessary to effect close collaboration with the colonial powers dominating Africa.

I have attempted to establish the basic framework in which, and out of which, American foreign policy vis-a-vis Africa evolves. The color bar, the slave trade and slavery, the industrial revolution and rise of capitalism, colonialism and imperialism are profound historical realities, forces which have had a determining effect on United States foreign policy in regard to black Africa. It may prove useful to keep these historical forces in mind as we explore the various policy issues later in the Conference.

I would now like to make a brief statement on Black Africa, then on our foreign policy, and I am done.

Africa - The Emerging Black Power

The continent of Africa, including Madagascar, is three times the size of Europe, four times the size of the United States. All of Europe, China, India and the United States could be circumscribed within its borders. It is five thousand miles long by four thousand six hundred miles wide. Its northern half is larger than the southern half, which tapers off. The equator cuts across the middle of Africa and the entire continent is situated mainly in the tropics.

There are in Africa equatorial and tropical climates, and varied climates limited to smaller areas. Africa is a beautiful land of great extremes and variations. This great land is endowed with rich deposits of many different minerals and natural resources. The natural and human resources of Africa hold out tremendous potential for economic development.

The second largest continent in the world is currently populated by some 220,000,000 indigenous Africans. Approximately 5,500,000 Europeans live among the native Africans. The majority of them can be found in Algeria and South Africa.

Overshadowing all else in Africa today is the revolution of human rights symbolized by the fires of nationalist revolts sweeping over the continent, crushing, with a mighty revolutionary force, the decaying systems of colonialism and racialism. Emerging from these nationalist revolts, we see the beginnings of an independent Africa.

H owever, African political independence is being checked by various systems of control that would deny to the Africans their full right of self-determination. The recent development in the Congo, where the Congolese were granted independence with one hand, and had it taken back with the other, is a crude and ugly example of what all of black Africa must be aware. Freedom is never given. It is won through blood and struggle, and after it is won it must be continually fought for in order that it be maintained and allowed to develop.

Since the various forms of political control reflect the stages of political advancement of black Africa, per me to briefly mention them.

There exist five general basic forms of political control in Africa. They are:

1. African political independence
2. Transition to African political independence
3. Settler-whites in political control of independent or semi-independent states
4. Colonies politically controlled from European capitals
5. Colonies where the central governments share political control with the colonial inhabitants

We have recently seen sixteen new African states taken into membership of the United Nations. Prior to this great historical event, Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, the Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco and Ghana had gained their political independence.

Algeria is an example of a country in transition to political independence.

The Dominion of the Union of South Africa and South-West Africa exemplify the independent countries politically controlled by white settlers.

The colonies of Portugal, which are politically controlled from Lisbon by local administrators functioning as part of the metropolitan government are an example of the fourth form of political control.

French West Africa is an example of the fifth category, where the central government shares political control with the colonial inhabitants.

Needless to say, the only acceptable form of government desired and demanded by black men and women of Africa is full complete independence, with political responsibility in the hands of black Africans. As President Kwame Nkrumah stated in his speech before the fifteenth General Assembly, and again I quote:

> "One cardinal fact of our time is the momentous impact of Africa's awakening upon the modern world. The flowing tide of African nationalism sweeps everything before it and constitutes a challenge to the colonial powers to make a just restitution for the years of injustice and crime committed against our continent."

There can be no question that the basic, fundamental goal of the entire African people is the right of political self-determination, from which democratic government and control of natural resources and land will eventually develop for the economic well-being of black African labor. This development is the logical and natural flow of the historical complex I have mentioned. It is an irresistable historical process that is already in force, and we should also keep this in mind as we explore United States foreign policy in Africa.

The Challenge to the United States

The recent alienation of African interests and support as a result of the pro-colonial voting record of the United States in the fifteenth United Nations General Assembly is symptomatic of the basic historical forces that I have described. The United States has failed to meet the great challenge of African liberation, and this failure is rooted in history.

The loss of prestige suffered by the United States in the first part of the Fifteenth Assembly session was a grave setback to the building of positive, friendly and mutually beneficial relations between the peoples of Africa and the United States. By abstaining on the colonialism resolution, on the Algerian resolution, on the resolution ontransmission of information (under Article 73e of the U.N. Charter) which was aimed at Portugal, and on the resolution on South-West Africa inviting the Committee on South-West Africa to visit this territory, while, at the same time, supporting Portugal for a non-permanent member's seat on the Secutiry Council, and expressing uncompromising determination to seat the Kasavubu delegation, at a time when twenty-six independent African nations carefully observed the proceedings, the United States delegation unquestionably did great damage to the United

States position vis-a-vis black Africa.

(I note that tomorrow morning the Conference will explore in some detail the performance of the United States at the fifteenth session of the U. N. General Assembly.)

Permit me to say that the United States has never had a constructive, forthright and positive policy for Africa. The debacle at the U. N. is but one instance of the general failure of the United States to meet the challenge of Africa.

The Africans are aware that most of American private investment is to be found in such areas as the Union of South Africa where there are substantial white populations. They know that some two-thirds of United States mutual security expenditures in Africa during the past years have been made in North Africa where United States military bases are located.

Black Africa is also aware that the annual U. S. foreign aid to Africa is meagre, less than the aid made available to South Korea. There can be no question in the minds of Africans that the United States has not yet seriously considered Africa for constructive programs of economic assistance.

The existence of the color bar in the United States and the denial of equality to twenty million men and women of color is reflected in our fumbling approach to Africa. Failure to effect a forceful and effective policy on civil rights within the United States in part explains U. S. failure to achieve a positive foreign policy in regard to black Africa, for our foreign policy is basically a reflection and continuation of our domestic policy.

In addition, black Africa is fully aware of racial and ethnic discrimination in the United States. In the African mind, there is much question over the sincerity of the United States in relation to supporting black Africa in its historical struggle for political and economic liberation when, in certain parts of the United States, black people cannot vote or sit at lunch counters.

Africa's freedom is inevitable. However, it can create much violence, destruction and waste if the United States fails to exercise its great influence to adjust and ease the opposing forces that must be resolved in favor of African independence.

This challenge cannot be met by another "reappraisal", for the requirements of meeting it are not simply intellectualistic or moralistic. A radical shift not only in attitude, but in economic and political policy vis-a-vis- Africa is necessary. This is not easy task for the United States Government or the American people, for we ourselves are plagued by the color bar. Nonetheless, either we act according to the dictates of historv or we shall lose a great opportunity to assist in building and being a part of what shall prove one of the greatest experiments in democracy the world has seen.

The United States, notwithstanding the fact that Europe has a much larger interest in Africa, can play a decisive role in either advancing or impeding the peaceful liberation of Africa. In the West, the United States is the major economic power and can exercise its influence in the European capitals as well as in the settler-ruled countries in Africa. It is essentially a question of either using the great power and authority of the United States in the United Nations and elsewhere for African freedom or maintaining support for the African colonial powers.

There can be no question that it would be in the political, economic, strategic and cultural interest of the United States to decide in favor of Africa's complete liberation.

In a democratic society, the ultimate responsibility for governmental action rests with the people. Unless the American people voice their opposition to the colonial imperialist domination of Africa, and demand of their government an enlightened African foreign policy, Africans and Americans will suffer as will the cause of historical struggle for human freedom, equality and justice.

Verily, this is the age of revolutions for human rights. It is expressed by the fact that Asia is now under process of consolidating its nationalist revolutions of rising expectations. It is reflected by Africa, aflame with the passion for freedom and independence. In America it is noted by the civil rights revolution marked by the resounding march of intrepid and determined Negro students with their sit-in demonstrations in the South against the whole color caste culture of America.

Albeit, the age of revolutions for human rights will never end until all men are free.

In this struggle for human dignity Africa will do well to beware of capitalist imperialistic colonialism of the West and communist imperialistic colonialism of the East.

And, may the great moral, creative world force of the United Nations, probably the last great hope of man for peace, help achieve this end.

STATEMENT OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
PRESIDENT, NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 3, 1961

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee: My name is A. Philip Randolph. I am National President of the Negro American Labor Council. I want to express my pleasure for the opportunity to make a statement on race discrimination in trade unions and industry.

Any discussion regarding the matter of Negro labor in New York City or elsewhere must begin with the understanding that today the Negro community is faced with a major crisis - a crisis of unemployment.

Since March, 1958, Negro unemployment has been almost consistently two and one-half times greater than the white unemployment rate, and recent data released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor points out that while Negroes comprise 4 per cent of the nation's industrial work force they represent 21 per cent of those unemployed throughout the nation.

In New York City, as well as throughout the State, non-white persons make up a very large part of those who live in poverty; a poverty that is frequently related to discriminatory racial practices that forces Negroes into a marginal position in the economy, even though opportunities may increase for other groups within the community.

The two major industries in New York City are garment manufacturing and printing and publishing. These two industries account for well over one-half the manufacturing employees in Manhattan. The printing and publishing industry alone employs more than 160 thousand workers, or about 9 per cent of the manufacturing labor force in the New York metropolitan region. In both garment manufacturing and printing, however, we find that Negroes and Puerto Ricans are concentrated in the low paid, unskilled job classifications.

The Graduate School of Public Administration of Harvard University recently conducted a series of case studies in New York metropolitan manufacturing and concluded that in the New York garment industry Negroes and Puerto Ricans "were largely to be found in the less skilled, low-paid crafts and in shops making the lower priced lines, and in this industry their advancement to higher skills is not proceeding very rapidly. In the higher skilled coat and suit industry the new ethnic groups have hardly made an appearance. In short, Negro and Puerto Rican women, who are on lower rungs of the city's economic ladder, have become important in the New York garment industry but they work mainly in the more standardized branches and, with few exceptions, they do not become highly skilled tailors and system workers on dresses and cloaks. As a result, a shortage of skilled sewing machine operators is developing."

At the present time there is a valid complaint pending with the New York State Commission Against Discrimination against Local 10 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, AFL-CIO and a large garment manufacturer in this city, which is indicative of how some trade unions and employers are jointly responsible for the lack of Negro workers enjoying equal employment opportunities.

The New York metropolitan region, with something less than one per cent of the nation's population, has 20 per cent of the nation's employment in printing and publishing. In a survey made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of Negro employment on the seven major New York City newspapers we find that, with the exclusion of building service and maintenance, less than one per cent of those employed on the seven major newspapers are Negroes. Virtually all of the Negroes that are employed on these newspapers are within the white collar jurisdiction of the New York Newspaper Guild.

We estimate that less than one-half of one percent of those currently employed in the newspaper crafts outside of the Guild's jurisdiction are Negroes. This includes printing pressmen, compositors, photo-engravers, stereotypers, paper handlers, mailers and delivery drivers.

As far as apprenticeship training for these crafts are concerned we have been unable to detect a single instance in which a Negro has been recently admitted to an apprenticeship training program in the newspaper or printing crafts in the City of New York.

We note with great dismay that in this city and elsewhere very little progress has been made in eliminating discriminatory racial practices within organized labor.

The Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, a major affiliate of the AFL-CIO, maintains an all-Negro segregated local in this city, with separate racial seniority rosters limiting the job mobility and seniority rights of Negro union members.

The Seafarers International Union operates union controlled hiring halls in New York City and Buffalo. As a systematic practice this Union will dispatch Negro workers as messmen only for the galley department of ships operating under SIU agreement. In 1951, the New York State Commission Against Discrimination ordered this Union to eliminate the discriminatory practices in its hiring halls, but recent investigation indicates that there is only occasional and token compliance in the port of New York and a rigid pattern of union discrimination in Buffalo and other Great Lakes ports.

The building trades unions today, as in the past, remain the very citadel of anti-Negro discrimination in organized labor. The basic fact of craft unions in the building trades industry is that they control access to employment by virtue of their rigid control of the hiring process. The refusal to admit Negroes into full and equal membership clearly denies Negro workers opportunity to secure employment in major private and public construction projects.

In the past decade very little progress has been made in eliminating the traditional pattern of Negro exclusion and discrimination in the Plumbers and Pipe Fitters Union; the Iron and Structural Steel Workers; the Plasterers and Lathers; the Sheet Metal Workers; the Boiler Makers; the Carpenters, as well as the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Union, and others.

Here in New York City, Negro waiters and bellboys are more noted by their absence than presence in the hotels and restaurants except, perhaps, in a token form at some banquets. However, Negroes are members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union. One will need the proverbial microscope to discover a Negro bartender anywhere in the city except in a Negro community.

Negro motion picture operators have no job mobility. They are chiefly confined to the second-class motion picture theatres in Harlem where they receive a sub-wage differential paid operators in this class of theatre.

In 20th Century America, poverty is most often a function of low worker productivity and frequently non-white workers are denied the opportunity to develop industrial and technical skills as a result of discriminatory racial practices.

In this city, as elsewhere throughout the nation, the matter of apprenticeship and other forms of technical training is increasingly the decisive factor in determining the status of non-white workers in the industrial economy.

The passage of fair employment practices legislation becomes relatively meaningless if large numbers of wage earners solely because of their race and color are denied the opportunity to secure competent industrial and technical training.

At present there is a broad exclusion of Negro youth from major apprenticeship programs jointly conducted by industrial management and labor unions in the City of New York. For many occupations the only way a worker can be recognized as qualified for employment is to complete the apprenticeship training program. This is true for the printing trades, among machinists and metal workers, for the construction industry, and others.

The role of the labor union in these occupations is decisive because the trade union usually determines who is admitted into the training program and, therefore, who is admitted into the union. This is especially true when the union controls access to employment.

In the New York metropolitan area there are many apprenticeship training programs in the building trades. Apprenticeship programs provide essential training for a wide variety of skills in this important area of the region's economy. These include apprenticeship programs for asbestos workers, electrical workers, glaziers, ironworkers, latherers, painters, plasterers, plumbers, rodmen, sheetmetal workers, steamfitters, stone cutters, stone and marble masons, and tile and terrazzo workers.

A recent study by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People clearly indicates that less than one per cent of the apprentices in the construction industry throughout the nation are Negroes. Unfortunately, the number of Negroes in apprenticeship training programs in the New York construction industry differs little from the national pattern. If Negroes are in apprenticeship programs at all it is in shoe repairing, upholstery and restaurant cooking.

It is important to note that in the ten-year period from 1950 to 1960, in the State of New York, the increase of Negro participation in building trades apprenticeship training programs rose only from 1.5 per cent to 2 per cent. In most of these programs the role of the labor union is decisive because the trade union usually determines who is admitted into the training program and, therefore, who is admitted into the union.

The lack of apprentice-trained Negro craftsmen directly affects the economic standing of Negroes as a whole. Data indicates that craftsmen command substantially higher incomes than unskilled workers. If, then, Negroes are not employed in such occupations in large numbers, a potential source of high income is removed from this group. When this is coupled with other income limitations it becomes apparent why Negroes constitute a permanently depressed segment of American society, and that includes New York City.

I wish to register my rejection of assertions and implications to the effect that the Negro American Labor Council and Negro leaders are anti-union because they are anti-race bias, as not only incorrect and unsound but obviously unfair in light of the following social facts:

One, the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People gave their support to, and co-operated with the AFL-CIO unstintingly, consistently and vigorously in the fight against the movement to enact anti-trade union right-to-work laws in California and Ohio in 1959.

It is probably an understatement to point out that had it not been for the fact that the NAACP fought side by side with the AFL-CIO, through public meetings and newspaper releases, organized labor might have lost this fight against the right-to-work laws' movement. This would have encouraged the anti-labor forces of reaction throughout the nation. Certainly, this action of the NAACP does not indicate any anti-union attitude of Negro leaders.

Two, since the leadership of the AFL-CIO proudly boasts of the part labor played in the endorsement and election of President Kennedy, they probably would not consider the role of Negro leaders in the election of the President, which was not inconsiderable, as anti-union.

Here again, Negro leaders and leaders of labor worked side by side for the achievement of a common political objective, which definitely refutes the reckless allegation that Negro leaders are anti-union because they are anti-union bias. Of course, all Negro leaders did not work for the election of President Kennedy, nor did all labor leaders.

Three, what about the consistent support the distinguished Chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, has given labor and social legislation throughout the years? He piloted the minimum wage lesiglation through the House.

In fact, I know of no instance when any one of the Negro congressmen has voted against labor and social legislation. Negro members of State Legislatures throughout the nation have about as good a record as the white members in voting on labor and social legislation. This, certainly, is not a record of anti-union activity of Negro leaders in the Congress and State Legislatures.

Thus, the only reason why Negro trade unionists and leaders continue to be critical of some national and international unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO is because some of these unions continue discriminatory racial practices.

The complaint, by some leaders of the AFL-CIO, that criticism by the Negro American Labor Council and Negro leaders is weakening its public image is hardly logically placed. Certainly, the Negro American Labor Council and Negro leaders do not, and would not seek to hurt organized labor. On the contrary, they are helping it.

The fact is, the leadership of labor has been, and still is the architect of the downgrading of its own public image, by an uncanny gift for ineptitude of phrase and untimely deed on matters involving race. I deplore this situation and naturally will work to change it, for a strong, free, democratic labor movement is the only hope and salvation of black and white workers alike.

Moreover, this condition is the direct result of the fact that there is practically no meaningful communication or dialogue between the leaders of the Negro community and the labor community.

Thus, the chasm between the two communities widens, not only to the detriment of the Negro workers and the trade union movement at home but worsens the image of American labor and the United States among the peoples in Africa and Asia, who cannot understand how the most powerful national trade union center and the most powerful nation in the world can preach democracy to the world and maintain at home second-class membership and second-class citizenship, based upon race and color.

REPLY TO OCTOBER 12, 1961 REPORT OF AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL SUBCOMMITTEE ON MEMORANDUM ON CIVIL RIGHTS SUBMITTED BY VICE PRESIDENT A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, JUNE 25-30, 1961

After describing the contents of the Memorandum On Civil Rights submitted by myself to the Executive Council, at Unity House, Pennsylvania, June 25-30, 1961, the report of the subcommittee proceeded to strike down the memorandum by the technique of refutation and allegation.

Now, before dealing with various sections of the report let me, at the outset, make it clear that the leaders of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Negro American Labor Council are not waging warfare against President George Meany or the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations but against race bias in the American Labor Movement, represented by the AFL-CIO, industry and government.

NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

The report states, concerning the memorandum's discussion of the reasons for and aims of the Negro American Labor Council, that:

"There is no mention, however, of any concrete or specific actions taken by the Negro American Labor Council, in the course of the year and a half of the Council's existence, to help eliminate race bias in unions, in employment or in any other field of life."

My reply is that:

One, the NALC held a notable Workshop and Institute on Race Bias in Trade Unions, Industry and Government in Washington, D. C., February, 1961, to which President Kennedy sent greetings and Arthur Goldberg, Secretary of Labor, spoke, along with outstanding Negro leaders.

Two, smaller but constructive workshop conferences on race bias and unemployment and apprenticeship training have been held in New York City, Chicago and San Francisco, the primary purpose of which was and is the informing, awakening and mobilizing of the Negro workers and the Negro community to grapple with this evil of racial discrimination against black labor.

Three, the NALC made an objective survey of race bias on the waterfront in New York City which inspired Negro longshoremen, in massive form, to confront the ILA officials with their grievances of race prejudice and to hold a press conference to tell the public their story.

Four, the NALC directed an educational campaign among Negro delegates against the segregated Virginia State AFL-CIO Convention in Norfolk, Va., in August, 1961 and succeeded in the desegregation of the convention after the Executive Council and President George Meany, to whom the problem had been presented, had failed to do anything effective about it.

Five, testimony on race bias in trade unions and industry was given before the Committee on Labor and Education in New York City and Washington, D. C. during 1961, by the President of the NALC.

The Negro American Labor Council invited and requested President George Meany to address the Founding Convention in Detroit, Michigan, May, 1960, and the Workshop and Institute on Race Bias in Trade Unions, Industry and Government, February, 1961. He refused the invitations. Only three top-flight leaders of labor have addressed a meeting of the NALC. They are Walter Reuther, President of the United Auto Workers, I. W. Abel, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Steel Workers and Ralph Helstein, President of the United Packinghouse Workers.

FAILURE OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE HOUSE OF LABOR

However, it is proper and correct to point out that the civil rights movement formally initiated in the House of Labor upon the merger of the AFL-CIO in 1955, is an utter failure.

Why?

The failure can be placed squarely at the door of George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO and the Executive Council.

Reason:

He, nor the Executive Council, ever placed the full moral weight of his or its powerful influence back of civil rights in the labor movement. Nor has President Meany ever involved himself seriously personally.

But this was not the case with respect to the struggle to merge the AFL-CIO. It was not the case with the fight against Communists and Communism. It was not the case with respect to the drive to oust the racketeers and corrupt influences in labor. On these three major struggles, President Meany did not only place the full force of his office back of the issues but he involved himself personally by taking command of the campaigns. All three movements were successful.

CIVIL RIGHTS CAUSE IN THE HOUSE OF LABOR NEEDS LEADERSHIP

What the civil rights movement needs in the labor movement today is leadership, which George Meany alone, as President of the AFL-CIO, can give. While I don't charge that he is anti-Negro, he has yet to demonstrate his complete commitment to basic civil rights in the House of Labor.

TOKENISM

Concerning my charge that tokenism is the prevailing approach of meeting the problem of racial segregation in trade unions . . . . , the report states:

"But the assertion in the statement that tokenism 'is the prevailing approach of meeting the problem of racial integration into trade unions', is not supported by evidence and no facts are adduced to justify it."

The reply is that the whole history of efforts to deal with the issue of race bias by the AFL, the CIO, and now the AFL-CIO, have been characterized by tokenism and gradualism.

What else could it be in light of the status of the problem of racial discrimination in the trade unions today?

POSITION PAPER

The Position Paper is promptly disposed of by the claim:

"It devotes three times as much space to race bias by trade unions as it does to race bias by employers."

This may be true,

Why should it be different?

Isn't there less reason for white labor to discriminate against black labor than it is for management to discriminate against black or white labor? And, it is no riddle that on the principle of least labor cost, management will, as a rule, employ any worker or thing it can exploit for profit. Yet, no one contends that management should not bear its burden of guilt for race bias.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

Relative to the charge in the memorandum of exclusion of Negro youth from the apprenticeship programs controlled by unions, the report says:

"The paper ignores the fact that apprenticeship training programs are not, in fact, controlled by unions, and that apprentices are employees of employers, hired by, employed by, and paid by employers. There is no reference to apprenticeship training in the section of this paper dealing with employers."

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION REPORT REFUTES EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

On Page 105, the Civil Rights Commission Report states:

"Although some registered apprenticeships are operated solely by management, the bulk are governed by joint union and employer committees, of which there are some 7,8000 in operation today. These groups exercise complete control over the admission of apprentices. They fix eligibility standards and screen applicants . . . . . . Some programs give preference to sons of employers or current employees.

"Most registered apprentices are found in the construction crafts, where virtually all programs are controlled by joint union and contractor committees.

"Some craft programs have established uniform national standards for admission, but administration is in the hands of the local apprentice body.

"Figures provided by the Bureau of Apprenticeship reveal that out of 12,000 registered apprentices in Chicago, Dallas, Fort Worth, St. Louis, Washington, and Atlanta, over 60 percent are the construction crafts. Almost one-third of the registered apprentices in these cities are in the carpentry, electrical, plumbing, pipefitting and steamfitting crafts. The bulk of the nonconstruction apprentices are in printing, skilled machine and metal trades.

"How effective has the Bureau of Apprenticeship been in encouraging apprenticeship on a nondiscriminatory basis? Unfortunately the Bureau's records do not contain racial information so that it is extremely difficult to get a complete picture. The Commission's studies, however, indicate a very limited participation of nonwhites in apprenticeship training.

"Although 14,5 of the 2 million residents of the St. Louis standard Metropolitan area are nonwhite, less than one-half of 1 percent of the registered apprentices are nonwhite."

Similar pattern emerges from available data in other areas of the country.

On Page 109, referring to construction crafts, as a result of a recent study, the 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Report on Employment states:

"Here the unions exercise a high degree of control over the admission of apprentices, which has frequently been used to exclude Negroes. In the South, many unions have excluded Negroes entirely from the union and therefore from skilled work, or have forced them into all-Negro locals, where they have limited rights and opportunities."

The report also points out . . . . "Similarly, programs that grant preference to relatives of those already in the industry create obvious difficulties for Negroes.

"In the construction trades the prevalence of all-white craft unions may well result in the exclusion of Negroes from apprenticeship training programs - for trainees in this industry are expected to become union members. So long as there is resistance to acceptance of Negroes as members, Negroes can expect similar resistance to acceptance into apprenticeship programs. Discrimination ranges from outright exclusion to more subtle impediments, such as the requirement of sponsorship by persons already employed in the craft."

On Page 127, under the caption "Unions: Impact on Employment", the following statement is made:

"Since some 18 million of the Nation's 80 million workers are covered by collective bargaining agreements, both the internal and external practices of unions significantly affect employment opportunity.

"Internal policies are particularly vital in the skilled craft unions, especially in the building trades, where union membership is practically a condition of employment, and a large proportion of hiring is done directly through unions. Such policies determine admission to membership and affect job referrals and participation in apprenticeship training."

On Page 128, is this statement:

"Union contractors, out of necessity or convenience, rely on the construction craft unions as their sole or primary source of labor."

Thus, it is not difficult to understand the reason for the fact that less than 1 percent of apprentices in the construction crafts throughout the nation are Negroes.

Obviously, the above quoted statements of the Civil Rights Commission's Report on Apprenticeship Training are a complete refutation of the report of the Executive Council, which seeks to exonerate the craft unions for a major share, not all, of the responsibility for discrimination against Negro workers who seek to become apprentices in the skilled trades.

AFL-CIO AND PUNITIVE ACTION AGAINST UNIONS FOR RACE BIAS

In justification for the refusal of the AFL-CIO to employ punitive action against unions on account of race bias, the Executive Council report states:

"But unlike the government which can enforce its laws through court-imposed penalties, a voluntary federation, such as the AFL-CIO, has only one form of punishment at hand to apply to an erring affiliate, namely - expulsion from its ranks."

My reply to this announced policy is how does the Executive Council and President Meany reconcile this doctrine with the expulsion of unions on account of Communists, Communism and corruption? Here is a flagrant contradiction in policy.

The report states further about this question of punitive action against unions:

"It is obvious, of course, that expulsion, as such, does not cure the offending practices. But outside the ranks of the federation, the offending organization is left free to carry on its discriminatory practices -- probably more stubbornly than ever. And, what is most important, once outside the Federation, the membership of such an organization is no longer accessible to corrective influences from the parent body through education and persuasion."

My answer to this double moral standard of the AFL-CIO is, why does it not invite and request the Teamsters Union and its president, James Hoffa, to return into the membership fold of the federation where that union and its officials and members may be accessible to the corrective influences from the parent body through education and persuasion?

RACIAL EXCLUSION FROM CRAFT UNIONS BY TACIT CONSENT

The report states:

"Mr. Randolph bases his generalization on one local union case."

My answer is, I have no doubt that the Executive Council knows there are many more in practically every community in the country where trade unions and Negro workers are.

UNION DEMCCRACY AND RACE BIAS

Under this caption, the report states:

". . . . . Mr. Randolph states that the administration of the AFL-CIO National Headquarters staff should be required and ordered to 're-examine its hiring policies involving race, with a view to bringing them into compliance with the non-discriminatory policy of the AFL-CIO.'

"His obvious implication is that there has been discrimination in hiring on the AFL-CIO Headquarters staff.

"This is false."

My reply is, I hope it is.

RACIAL BARRIERS TO OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Relative to this problem, involving the lack of mobility of Negro bartenders being confined to Negro communities, the report blames the owners of the hotels, taverns and night clubs, and gives the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union a clean bill of health as being free from race bias. The report states:

"The obvious truth is, of course, that discrimination in employment in hotels, restaurants, night clubs and bars is practiced by the employers in these establishments, not by the union."

My reply is that this is just not true. Of course, I agree that management discriminates against Negro help, but management is not alone guilty of this sin. The union, too, must bear its share of the crime.

In order to give the Hotel & Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union absolution of race bias, the report states:

"This International Union has a Civil Rights Committee, under the chairmanship of Richard Smith, an International Vice President, who is a Negro."

My reply is that this does not prove anything. So has the AFL-CIO a Civil Rights Committee, but what has it done? It lacks the courage and will to move ahead. Moreover, Mr. Richard Smith would not dare stand up before a group of Negro members of the Hotel Union and tell them that this union is free from race bias. He wouldn't do it because he knows it isn't true, and the Negro members wouldn't listen to him. This is just one instance of how little the Executive Council and whoever wrote this report knows about the state of race bias in the unions.

As a matter of fact, one needs a microscope to find a Negro waiter in most of the big, first-class hotels, except as a token worker at a banquet, in the big cities, including New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Washington, San Francisco, Miami Beach and other well-known communities.

And although Negroes are members of the Hotel Union, there are local bartenders' unions of this union which have color bars by tacit consent. Negro members of this union are known to have little job mobility, and the employers are not wholly responsible for this.

RACE BIAS IN MOTION PICTURE OPERATOR JOBS

My charge that Negro motion picture operators lack job mobility is rejected as being incorrect. An effort is made to paint Local 306 of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators as a model of free, democratic trade unionism, free from race bias. Assuming that this is true, which is highly doubtful, this is only one motion picture operators local union in New York City. What about motion picture operators' unions in cities throughout the country?

TOKEN INTEGRATION IN CIVIL RIGHTS DEPARTMENT

Concerning my charge that the Civil Rights Department has only token integration, the report states:

"Mr. Randolph makes the incredible assertion that 'the staff (of the Department) had only token interracial composition with one staff person of color, Theodore Brown, now dismissed'."

Reference is made to the brief period when Theodore Brown and George L-P Weaver, two Negroes, were on the staff.

My reply is that the Civil Rights Department still has token staff integration and, unless there has been a recent change, not even token integration of the office force.

FAILURE TO DESEGREGATE JIM CROW UNIONS

Commenting on my charge that the AFL-CIO has failed to move to desegregate jim crow unions, the report states:

"This statement is false and gratuitous. Of the list of union cases worked on and successfully resolved by the AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights it will suffice to note a few of the most recent examples of difficult situations where integration was successfully achieved, such as the Fire Fighters Local Union in Washington, D. C., where 7 Negro members have been integrated; Plumbers' Local 55 in Cleveland, Ohio; Rodmen's Local of Ironworkers in Washington, D. C. and Fire Fighters Local Union in Baltimore, Md., where the majority of Negro Fire Fighters in the City now belong to the Union."

The integration of Negro Fire Fighters into the Fire Fighters Local Union in Baltimore, after a prolonged struggle in which the Negro American

Labor Council had a hand, can hardly be accredited to the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. It is entitled to more credit for the integration of Negro Fire Fighters into the Washington, D. C. Fire Fighters Local Union, which followed and was largely motivated by the success of the fight against race bias in the Fire Fighters' Union in Baltimore.

The report failed to add that the AFL-CIO willingly accepted a compromise proposal for Negro members which smacked of membership inequality in the Fire Fighters Union in Baltimore which the Negro Fire Fighters promptly rejected.

And it is not ungracious to inquire as to where was the AFL-CIO during all the years before 1961, when Negro Fire Fighters were barred from the union not only in Baltimore and Washington, D. C., but in New York City and in practically every city in the country?

BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS CALLED LAX ON RACE DISCRIMINATION

Stung by criticism to the effect that the AFL-CIO is trying to brainwash labor and the public into accepting a whitewash of a do-little civil rights record, the Executive Council resorts to the old diversionary tactics of trying to divert attention from its own sins of commission and omission by pointing its finger at the alleged sins of the accuser.

Thus, the report makes a dishonorable, disgraceful and cheap, petty attack upon the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a distinguished, respected and progressive member of the family of trade unions of the AFL-CIO, by attempting to discredit it by distortion and misrepresentation.

The report states, without rhyme or reason:

"It should be noted that, in his own Union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the employment policy of the Pullman Company in the United States (although not in Canada) has been based for many years on racial discrimination, with employment as Pullman porters being accorded to non-whites only. There is no evidence of any effort by Mr. Randolph to get the Pullman Company to agree to employment without regard to race or color and to negotiate a non-discrimination clause in his union's contract with the company."

My reply is, why should I negotiate a non-discrimination clause in contracts with the Pullman Company? Has the Executive Council ever heard of a white man applying to the Pullman Company for a Pullman porter's job who was turned down on account of race or color? No white man, to my knowledge, has made any complaint about a color bar against white men seeking porters' jobs. This straw man type of proposition has no comparable logic or reality with the problem the Negro worker faces when he seeks to get a job to earn a living or when he seeks to learn a trade to get a job.

Now, there is a white Space Assigner on the Attendants seniority roster of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. There is also a Negro Space Assigner on the same Attendants seniority roster. Both are members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

There are Mexicans, considered white, Filipinos, and Chinese who are members of the Brotherhood in the USA, and there are white Sleeping Car Porters working on the Canadian Pacific Railroad in Canada who are members of the Brotherhood, some of whom serve as officials of their local division.

No non-discrimination clause in the contract was necessary for the white workers on the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad or the Canadian Pacific Railroad to get their jobs. If such a clause was necessary, the Brotherhood would have put one in the contract.

Why not complain about the Brotherhood not negotiating a non-discriminatory clause to prevent discrimination against women working as Pullman porters?

Moreover, have we reached the time when the black worker must pick up and bear the burden of the white worker whose civil rights are alleged to be imperiled by color job bias in order to justify his practice of sound trade union morality?

Is the leadership of the AFL-CIO so desperate because of the weakness of its case of defense against race bias as to require the fabrication of obvious fiction about alleged sins of color prejudice by the Brotherhood against our downtrodden white brothers?

While white workers, within and without unions, have sought, because of a job scarcity fear consciousness, to monopolize highly wage-rated employment by the color bar and the closed shop, Negro workers, because of the lack of occupational status and job mobility, have been and are still too often confined to the so-called black man's jobs; namely, those that involve hard, dirty work, long hours and low pay, compounded with the economic disaster of being the first fired and the last hired.

It is also a well-known fact that the unskilled jobs that are the chief lot of Negro workers will be the first to disappear before the juggernaut of the automation revolution.

MORE ABOUT PUNITIVE ACTION AGAINST UNIONS

How, pray tell me, can a great movement of the working class, historically committed to the principles of equalitarian democracy, expel a union because of guilt of Communism and corruption and not of racism?

Is a racketeer who takes one's purse morally less reprehensible than a racist who takes one's life by denying one the means whereby one lives; namely, jobs?

Moreover, what would happen to a union which failed to pay its assessments?

Is not this new species of liberal-labor sophistry which brands self-reliance, through self-organization, as race bias in reverse a futile fantasy of seeking to reverse an irreversible trend? Is it not a defense mechanism for the practice of our professional liberal-labor propagandists of a pseudo-ethnic equalitarianism?

REBUTTAL TO CHARGE OF RACE BIAS IN APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

In rebuttal to my charge of race bias in apprenticeship training, the report cites the record of Bricklayers and Masons' Local No. 1 as evidence of a liberal racial policy of indenturing Negroes in this craft.

I am glad to note this announced record of the Bricklayers and Masons' Local No. 1 in Washington, D. C. but this is no answer to the fact that less than one percent of apprentices in the building crafts are Negroes. It is no answer to the fact that Negroes who have been traditionally a factor in the trowel trades are steadily losing ground, according to Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Administrator, Federal Housing Administration.

In refutation to my charge of inadequate representation in departments and on staffs not only in the National Headquarters but in the national and international unions, some figures are given by the report to show that progress in integration has been made. I don't deny this, but I still consider it inadequate and inequitable.

CHARGE BROTHERHOOD LACKS STAFF INTEGRATION

The report also attempts to offset my charge of inadequate integration of Negroes in the departments and staffs of the AFL-CIO by the charge that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters does not have an integrated staff.

My reply is - so what? What difference does it make? Does this make my charge against the AFL-CIO any less true?

Does a bank clerk who steals from a bank make his act any less criminal by pointing to another bank clerk who has stolen from a bank?

Now, while the Brotherhood does not have an integrated staff, neither does it have any white workers as members who are victims of racial discrimination. Moreover, is the employment of white staff persons by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters the issue? Of course not. The issue is the abolition of second-class citizenship of Negro workers, a million and a half, in the House of Labor.

But the Brotherhood does employ professional white persons. It has Negro and white lawyers, Negro and white accountants, and white economists. Now, if the Brotherhood had white workers as members, with the status of second-class citizens, it would constitute an issue.

FAIL TO DEFEND THE AFL-CIO

The report makes the charge that when attacks are made upon the AFL-CIO in my presence, I fail to defend the federation.

My reply is that I have known of no false charges made against the AFL-CIO that I failed to refute. I certainly should not be expected to defend the AFL-CIO with respect to charges of race bias because in this area it has feet of clay.

LABOR SURVEY OF RACE BIAS IN UNIONS

In reply to my proposal that the AFL-CIO make its own survey of race bias in unions, since the leadership becomes infuriated when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People makes reports on the problem, the report replies with the claim it is already doing this.

My reply is, if it is, nobody is aware of it but itself and its palace guard.

WHAT ABOUT THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE BETWEEN THE NEGRO AND LABOR COMMUNITIES?

In rejection of my charge that race bias in the unions and the failure to do anything about it is responsible for the crisis of confidence between labor and the Negro, the report charges me with creating the gap between these two social forces.

My reply is, how could I create the gap of confidence when I did not create race bias in the unions and do not have the responsibility or power to close the gap?

There is also a crisis of confidence between the leadership of the AFL-CIO and Negro trade unionists. It is obvious that most Negro trade unionists, contrary to the view of Brother Meany as expressed in JET Magazine, are just as militant, impatient and sensitive as I am and they have no confidence in the leadership of the AFL-CIO, and the leadership of the AFL-CIO has no confidence in Negro trade unionists, since there is little, if any, contact, communication or cooperation between them. Some form of dialogue must be established and maintained between these important factors of labor.

NEGRO DELEGATES TO AFL-CIO CONVENTIONS

Relative to my criticism concerning the handful of Negro delegates in attendance at AFL-CIO conventions, despite a million and a half Negro members of the federation, the report comments that the choice and election of delegates to the conventions should be left to the members of labor organizations.

While this is true, it is still a sad commentary upon the democratic spirit of national and international trade unions that in a convention of a thousand delegates less than ten are Negroes, and two or three of these delegates come from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

TARGET DATES

Assailing my demand that the AFL-CIO demand and require national and international unions to set target dates when their local unions that practice race bias are required to initiate action to eliminate the said bias, the report asserts that:

". . . . for deep and lasting results, there is no substitute for the crusading spirit and intensive missionary work."

My reply is, that target dates have been set for defiant unions to initiate action of compliance with the mandate of the AFL-CIO concerning unions eliminating Communism and corruption, so, why not concerning racial discrimination and segregation?

Target dates were even set for State AFL-CIO organizations to merge, upon pain of punitive action.

It is a matter of common knowledge that if unions are assured that regardless of their practices of race bias nothing will be done about it, they will not take seriously pious pronouncements about the trade union immorality of race bias.

ATTACK UPON NALC

Referring to criticism by the Negro American Labor Council of the AFL-CIO, the report states:

> ". . . in no instance has the NALC first come to the AFL-CIO in fraternal spirit and offered constructive cooperation to resolve the problem in question. It always took its criticisms, whether valid or not, to the public first."

My reply is, that one does not offer cooperation to anyone who tells you at the outset to "keep our of my affairs". President Meany made this observation in an Executive Council meeting after he had attempted to demolish the NALC by refutation. He rejected all invitations to address the Council, without ever offering to send a substitute. He doesn't take this attitude toward the Jewish Labor Committee, to which the AFL-CIO and many of the national and international unions are liberal donors. I do not object to this. The NALC does not seek such support, and I make no apology for the criticisms the NALC has made of the AFL-CIO and various national and international unions on the issue of race bias.

It is probably inevitable that the AFL-CIO must pay a price for the sins of white organized labor against its black brothers, in the form of a deepening guilt complex, public exposure and loss of public confidence, black and white. That organized labor would seek refuge in self-righteous rationalizations of dubious civil rights progress in the House of Labor and resistance to legitimate criticism, should excite no wonder.

The indictment of labor's utter failure to come to grips with the problem of denying the black laboring masses the right to enjoy their God-given right to earn their bread in the sweat of their brow, is valid and incontrovertible.

Unfortunately, some of the trade unions are not only intellectually racially wrong but have gone into the courts to defend their alleged right to exclude a worker from membership on account of race or color, such as the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

Some of our white labor brothers speak about race bias not with the social idealism, and the high mission of the not yet fully free white workers fighting for a more abundant life for all, but like the organization man with affluent vested interests.

Albeit, Negro trade unionists have the great responsibility to help our white brothers - some of whom are laboring under the imperialist doctrine of the white man's burden - to adjust to the realities of the Civil Rights Liberation Revolution or they will destroy the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations which is trying, like King Canute, to sweep back the onrushing tides of the mighty revolutionary seas of rising human hopes and expectations.

NEED FOR AGONIZING REAPPRAISAL OF LABOR'S IDEALS AND GOALS

Verily, our whole body of moral, spiritual and intellectual values, ideals and goals - traditional to the free, democratic trade union movement - is gravely threatened by the tragic failure of the civil rights cause in the House of Labor. It could be the symbol of the moral decay of the American labor movement, despite its former great achievements and present organization and financial power.

While the organized labor establishment, as represented by the AFL-CIO, has a large membership and material power, it has lost some measure of the Messianic commitment to trade union and human brotherhood, the great hope of the common man.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE BY THE AFL-CIO?

1. Abolish barriers to Negro membership in unions, whether they be the color bar in constitutions or rituals, or by tacit consent.

2. Desegregate racially segregated unions whether the officials and membership desire it or not, just as the expulsion of Communist-dominated unions or unions under corrupt influences is carried out by the AFL-CIO without regard to the wishes of the officials or members of the unions.

3. Abolish barriers to your workers' participation in apprenticeship training programs because of race or color.

4. Desegregate southern State AFL-CIO bodies and their conventions.

5. Desegregate southern City central labor bodies in all of their varied activities.

6. Integration of Negro trade unionists in departments and on staffs more equitably in the National Headquarters and in national and international unions, State federations and City central bodies.

7. Seek and urge equitable placement of Negro trade unionists on the Executive Council, and policy-making bodies of national, international and local unions.

8. Reorganize the Civil Rights Committee and Civil Rights Department as follows:

(a) Assumption of the chairmanship of the Civil Rights Committee by President George Meany or Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler, to give it stature and prestige.

(b) Increase the number of Negro trade unionists as members of the Committee to give its interracial composition reality.

(c) Place an eligible Negro trade unionist, sound on labor's rights and civil rights, as Director of the Civil Rights Department. A trade unionist is needed in this post who does not only know the problem of race bias but also feels it. Moreover, if the Federal government can appoint a Negro as head of a major department, the AFL-CIO should follow suit since it did not lead the way.

(d) Place an additional Negro trade unionist, sound on labor's rights and civil rights, as one of the assistant directors.

(e) Place a southern native-born white trade unionist, sound on labor's rights and civil rights, on the staff as one of the assistant directors.

(f) Integrate the office force.

(g) Hold national and regional civil rights labor conferences, and invite the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Jewish Labor Committee, National Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Congress of Racial Equality, American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, Workers' Defense League and the Negro American Labor Council, to send fraternal delegates, with voice, if no vote.

9. Adopt Code on Fair Trade Union Racial Practices, comparable to Code of Ethical Practices for trade unions of the AFL-CIO, the pattern of which was included in my Memorandum on Civil Rights submitted to the Executive Council at Unity House, Pennsylvania, June, 1961.

If a Code on Ethical Practices is necessary, desirable and effective in helping to eliminate corruption, by the same token, a Code on Fair Trade Union Racial Practices is necessary, desirable and can be effective in helping to eliminate race bias.

10. Develop its own survey of race bias in unions to determine its nature and extent, since any survey of discrimination which is made by a non-labor agency, especially the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is promply branded "anti organized labor", which, of course, is not true. The survey should not only seek to disclose racial discrimination wherever it may be, but also disclose evidence of progress which has been made by unions in dealing with the problem, such as cases of Negro trade unionists serving as officials in unions and as members of policy-making bodies, wherever they may be.

11. Take the initiative in getting a bill for Federal Fair Employment Practice legislation introduced in the next Congress, and place the full weight of the AFL-CIO back of it. While the AFL-CIO should wage a veritable crusade for the enactment of a federal FEPC, this is not be construed to mean that the federation does not continue to bear the responsibility to rid the House of Labor of every vestige, remnant and survival of race bias. It still has the responsibility to wage a continuing warfare against racial discrimination and segregation even if, as, and when a federal FEPC is achieved in the Congress, because the law must be enforced.

12. The value and validity of target dates to mark the time when specific action should be taken to deal with a specific case of race bias, such as the desegregation of a jim-crow union, should be recognized as sound and practical, since target dates have been used with respect to cases involving the merging of State AFL-CIO bodies, City central bodies and the expulsion of unions under corrupt and Communist influences.

13. In order to resolve the crisis of confidence between the AFL-CIO and Negro trade unionists and the Negro community, a conference between President George Meany and a committee of members of the Executive Council and any other officials of unions he decides upon, and a committee of Negro trade unionists to be developed by the writer, the said conference to take place at a time and place mutually convenient to the parties involved following this Fourth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, should be developed. Such a conference can establish meaningful and constructive contact, communication and cooperation.